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The Dean of American Rabbis:  
A Critical Study of the Life, Career and Significance  
of David Philipson,  
as Reflected in His Writings

Douglas Kohn

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for Ordination

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Referee: Dr. Jacob Rader Marcus



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Dedicated  
to

Reva and Benjamin

whose patience with me knew no limits,

and for whom my love is endless

I have my very own vineyard...  
(Song of Songs 8:12)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chatzot-layla 'akum l'hodot lach...

I arise at midnight to give thanks to You...(Ps 119:62)

How do I understand this verse? By its pshat - it's plain meaning. How often as the midnight oil burned and my desk lamp glowed, did I arise, satisfied and grateful, and offer unheard words of thanks to You who made this work possible?

Also, in acknowledgement of Dr. David Philipson, whose life in service to American Israel inspired this study, I ask: "How did the rabbis understand this verse?"

Rabbi Levi said: There was a window near David's bed, which opened on the north, and there was a harp hanging opposite it; and the north wind would come out in the middle of the night and blow on the harp, and the harp would play of itself. And all Israel would hear the sound and say: "If David, King of Israel, is engaging in Torah, how much more ought we!"

It followed that all Israel engaged in Torah.

(Pesikta de-Rav Kahana 62b)

Dr. Philipson still inspires the melodies of study.

I extend my sincerest gratitude to all of you who made my work pleasant and possible, and to whom I am cheerfully indebted. I thank you and salute you, even in the middle of the night!

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 119 dare approximate my feelings:

It was good for me that I was humbled,  
 so I might learn Your laws.  
 I prefer the teaching You proclaimed, to  
 thousands in gold and silver.

(Ps 119:71-72)

My devotion is everlasting. Thank you, Dr. Marcus, for  
 being my teacher.

And to Reva... "Only one is my dove, My perfect  
 one..."

(Song of Songs 6:9)

## DIGEST

David Philipson (1862-1949) was one of the most powerful and influential rabbis of his day. He began his career as a member of the first graduating class of Hebrew Union College (1883). As one of the College's first fruits, he was intimate with Isaac Mayer Wise and Max Lilienthal, and he developed these relationships to his advantage in later years. Shortly after his ordination Philipson accepted the pulpit of Har Sinai Congregation in Baltimore, which he served until returning to Cincinnati in 1888 to lead the Bene Israel Congregation. In Baltimore, Philipson received valuable experience and polishing. In Cincinnati, he developed into a community figure, a leader among rabbis, and a force in the Reform Movement. As Cincinnati was the center of the Reform Movement and the home to its institutions, Philipson soon enjoyed extensive influence, which he maintained throughout his career. In his last decades, however, Philipson's influence did wane, somewhat.

As a leader, Philipson was a standardbearer for the Reform Movement. He claimed his legitimacy through his discipleship to Wise and Lilienthal. He especially defended the Reform Jewish belief in Jewish universalism, and the Jewish mission idea. He picked up this banner early in his career and he never relinquished it. Philipson also was a

}

power broker to a degree, although he did endeavor to maintain a dignified ethicality in his dealings.

The corollary to Jewish universalism, anti-nationalism, was primary among Philipson's principles. He was fiercely anti-Zionistic, mostly out of a devotion to universalism, Americanism, and the belief that no man could espouse two nationalities. As an acculturated, American, religious Jew, he could not countenance a Jew claiming "Jewish national allegiance." He bitterly opposed Zionism from the pulpit and with his pen, and made activity in the anti-Zionist movement his hallmark.

Philipson was active in the affairs of the Hebrew Union College and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which he helped found in 1889. He taught at the College and served on its Board of Governors for years. Although he aspired to the H.U.C. presidency, he never succeeded in winning that post, although for many years he was nearly as powerful - or more so - than the president. Philipson did serve as C.C.A.R. president (1907-1909) and on the Conference Executive Committee for decades. Within the circle of his peers he was influential, and a member of the Conference's inner circle. He was in many respects a "rabbi's rabbi."

Philipson was committed to interfaith work and made it a significant element in his career. A speaker at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair Parliament of Religions, and an early

advocate of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, he was integrally involved in many interfaith activities. This work meshed with his belief in religious universalism.

As a writer Philipson was a prolific, although not outstanding, scholar. He wrote or edited ten books and numerous articles (as well as hundreds of sermons and addresses) in his career. His particular interest was the history of Reform Judaism, and by far his most significant work was The Reform Movement in Judaism. He also wrote biographical studies of Max Lillienthal and Isaac M. Wise. Although he lacked criticality and was adulatory in his writing, Philipson was careful in collecting and arranging facts. Philipson was a founder and vice president of the American Jewish Historical Society. He also is credited with helping to forge the cooperative union of the C.C.A.R. and the Jewish Publication Society which produced the English-language, Jewish translation of the Bible.

David Philipson died on June 29, 1949, while attending a convention of the C.C.A.R.

CHAPTER ONE  
THE LIFE OF DAVID PHILIPSON

Beginnings

The man who one day would be the Dean of the American Reform Rabbinate and the senior statesman of the Reform Movement in Judaism began his life amidst very humble conditions. Born August 9, 1862, in Wabash, Indiana, David Philipson was the first child of Joseph Philipson, a mail carrier, and Louisa, soon to be a busy homemaker. By his own admission, Philipson's early life was not spectacular; it was humble, midwestern, German and Jewish.<sup>1</sup>

Before long the Philipson family underwent some changes: five additional children were born, and the Philipson's moved to Columbus, Ohio. With eight mouths to feed on a postal carrier's modest wage, the Philipson's lived at best a humble life, yet there is no evidence they endured hardship, either. Additionally, the Philipsons led a fairly observant Jewish life. David attended Shabbat services weekly with his mother, and his father was at one time a co-president of the Columbus B'nai Brith lodge. Also, Joseph Philipson had been "a Jewish teacher" in Sandusky, Ohio, where he once had met the Cincinnati rabbi, Isaac M. Wise.<sup>2</sup> Jewishly, therefore, David Philipson was not unexposed or uninvolved as a boy. He would write in his diary over half a century later: "How early tradition does



cling! I entered nothing in this journal yesterday because it was the Sabbath. As a child, I did not write on the Sabbath, and although that manner of observance has no appeal to me now from the rational standpoint, still I ~~refrain~~ from writing on the day..."<sup>3</sup> Hebraically, however, young Philipson was lacking. In Spring, 1875, he would require intensive instruction in the language to become Bar Mitzvah. Hebrew instruction also became urgent at that time in order to prepare the lad for an unexpected opportunity for advanced Jewish studies.<sup>4</sup>

When, in March, 1875, an invitation came to the Philipson home to enroll twelve year-old David in the incipient rabbinical college in Cincinnati, it represented a special opportunity. Not only did it hold the promise of providing the boy with what was then a quasi-professional career and deliver him from some uncertain future in a business or trade, but it also offered him advancement in a world of which he was not unfamiliar: the Jewish world. Although Philipson was not schooled in Reform Judaism - that would come later - he did have a thirteen year old's experience of what was then normative American Judaism. Overall, the college offer was particularly advantageous, for even as a preteen, Philipson evinced a fondness for learning. Therefore, this also provided him with the rare chance to continue his education into high school and further; in that day most children ceased their schooling

after grade school.<sup>5</sup> It was Philipson's "ticket out"; the following September he was in Cincinnati.

The opportunity offered by Hebrew Union College was indeed a redemption, and Philipson neither wasted it nor forgot it. Swiftly, Philipson manifested some of his gratitude to the College by succeeding academically and bringing laurels to the young institution. From 1875 to 1879, Philipson was concurrently enrolled in Cincinnati's Hughes High School; at graduation in 1879 Philipson was both the gold-medalist and the valedictorian of the class. Additionally, the class schedule was exceedingly rigorous: high school or baccalaureate classes were in the morning and rabbinic instruction in the afternoon. Yet, Philipson stuck it out. Of the original dozen students in his class, David Philipson was one of but four who remained eight years in the program and were eventually ordained.<sup>6</sup> Philipson was both a fine student and wise enough not to squander his golden opportunity. He remained grateful to the College all the years of his life. In 1932, in response to felicitations from the Hebrew Union College Board of Governors on his seventieth birthday, Philipson expressed his sentiments, paraphrasing a formula of thanksgiving from the Passover Hagadah: "What ever service I have been able to render has been done with fullness of heart, and in the spirit of gratitude for what the institution did for me during my student years."<sup>7</sup> Philipson's tale, therefore,

includes some of the romantic element: the poor boy receives a golden gift and "makes good," and repays society through a lifetime of appreciative, honest service. Perhaps Solomon Freehof best captured the essence of Philipson's relationship with H.U.C. and its impact when he wrote in 1967:

His whole personal culture and career were made possible by the nascent institution in whose very first class he enrolled as a student. The deep sense of gratitude and devotion which he felt for the institution of Reform Judaism in which he became both pioneer and beneficiary could not possibly be equalled by our generation which had a choice of many other opportunities for growth and advancement.<sup>8</sup>

David Philipson was both a bright, successful student and an unruly, childish one. He was barely thirteen years old in 1875 when the College opened, and was the second youngest student. Being so young and so bright, he naturally and obediently followed his teachers' orders. Yet, being so young and so bright, he also easily became bored, childish and irresponsible. He also could be totally engaged in the exciting novelty of the experience, and allow his young, impressionable self to swallow and absorb the ideas and purposes of the College and its personalities. All this he did.<sup>9</sup>

During the first year Philipson's grades and conduct were generally very good. As his tenure at the College progressed and Philipson grew into his teens, however, this

boy who would rise to such high position began to sow his oats. His behavior became erratic and at times unruly, and he even failed a test.<sup>10</sup> It was difficult for Philipson to spend his adolescence in hard study and proper preparation for a life devoted to higher ethics and scholarship. Sometimes he had to "blow off steam" and be "one of the boys." This reached a climax in the fifth year when Philipson received at least two "zeros" in conduct from Solomon Eppinger, the instructor of Bible. Eppinger wrote in his Feb. 29, 1880 faculty report: "I am sorry to say that the conduct of some of the students especially Philipson and Aaron is such, that usually the lesson is disturbed by them...another '0'."<sup>11</sup> Philipson's conduct did not improve substantially until his true upperclassman days. Despite this disorderly quality, Philipson nevertheless showed a charm and potential which endeared him to his mentors. Yet, it would later take certain responsibilities, influences and pretenses of the real, East Coast rabbinate to sober and metamorphose young Philipson.

Contrary to his unruliness, Philipson did form good work habits. His lesson books were carefully organized and painstakingly neat. They reflect the meticulous attention to order and detail expected from his German-Jewish upbringing, and were compounded by the influences of the German or German-trained teachers who instructed him. Philipson's Arabic translations of biblical texts, for

instance, were neatly arranged into two columns in notebooks, and his Latin compositions were equally fastidiously arranged.<sup>12</sup> This disciplined devotion to order, systematics, and careful preparation was to characterize Philipson and his activities for the duration of his life. The words of the proverb rang clearly in his mind (Prov. 4:13): "Hold fast to discipline; do not let go; Keep it; it is your life."

Philipson's life at Hebrew Union College also revolved about his fellow classmates. It would be Philipson's eternal claim to fame that he was one of the first four graduates of the College, a distinction which impelled Joseph Krauskopf, another one of the quadrumvirate, to designate the group as, "The only 'first class' rabbis in America!"<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, Philipson remained on intimate terms with his fellows, even those who did not complete the program. Many years later when he was the lone survivor of the Class of 1883, Philipson corresponded with his once favorite partner in mischief, Nathan Cohn, who left the College before ordination. Cohn was one of a handful of intimates who called Philipson, 'Dave': "Dear Dave...As a classmate of yours in our happy days on Sycamore Street, happy despite our little troubles, when you and Henry and Joe and Aaron and I lived under the same roof, I have always felt a deep pride in the career of yourself and that of the other boys."<sup>14</sup> Philipson outlived all of his classmates,

and over the years was called upon to memorialize the others: his closest friend, Israel Aaron, in 1912; the eldest of the four, the fiery, dynamic leader, and Philipson's competitor, Joseph Krauskopf, in 1923; and the gentle, conciliating spirit, Henry Berkowitz, the following year. With their passing, Philipson became by default the unanimously acclaimed Dean of the American Reform Rabbinate.

The College's bikkurim, its first fruit, completed their final year and were ordained July 11, 1883. His last year at H.U.C. seems to have been a sobering one for Philipson. In addition to completing academic requirements at both McMicken University (later the University of Cincinnati) and Hebrew Union College, it was a time for him to discover his own limitations. Philipson was the second-youngest member of the class which numbered five until that Spring, when Frederick Hecht, the only senior classman younger than Philipson, died after a period of illness. David Philipson spoke the eulogy of the only classmate who looked up to him as an elder, and one who had been a special friend: "So young, so promising, to be thus ruthlessly torn away when he had almost the cherished goal in his grasp."<sup>15</sup> At ordination Philipson still had not yet reached his majority, and did not feel ready to take a pulpit and lead a congregation. He elected to remain in the safety of Cincinnati, the College and his teachers, and become an instructor at the school. He was not yet confident in his



task; his Hebrew still suffered (he even had a Hebrew spelling error in his ordination speech!<sup>16</sup>) and he did not yet see himself as a community leader.<sup>17</sup>

In the Fall of 1883 Philipson conducted High Holiday services in Dallas, Texas - his first congregational experience.<sup>18</sup> Upon his return to Cincinnati, he was informed by Dr. Wise that he was being dispatched to Baltimore to assume the pulpit of Har Sinai Congregation. Despite objections, Philipson journeyed East for a trial visit, and was soon elected to the position. This was to bring momentous changes to David Philipson, not the least of which was that he was to leave his adopted hometown and the presence, physical and spiritual, of his teachers, Isaac M. Wise and the late Dr. Max Lilienthal.

Aseh l'cha rav...Provide Yourself a Teacher...or two  
Models for Philipson's Rabbinate

The earlier move from Columbus to Cincinnati was in many ways a culture shock for young Philipson.<sup>19</sup> He moved from a relatively small midwestern burg, although a developing seat of government, to a midwestern mercantile metropolis; from a city bearing a Jewish community of some 400 souls to one of about 8-12,000 Jews, a veritable city within a city.<sup>20</sup> This certainly was intimidating for the bacher, yet the most consequential culture shock may have been in the realm of the culture of personality. In

Cincinnati Philipson suddenly encountered Jewish elites and gentry, and commanding rabbinic notables. The opening of the College, itself, attracted a parade of dignitaries sufficient to awe and frighten the anxious and intimidated, green student-to-be.<sup>21</sup> Yet, despite the numbers of people and the pageantry surrounding the College's birth, as well as the relatively teeming crowds of the city, two personages stood far above all others in their impact and import upon David Philipson: Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise, the founder and President of Hebrew Union College, and Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal, the kind and stately rabbi of Bene Israel Congregation.

It was upon Wise's bidding that Philipson came to the College, and it was to Wise's presence that Philipson first arrived on his maiden voyage to Cincinnati. In August, 1875, David and his father visited Wise at his new home for an "admission interview." Philipson was nervous, but Wise, amidst disorganized books, crates and boxes, humbly set the boy at ease.<sup>22</sup> This was the beginning of Dr. Wise's personal, paternalistic influence on David Philipson, and it began a relationship that lasted well beyond Wise's death. Even the memory and spirit of his mentor would later quicken Philipson's pulse. "Never shall I forget the sweet smile which illumined the face of the man upon whose good will all my hopes were dependent....My fatherly teacher and friend never seemed different to me from what he was in that first



interview."<sup>23</sup> It will be seen that this romanticized love and image would not remain unchanged, however. Although Wise's impacts and influences on Philipson were enormous and truly never ceased, they would undergo significant changes which Philipson, himself, would be at pains to admit, publically or privately. Reflecting his own varied experience, Philipson would concede, however: "...it is not too much to say that his (Wise) is the most impressive figure in the history of Judaism in the United States."<sup>24</sup>

Philipson was never reticent regarding his relationship with Isaac M. Wise. He offered in print several biographical accounts of Wise, and often referred to him in sermon and epistle. Almost without exception, Philipson laudably recounted Wise's fatherly posture and his love, until, one might argue, an impenetrable image of "Wise as loving father" was fashioned. In 1928 Philipson wrote to Wise's son, Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, in response to the latter's published reflections of Philipson and Wise:

The beautiful relationship between your father and myself could not have been better expressed.... I of course respected him beyond measure as my old teacher, but still more I loved him as a father, and on his part, he always showed for me the greatest consideration.<sup>25</sup>

Wise was especially partial in his affections for the members of H.U.C.'s first class, Philipson often declared. He once described the relationship in this epigram: "A spiritual father was he to them and spiritual children were

they to him."<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, Philipson revealed all in his 1934 Founder's Day address at the College: "We of the first class seemed to occupy a special place in his affections. He called us his bikkurim, his spiritual first born. His son once said to me, 'I believe my father is more attached to you than to his own children.'"<sup>27</sup> Indeed, the image of Wise, at least during Philipson's student days, was of the devoted, benevolent patriarch, and Philipson contributed not insignificantly to publicizing this portrayal.<sup>28</sup>

Philipson's estimation of his mentor was going to change in later years when he returned to Cincinnati to assume the pulpit of Bene Israel Congregation, and to teach at Hebrew Union College. Nevertheless, when as a student his viewpoint was characteristically limited and narrow, and later when different motivations spurred him to reflect upon and publish his memories of Wise, Philipson would openly venerate and adulate his teacher. He withheld criticism from public comment.

On what basis was it that Philipson, normally a rather perspicacious thinker, outwardly described his master with blinders on his eyes? This seemingly unquestioning posture of reverence for Wise stemmed from Philipson's philosophy of history. He believed in the "Great Man" model of history,<sup>29</sup> in which the making of history's great moments depends on the influences of history's great figures. Philipson saw Isaac Mayer Wise as one of those epochal personalities, and

at all times his presentation of Wise respected the pedestal on which he envisioned him. Certainly, Philipson was correct in his lofty admiration for Wise; Wise was without a doubt the most compelling Jewish leader and the most successful Jewish organizer of the late nineteenth century American Jewish world, and Philipson was both fortunate and proud to have had such an intimacy with him. Yet, he translated this intimacy and respect into a quasi-worship wherein no fault-taking could be countenanced. He rationalized this perspective in regards to great leaders: "Even the sun has spots, and the weaknesses and piccadillos (?) of a truly great man...should not be enlarged upon..."<sup>30</sup> David Philipson would even refer to Wise as one his idols.<sup>31</sup>

Surely, later in his career when a new generation of colleagues had been trained which knew not the founder and could but relate to Wise as a revered forefather, Philipson had another, perhaps unconscious reason for fostering mythologization of his teacher. At this stage, Philipson, too, was somewhat a relic of a bygone era, and was associated with Wise even though the two actually were of different generations. This association, at one point, was so sweeping and generally uncontroverted that in a testimonial to Philipson, his colleague Dr. Joseph Rauch could proclaim: "Paraphrasing a Talmudic dictum it may be said that David Philipson, Isaac M. Wise and Reform Judaism are one."<sup>32</sup> With such an association rampant in the minds

of Reform Jews and others, would not it behoove Philipson to elevate the status of Wise in the common mythology, thereby elevating his own status, as well? Philipson's unique, intimate connection to the great Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise was, in part, his claim to fame. It had to be nurtured.

Hence, for Philipson, Isaac M. Wise was not only a beloved, fatherly teacher and later a model and helper in the rabbinate, but he also was a springboard to fame. As long as Wise was alive and Philipson was in Cincinnati, the two saw one another regularly and were, to a degree, confidants. Philipson's archives contains few letters between the two, for they walked and talked together and had few occasions for correspondence. They lived and worked within blocks of one another, and Philipson was often a guest at Wise's home.<sup>33</sup> Wise continued to be his teacher. Once the senior rabbi died, however, the field was open for mythologization, and for Philipson to stand upon Wise's shoulders.

In private, however, Philipson at times harbored a disenchanted view of Wise. This grew as a result of differences the two men encountered following Philipson's 1888 return to Cincinnati. After describing the issues of contention in his diary, Philipson once wrote of Wise, "...I thought him one of the superior beings but have found him to be only common clay. An ideal has been shattered."<sup>34</sup> Stanley Chvet termed Philipson's seemingly contradictory

presentations of Wise - the public adulation and the private lamenting - as example of biographical revisionism, and suggested the irony of the phenomenon: the very promulgator of the Wise myth would be consciously "...less than frank in his public appraisals of Wise."<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, in his later days the myth would be more important to Philipson than was the pain suffered in watching the fallen angel striking earth.

Aside from the mythical element, Isaac Wise also was very much Philipson's teacher and mentor. Philipson received his first and enduring indoctrination in Reform Judaism from Isaac M. Wise and the other teachers at the College. Wise preached his strong devotion to Americanism and to Jewish universalism, ultimately to the flowering of an American Judaism;<sup>36</sup> Philipson could not help but soak it in. It will be seen that he later repeated and preached much of Wise's classic Reform Jewish program on these issues, and in most other facets of Reform Judaism.

Differences are often more revealing and interesting than similarities. One area of Jewish teaching in which Philipson did disagree with Wise was in their views on the authorship of the Bible. Wise was quite the traditionalist in this concern: he subscribed to the traditional concept of the Sinaitic revelation claiming that the Bible was transmitted by God to Moses' hand.<sup>37</sup> Philipson, especially after his tenure in Baltimore where he briefly studied

semitics at Johns Hopkins University with Paul Haupt, an active proponent of higher biblical criticism, came to disagree with Wise. Philipson wrote in 1934: "I recall another time when holding up a volume of Paul Haupt's polychrome edition of the Pentateuch he called it rather contemptuously the striped Bible. He had absolutely no patience with what he considered the vagaries of the so called higher biblical criticism."<sup>38</sup> Yet, Philipson described his own contradictory philosophy, revealing his own impatience with the rigidity of the others: "Every student of the Bible knows that what is called the Bible is not one book by one author but a collection of books whose authorship extends over centuries."<sup>39</sup> There is no evidence that in this matter Philipson ever openly clashed with his respected teacher, yet they clearly did not see eye to eye in this regard, although the mythmakers would pretend that they did.<sup>40</sup> This was probably one of those issues for which the unwritten protocols warned: "hands off."

In all, despite the difference of opinion and the spats which developed, Philipson did have an honest, deep appreciation for his first teacher. In later, troubled days, Philipson would reverently recall his memories of Wise, and recorded them in the privacy of his diary:

When all is said Wise was a practical idealist, his feet trod the earth but his head reached the stars; he was dreamer and doer; he fought a great fight and he won; he was fortunate in his life and fortunate in his death; he



lived in the glorious nineteenth century, he died on the threshold of the twentieth and was saved all the heartbreak and disillusionment of the dreadful post-bellum years in which we are now living. Happy indeed he in his living and his dying. His memory is a blessing!<sup>41</sup>

David Philipson's relationship and appreciation for his second, perhaps more profound mentor, was dissimilar from that of his feelings for Wise: Philipson seldom vacillated in his great affection for Max Lilienthal or in his self-identification with Lilienthal.<sup>41a</sup> David Philipson had two great rabbinic mentors in his early days in Cincinnati: he revered and respected the first, Wise, but he loved and modeled himself after the second, Max Lilienthal.

It is unfortunate that Max Lilienthal died in April, 1882, a year before Philipson and his classmates were ordained. Should he have lived, it would have been interesting to see how this stately, cultured rabbi would have continued his influence on Philipson and the embryonic native American rabbinate.

Lilienthal was a brilliant university trained rabbi/diplomat, having received his Ph.D. from the University of Munich and his smicha from the yeshiva of Wolf Hamburger in Fuerth. He circulated among Germany's Jewish intellectual elite of the 1830's, and it was upon the famed journalist Ludwig Philippson's unwitting recommendation in 1839 that young Lilienthal was secured by Count Uwaroff, the

Russian Minister of Education, to "modernize" the Jewish school of Riga. Uwaroff's eventual purpose was to convert Lilienthal and have him co-opt the Jews of Russia into a mass conversion scheme. Disgusted with the ultimate turn of events, the principled Lilienthal left for America in 1845 where he shortly was elected rabbi of three New York City synagogues, and was styled "Chief Rabbi" of New York. In 1855 the leaders of Cincinnati's Bene Israel Congregation secured Lilienthal for their pulpit, and the rabbi's midwestern career was launched.<sup>42</sup>

It is clear that the two Cincinnati rabbis, Wise and Lilienthal, were opposites in so many respects. Wise was brash, Lilienthal refined and genteel; Wise was but dubiously an academic or rabbinic diplomate, Lilienthal possessed degrees from highly respected sources; Wise was the controversial builder and dreamer, Lilienthal would be known as the peacemaker and conciliator. Despite their differences, however, the two worked together for the advancement of Judaism in Cincinnati, and they shared a common love for America, dedication to reform in Judaism, and very importantly, a mutual respect for one another.<sup>43</sup>

It was into the laps of these men that Philipson truly lighted when he arrived in Cincinnati. Although Wise was to be the magnetic power and force on Philipson, Lilienthal was destined to be Philipson's spiritual and rabbinic model. Philipson developed a profound love for Lilienthal which can



be distilled from the dedication of his 1915 biography of Lilienthal: "This volume has been prepared as a tribute of affection and admiration to the memory of my never-to-be-forgotten teacher and predecessor in office."<sup>44</sup> What was the source of this bonding, and what were its effects?

David Philipson and Max Lilienthal shared a certain "chemistry." Philipson recorded in his diary on the 50th anniversary of Lilienthal's death, "I was a favorite of his and for a time was a regular weekly dinner guest on Friday evening in his home."<sup>45</sup> Among the many youths at the College, Philipson became the most endeared to Lilienthal such that the great rabbi purportedly once said: "If I had the privilege of selecting my own successor, I would name young Philipson, of the Hebrew Union College."<sup>46</sup> Philipson was quite a fixture at the feet of his teacher, Lilienthal, spending much time in his presence.

When Philipson entered H.U.C. he was young and impressionable, and he certainly became awestruck by the tall, dignified figure of Lilienthal. To the humble son of a Columbus mailman, here was the form to which to aspire! This was the real opportunity of H.U.C. and the rabbinate: with proper schooling, polish, hard work and good fortune, a Jew - even a rabbi - could rise to a place of dignity and civic rank. Philipson was young, impressionable and impressed; how much the more Philipson must have been affected when Lilienthal took a reciprocal liking to the

bright boy who was overflowing with promise! Thus, it is not at all uncanny that Philipson's later career amazingly mirrors Lilienthal's: in stature and posture, in relations with the gentile and municipal worlds, in regards for America, in philosophy and idealism, in leadership roles, even in teaching homiletics and history at Hebrew Union College and filling Lilienthal's pulpit at Bene Israel. Philipson was very much the reflection of Max Lilienthal. Surely, periodically in his career when Philipson was faced with a problem and he would ask himself, as every young rabbi or professional does at some time, "How would my teacher handle this?" Philipson may really have been pondering: How would Rev. Dr. Lilienthal respond here?"

For Philipson, Lilienthal stacked up as a more propitious rabbinic model than did Wise. In public life Lilienthal had the great respect of the general Cincinnati citizenry; Wise was more parochially limited to the Jewish community.<sup>47</sup> This was important to Philipson who, until coming to Cincinnati, had lived predominantly in smaller communities and among gentiles. Later it would be Philipson's hallmark, as it had been Lilienthal's, to be equally or more respected and admired by the gentile community than by the Jewish community. Although Wise enjoyed a national prominence which Lilienthal did not, this was not important to the young Philipson. His perspective was still quite provincial; he only knew a portion of

America's Midwest and he would not see any more of America until his 1883 trip to Dallas. All the more for Philipson, the local prominence of Lilienthal ranked higher than the national fame of Wise. Only later would Philipson aspire to and gain a national role for his rabbinate. Finally, Lilienthal appeared every inch the cultured, learned reverend. He was erudite in matters outside of Judaism, and was respected for his learning. Philipson was bright and would easily fit into the image of the rabbi-scholar. Although Wise, too, was brilliant and educated (even if he lacked the credentials), his brilliance radiated more in the worldly, basar vadam categories; he was never mistaken for the German, university trained scholar. The book-loving Philipson naturally gravitated to Lilienthal. It has been said of Philipson and Lilienthal, "They were two peas in a pod."<sup>48</sup>

David Philipson's rabbinate, in nearly every matter, found a precedent in that of Max Lilienthal. Still more, as a proper disciple, Philipson was Lilienthal's biographer, and he had the opportunity to chronicle his master's life and color it in "Philipson-ian" shades.<sup>49</sup> To do so was in consonance with his "Great Man" philosophy of history. To not a small degree, Philipson's biographies of Lilienthal appear somewhat autobiographical of Philipson: the particular circumstances changed but the philosophical foundations were identical. Philipson was a most ardent,

fervent lover of America and defender of American ideals. So was Lilienthal, as Philipson wrote: "Never was there a man more zealous in his love of America and all that this country represented than was Max Lilienthal. This was a passion with him."<sup>50</sup> Philipson also prided himself on being a conciliator in Jewish matters and with regard to gentiles.<sup>51</sup> So, too, was Lilienthal, as Philipson wrote: "...he was, above all, a man of peace and in the many bitter contentions that marred the relations of the reform leaders, in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Lilienthal stood out as the peace-maker..."<sup>52</sup> And: "...Dr. Lilienthal was a veritable messenger of peace in advancing the cause of fellowship among the various denominations. Never has there been a man in the American Jewish pulpit who has performed finer service in this regard."<sup>53</sup> Finally, Philipson found a precursor in Lilienthal for his own unceasing universalistic Judaism and its expression: "The universalism of Judaism formed...the burden of his preaching and his teaching."<sup>54</sup> Lilienthal's definition of the American Jew, "In creed a monotheist, in descent a Hebrew, Israelite or Jew, in all other public or private relations, an American Citizen,"<sup>55</sup> was dittoed by Philipson's motto: We are Jews in religion, and Americans in nationality..."<sup>56</sup>

Early in his life Philipson set up Max Lilienthal as his ideal, and he remained faithful in his strivings towards that ideal throughout his long rabbinate. Because

Lilienthal died before Philipson was ordained and before the two could stride side-by-side in collegueship (and before Philipson had an opportunity to see any fallibility in Lilienthal, as he saw in Wise), Lilienthal never plummeted from his high, idealistic station in Philipson's adoring sight. Philipson was left free both to follow Lilienthal's path and to nearly quixotically romanticize and adulate his teacher.

Lilienthal's unwitting role as an ideal or model was very significant. Hebrew Union College was then preparing to release upon American Jewry the first corps of American-trained rabbis, and these men needed images of the rabbinate which they could emulate. The College and Cincinnati offered two choices: Wise and Lilienthal. Many of the students undoubtedly also had other mentors elsewhere, as Philipson also did. Out of these models, in part, would come American Jewry's future spiritual leaders.

Lilienthal's influence, therefore, was far vaster than at first realized: as long as David Philipson, one of the first H.U.C. products, would himself model the American rabbi to later generations of H.U.C. students and graduates,<sup>57</sup> then Lilienthal's mold would be in effect. Philipson would eulogize Lilienthal as the inadvertent, but noble paradigm of the American rabbi; he subtitled his biography of Lilienthal, "American Rabbi," and he wrote therein: "This was the ideal he ever held before him; American rabbi was he

in every sense of the world, interpreting the teachings of prophetic Judaism in the terms of American aspiration, and glorifying the Jewish name and Jewish truth in the eyes of all the people."<sup>58</sup> In truth, this was the ideal - and the practical manifestation - which Philipson ever held before himself: Max Lilienthal as the prototypical and paradigmatic American rabbi, whose form Philipson would perpetuate.

It is interesting, therefore, that the popular mythology fostered an image of Philipson following in Isaac Wise's path, not Lilienthal's.<sup>59</sup> As mentioned, this was partially engendered by Philipson, and it served a definite purpose. Furthermore, in death Wise left a clearly visible path and an unchallenged position of power. Lilienthal left only a loving image. Through Wise, Cincinnati had claimed the hegemony in the world of liberal American Jewry. When Wise died in 1900, that hegemony was already moving to New York City, but as long as the College, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis were fully situated in the Ohio city, then Cincinnati would continue to exert influence. A person was needed to fill Wise's place, and the only candidate was Philipson. Although he perpetuated Lilienthal's image and strove to meet Lilienthal's ideal, Philipson found himself somewhat in Wise's vacant seat.

A final question ought to be asked regarding David Philipson's entry into the rabbinate: Did he want to be a



rabbi? What motivated him? Nothing suggests that, prior to receiving Wise' invitation to attend the College, Philipson had any dream or desire of becoming a rabbi. It is most probable that once he had the opportunity to do so, and once he began the process in the exciting city, he quickly became sold on the idea. Furthermore, Lilienthal's approval and mentorship, as well as the regular Friday nights at Lilienthal's home, certainly convinced young Philipson of his potential, and confirmed the path. Philipson never looked back upon his choice to enter the rabbinate, only upon some decisions he made within it. One decision which he never questioned in hindsight, was Isaac Mayer Wise's naming him for the Har Sinai pulpit in Baltimore. It was New Year's Day, 1884,<sup>60</sup> that David Philipson arrived in Baltimore, taking with him the best in training and advice with which his teachers could provide him.

Hiney ma tov...How Good it Was...

Har Sinai Congregation, Baltimore, 1884-1888

The Baltimore Jewish community which David Philipson encountered that first week of January, 1884, was in many respects an ideal situation for the neophyte rabbi. Religiously, the community was mostly a liberal German Jewish enclave similar to Cincinnati, comprising some 10,000 Jews.<sup>61</sup> It was served by five major congregations: Philipson's radical reform Har Sinai Congregation, the more

moderately reform congregations, Baltimore Hebrew and Oheb Shalom, and the orthodox shuls, Chizuk Amuno and the Eden Street Shul. There were other, littler orthodox synagogues, as well.<sup>62</sup>

The generally acclaimed Jewish religious leader of the city was Rabbi Benjamin Szold of Oheb Shalom, one of the gedolai hador, and a national figure.<sup>63</sup> Szold was a more traditionally-minded reformer, although historically he is called a conservative,<sup>64</sup> and had not yet developed antipathies towards Isaac M. Wise and his school. In fact, Szold gave the opening address at the first ordination of rabbis at H.U.C., half a year earlier when David Philipson was ordained.<sup>65</sup> He could serve as a model for Philipson. Rabbi A.S. Bettelheim officiated at Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, and Philipson apparently found little of value to learn from him.<sup>66</sup> The orthodox rabbis included the aged, scholarly Henry Hochheimer at Eden Street Shul whom Philipson and the general Jewish community venerated, and Henry Schneeberger of Chizuk Amuno, an orthodox-principled, native-American rabbi with whom Philipson also got along peaceably.<sup>67</sup> Overall, the rabbinical community which Philipson was joining was well-balanced.<sup>67</sup> Additionally, in 1884 there were still less than a handful of autochthonous American rabbis, of which Baltimore's Teutonic Jewry could ironically claim two; this strikes a revealing commentary on



the relatively advanced Americanization of this German Jewish community.

Organizationally, Baltimore Jewry also was well outfitted. In the two decades between the Civil War and Philipson's arrival there, the city's Jews had established supplementary religious schools in their synagogues, and all-day schools, as well. A plethora of Jewish charitable organizations and institutions were operating, and Jewish social clubs also flourished.<sup>68</sup> The years following the Civil War saw the city and its Jews fare well; the thriving, postbellum, rebuilding economy and the resultant spirit of relative prosperity fostered generally amicable Jewish relations and optimism.<sup>69</sup> Isaac Fein, the historian of Baltimore Jewry, wrote, "The growing prosperity of the city was amply reflected among Baltimore Jews, quite a number of whom became wealthy and ceased to feel like immigrants. In this prosperous atmosphere communal dissensions steadily decreased, and despite occasional rifts the forces working for unity prevailed."<sup>70</sup>

This was the general Jewish milieu that the young, American musmakh was entering. It was as if tailor-made for the still-untried idealist who was but twenty-one years of age. All in all, the young Philipson was incredibly fortuitous: for his inaugural pulpit he unwittingly, nay, nearly unwillingly, but fortunately, happened into a nicely self-sustaining community which was remarkably free of

discord and dissension.<sup>71</sup> Philipson's tenure in Baltimore was generally happy, and it is not surprising that he always would have a fond place in his heart for Baltimore, her Jews, and Har Sinai Congregation.

Of Baltimore's congregations in 1884, Har Sinai was the most Germanophile,<sup>72</sup> as well as the most radically reform, having been established ex nihilo in 1842 as a reform congregation in protest to orthodoxy.<sup>73</sup> By the time of Philipson's arrival, it could boast of great rabbis who had filled its pulpit, including David Einhorn and Emil G. Hirsch, and wealthy, learned laymen who conducted its affairs. As an institution, the generation-old temple maintained a unique, established position in Baltimore Jewry: it clung to its claim to fame as the "Einhorn congregation," and its members were styled the "temple people."<sup>74</sup> These designations reflect the strong devotion to the reform Judaism of David Einhorn which the Har Sinai congregants still maintained.

In the years prior to David Philipson's arrival in Baltimore, Har Sinai had suffered from discontinuity in rabbinic leadership. There had been four rabbis in the two and a half decades since Einhorn's presence at Har Sinai; Philipson would be the sixth rabbinic incumbent to lead the congregation.<sup>75</sup> In contradistinction to this era of rabbinic change, the laity in the same period had grown secure and established. Har Sinai's congregation included

many long-time members from the uptown elite gentry, including the Rayners and the Hutzlers, as well as thinkers and activists such as Max Sutro, Joseph Simpson, and later, Jacob Hollander.<sup>76</sup> Although the congregation had fewer than one hundred members in January, 1884, its lay leaders were solid.<sup>77</sup> They were ready and eager to support the fledgling rabbi, as Philipson wrote:

"I felt that my lot had fallen in pleasant places. The people really took me to their hearts. They came to see my in my abode. I was invited out constantly for meals. I was very happy in this, my first rabbinical position. The president, William L. Wolfe, and his fine wife, treated me as a son, as did many others."<sup>78</sup>

David Philipson enjoyed an auspicious beginning to a signal career.

Although young and thoroughly inexperienced, Philipson's rawness would soon pass as he "hit the ground running" upon his arrival in Baltimore. The inexperience began fading on January 5th when he preached his inaugural sermon in English, which was laden with lofty aspirations and dutiful deference to the lingering spirit of David Einhorn, and when he delivered his inaugural German sermon one week later.<sup>79</sup> Also, Philipson's first week saw him begin to rejuvenate the Sabbath School, arrange to take classes in semitics with Paul Haupt at Johns Hopkins University, and begin new, lasting friendships.<sup>80</sup> The youthful visage also was hopefully shed - or covered up -

when Philipson decided early on to grow his characteristic goatee. "The congregation were so much older than I, I had to raise a beard to get some respect," Philipson remembered in 1949.<sup>81</sup>

Philipson enjoyed a comfortable "honeymoon period" in Baltimore which was the result of several factors. He was a novelty, not only as the new rabbi at the fashionable temple, but because of his youth, his being a native American, and most importantly, due to his recent ordination as one of the College's and American Jewry's bikkurim. Philipson began his rabbinic career (and later would end it) as a symbol. He represented to East Coast Jewry the product and the hopes of Hebrew Union College. Here was living evidence of the Cincinnati experiment, and Philipson as well as his classmates was quite aware of the challenge to bring acceptance to the young school. Philipson would write, not hyperbolically, "The ultimate success of the venture was largely in their keeping....The future of the Hebrew Union College lay in great measure in their hands."<sup>82</sup> To a not insignificant degree, the College's fate was in the hands of its products; in their success or failure the College also succeeded or failed. Fortunately, none of the four stumbled, and three eventually would attain national prominence. Philipson not only was conscious of his symbolic, representative role, but he revelled in it. He was an Isaac Wise product in the Einhorn territory; he was

unique at East Coast rabbinic meetings; he accepted speaking engagements; he received several invitations to fill other pulpits; he grew in stature relative to the American rabbinate. Philipson not only symbolized the native American rabbinic enterprise, but before long he would be one of its models. In Baltimore, therefore, he eagerly set to work, and his Har Sinai congregants equally eagerly turned out to hear and support him.

At first, Philipson's Baltimore rabbinate properly revolved about his congregational duties: preaching, teaching, and life cycle tasks, to all of which his congregants initially responded well. He devoted much time to his preaching and lecturing. In accepting the Har Sinai pulpit, Philipson struck an agreement to preach thrice a month in English and once in German, which was opposite to the minhag which had previously prevailed.<sup>83</sup> This, in itself, revealed both the level of Americanization in the congregation, and the developed "American" image in which the rabbi was held, and held himself. Attendance at Shabbat services remained strong into Spring, 1884, and did not decline following the initial period of novelty.<sup>84</sup> This certainly supported Philipson, who found the beginning and the transition to the full-time professional rabbinate quite rocky, despite the warm reception he received in Baltimore. By early summer, Philipson had worked so hard and

fatiguingly that he required a rest at the Jersey shore to recuperate from a "nervous breakdown."<sup>85</sup>

Philipson's preaching and lecturing followed fairly regular patterns. The English/German routine was maintained until sometime in Summer, 1884, when he ceased to deliver the monthly German homily. This was probably on the mutual agreement of the rabbi and the congregation; although fairly skilled in German, Philipson still had to work extra to fashion a good German sermon, and whereas the German-speaking congregants undoubtedly appreciated - or tolerated - Philipson's efforts, those congregants who were unlearned in the tongue would stay away on the "German Sabbath."

Switching to English would satisfy the greater share.<sup>86</sup>

Philipson's sermons almost always were textually based in the weekly Torah portion or haftarah reading, with which he invariably began his messages. His themes were basically ethical and philosophical, and attempted to inspire his listeners to consider the higher human values. Only later in his Baltimore rabbinate did Philipson discover the courage to challenge his congregants, to introduce controversy or to moralize, or even to inveigh on a Jewish matter.<sup>87</sup> Philipson once rhetorically asked in an early sermon: "What is the preacher's purpose?" to which he answered, to "...combine the ideal with the practical and the practical with the ideal...which teach how to live..."<sup>88</sup> Generally at first, Philipson's spiritual messages expressed



a simple, naive view of the human and Jewish condition. These changed with time.

Later, in his second and third years in Baltimore, Philipson's novelty was dissipating, and although he was giving well-received lecture series on Jewish history and ethics (throughout his Har Sinai rabbinate Philipson's lecture series were generally very successful), service attendance was falling and the young rabbi faced his first leadership crisis. He responded with strong, principled sermons, and probably with private, concerned discussions with his lay leadership. In sermons he discountenanced the behavior of some in his congregation: "They leave the house of worship, criticize the music, pass comments upon the sermon whether favorable or the reverse(?) and think their duty accomplished.... The congregation must take some active part in the service.... In commencing the second year of my activity here...I hope that we will gradually move forward and from the younger element arouse a like interest in the older..."<sup>89</sup> The matter did not settle itself, for less than a year later a more confident, yet reproachful Philipson preached again, in a very chiding tone:

Let us not comfort ourselves with the pleasant thought that our congregation is standing on a far better footing than it has in many years past. Let us remove the scales from our eyes and looking beyond the fair illusions of hope face things as they are. For the last few Sabbaths in fact since the holidays I have noticed to my sorrow that the number of our members attending

divine service has grown not beautifully but painfully less and less....  
 Why on Sabbath after Sabbath do the empty pews stare the preacher in the face? Why do his words fall on wood and cushions and disturb no one there?  
 ...Why am I compelled to feel, Sabbath after Sabbath, as if we were almost acting a farce here...  
 Walk down Baltimore St. or any business street in this city and the hours supposed to be devoted to rest and spiritual elevation are given to unrest and material degradation....  
 If you as a community firmly believe that this day is the Sabbath then rest on it and make it a Sabbath....  
 There is not a man nor a woman of this congregational body who cannot if he or she will spend here an hour or an hour and one half on Sabbath morning....<sup>90</sup>

Philipson concluded with a daring proposition, laying his position on the line:

If you will not be edified and rejoiced by this union with your own every week in the house of God no word or complaint shall more be heard from this pulpit because of the non attendance of worship....  
 The proverb (Prov. 21:2; Philipson erroneously recorded it as Prov. 20:2) says every way of a man seemeth right in his own eyes; does this way seem right to you?<sup>91</sup>

It is uncertain how this matter concluded, but it is probable that attendance improved somewhat; no more was publically heard from Philipson on this matter while at Baltimore. Aside from the immediate effects of inspiring his flock, this episode undoubtedly helped Philipson's rabbinic self-image and proved to him his own courage and fealty to principle, as well as his willingness to openly be

the spiritual leader. Two years later Philipson confided privately in his diary regarding the same issue, and admitted a troubling conundrum: "...true solid moral instruction from the pulpit is what our age needs, but to bring all to hear it is the problem...As long as Sunday lectures or any other days lectures will fill the need let us not have the (Sabbath) service..."<sup>92</sup> This was a never-resolved problem; two years later in Cincinnati Philipson would recant this position.

While in Baltimore David Philipson endured his first personal sufferings, which also helped to mature the young man. In his family, Philipson was closest to his mother, of whom he once wrote, "...all that I am I owe to my angel mother."<sup>93</sup> He was the apple of her eye: the eldest of her children who shared with her the same birthday. As a student in Cincinnati David often would visit his family on holidays, and served dutifully as the eldest son. Once settled in Baltimore, Philipson regularly corresponded with his mother, who claimed to have spoiled David by her weekly letters. Her death in October, 1884, was a blow to David, who had just turned 22 years old. He would always remember her, and set her on a pedestal as the eshet chayil,<sup>94</sup> a similar pedestal to the one on which he would shortly place his wife.

Philipson also suffered periodic depressions while in Baltimore, a condition which would continue throughout his

life. This melancholy was aside from his Spring, 1884, nervous collapse and it obviously troubled Philipson. In the particularly difficult Winter of 1888 Philipson brooded: "What are these states of despondency that overtake one without any seeming cause?...Why should we experience any such sensation? Everything should have its proximate cause. For this I can imagine none."<sup>95</sup> After rearranging his study to get more sunlight, Philipson wrote: "The cure for depression is such bright surroundings."<sup>96</sup> A sensitive man who by dint of his rabbinic duties and his self-appointed charge to remain a Jewish, Panglossian optimist, David Philipson allowed himself few outlets for sadness, depression or disillusionment. Philipson's diaries, when kept, bore a large brunt of these passions. To a psycho-historian, Philipson's periodic melancholy coupled with his seemingly unbridled optimism, especially in his later, somewhat defeated years, would make an interesting investigation; this is all the more interesting in that the condition appeared right from the start. To the amateur, Philipson may evince a manic-depressive nature, which naturally would fuel both his enormous drive and energy, as well as his sourness, self-absorption and severity.

Another aspect of Philipson's character which began to blossom in Baltimore was his cultured, stately, solemn, controlled presence as a dignified rabbi. In addition to the goatee he grew to gain respect, Philipson also

established himself by acquiring an air of gentlemanliness. What brought about this transformation of the unruly, uncultured, Midwestern student into a nouveau-East Coast sophisticate? Many factors were involved, not the least of which was David Philipson's need to compensate for his youthful demeanor and inexperience which would encumber his performance as the community's religious officiant. Additionally, the culture and kultur of Baltimore's established German Jewish gentry impressed Philipson and was accessible to him; he often was entertained by his congregants.<sup>97</sup> Here was an opportunity for Philipson to begin building himself in Lilienthal's image.

This stance was substantially augmented when Philipson began calling on one of the girls in his weekly women's Bible class, Ella Hollander, the daughter of the very powerful Moses Hollander. Philipson admired and respected Ella's charm and refinement, and through successfully courting and marrying her, Philipson also acquired a polished, well-bred, almost "stuffed shirt" mien. Ella was primarily responsible for the cultivation of David, as was to a lesser degree the rest of the Baltimore society with whom Philipson hobnobbed.<sup>98</sup> All of this bred in David Philipson an air of superiority which would be manifested throughout his career. Again, this represented substantial vertical class movement for the son of a Jewish postman; marrying well brought access to, and conditional acceptance

into the American Jewish gentility. For this privilege, Philipson always remained deferential to the Baltimore elites, and especially to Ella and the Hollander family.

In addition to preaching, teaching and pastoral work, Philipson soon became very busy with other rabbinic and civic duties. After a slow start, Philipson began writing articles for a number of Jewish periodicals, including The Jewish Exponent, The Menorah Monthly, The Israelite, and The American Hebrew.<sup>99</sup> He participated in other literary pursuits, including attending the inaugural meeting of the Jewish Publication Society in Spring, 1888, and advising his H.U.C. schoolmate, Clifton Levy, regarding the formation of a new Jewish publication.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, Philipson's Winter, 1888, lectures on 'the Jew in English fiction' were so well received that "...many requested (Philipson) to have them published in book form...",<sup>101</sup> resulting in Philipson's first book, The Jew in English Fiction (Cincinnati, 1889). Also, Philipson became involved in community service: he served on the board of the Charity Organization Society, contended with unwelcome proselytization, and spoke at the Hebrew Benevolent Society.<sup>102</sup> He saw this work as the practical side of his optimistic Jewish philosophy, especially regarding ameliorating the condition of Eastern European immigrants who had begun arriving in Baltimore (see chapter three for an outline of Philipson's Jewish philosophy). Reflecting on this work, Philipson wrote:



"...(the Russian immigrant children) will become thoroughly American and forget the terrible ordeals through which in a barbarous land they were compelled to pass." and, "The great question is how to prevent pauperism."<sup>103</sup> All in all, this literary and civic work served a valuable purpose for David Philipson: it broadened his horizons and enabled him to develop a larger, local and national standing as a rabbi. Philipson began to build and establish his own rabbinate and patterns, including his important focuses on scholarship and literary efforts, community work on behalf of Jews and gentiles, and organizational participation.

#### To the Banks of the Ohio

Pittsburgh, 1885...Cincinnati, 1888

Philipson's expanding rabbinate also put him in contact with other rabbis outside of Baltimore. The first such meeting was in January, 1885, when Philipson journeyed to New York to attend an East Coast ministers conference. He had, been tactfully invited to participate in the conference by one of its conveners, Dr. Gustav Gottheil of New York's Temple Emanu-El. Gottheil was very aware of the current tensions in American liberal Judaism between the Cincinnatians, led by the moderate Isaac Wise and his influential laymen, and certain East Coast leaders, including Gottheil and Kaufmann Kohler, who were influenced by the legacy of the late radical, David Einhorn. The

quarrel basically centered about leadership, control and the direction of Reform Judaism. Dr. Gottheil was sensitive to Philipson's unique position of having a foot in both camps - he was a disciple of Wise officiating in the Einhorn synagogue. When he invited Philipson to attend and to deliver an address about the College, Gottheil wrote: "You may rest assured that nothing will be allowed at our meetings that could compromise you or place you in a false position with regard to Cincinnati."<sup>104</sup> Philipson attended and spoke, and began an important, lasting relationship with, ironically, the rival to Isaac M. Wise, namely Kaufmann Kohler. Nevertheless, Philipson's excursion and address apparently passed trouble free; a year later Gottheil invited Philipson to come to New York to be his assistant!<sup>105</sup> Philipson declined, but he undoubtedly appreciated both the offer and Gottheil's sensitive, non-exploitive handling of his bipartisanism at the conference. Such tolerance was unique in that day, however; soon, Philipson's position would be politically used in a drama that would define the denominational lines of American Jewry.

In the months following the New York rabbinic conference Philipson and Kohler began a correspondence. Philipson's concern was with the English translation of Olat Tamid, the prayerbook written by David Einhorn which was still used at Har Sinai. He sought Kohler's opinion

regarding revising the prayerbook. In March, 1885, Kohler, who was a son-in-law of Einhorn, advised against any radical plans, but three months later Kohler changed his mind. Together with Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, another Einhorn son-in-law, and David Einhorn's widow, Kohler consented to support the endeavor, and agreed "...to take the revision of the English Prayerbook into our own hands."<sup>106</sup> What was behind Kohler's - indeed the Einhorn clan's - change of position?

In the Summer of 1885, Kohler became embroiled in an ideological debate from pulpit and press with the new American arrival and the champion of Jewish conservatism, Alexander Kohut. Their debate captured American Jewry, and compelled Kohler to consider the state of Reform Judaism in America. He wrote to Philipson in July, "Excuse my long delay in answering your letter of June 17th but you may gess [sic] the reason.... Reform requires consolidation.... Let us at once revise both Prayerbook, or Ritual and Sabbath School system (all emphases Kohler's). Those that shall respond to my call...are certainly all welcome."<sup>107</sup> Thus, Kohler had begun to conceive of a rabbinic conference as early as July, and his scope was as much regarding the practical matters of a prayerbook as the ideological definition of the embattled movement. He concluded in his letter to Philipson, "The two points mentioned by you in regard to the English Prayerbook have my full endorsement. We sadly need a Reform organ. Would or could you work for

the support, financial and literary, of such an one?"<sup>107a</sup> At that time there were predominantly two Reform Jewish prayerbooks in use in the United States: Olat Tamid of Einhorn origin, and Minhag America produced by Isaac M. Wise. Additionally, both Wise and Kohler "captained regiments" within American Jewry which used their respective prayerbooks, and they each envisioned an American Jewry united in organization and ritual. Hence, Kohler recognized the plum which was Philipson: here was a Wise product who not only officiated in the Einhorn synagogue with the Einhorn prayerbook, but who was interested in developing that prayerbook into something greater. Kohler began to nurture Philipson as a colleague, undoubtedly hoping to gain a new partisan comrade, or at least some support in what he envisioned would become a Wise/Kohler-Einhorn ideological showdown. The path to the eventual Pittsburgh Conference and Platform was being laid.

Throughout the fall Kohler and Philipson continued to correspond. Kohler was trying to establish a date and a location for a Reform conference; he knew what the issue would be: "We must unite on principles! We want work, action, and concerted action!"<sup>108</sup> But where would this take place, and why? Kohler proposed Baltimore or Pittsburgh, with Baltimore as the first choice.<sup>109</sup> Obviously, Kohler desired to have the conference not in the South or Midwest where Wise's influence was great, nor in New York City or

Philadelphia where the Kohut supporters could make a scene. Also, Philadelphia still smacked of the 1869 conference. Kohler desired a location which was not neutral, either. Baltimore, despite the presence of Benjamin Szold of the Historical School, would offer the most advantages to Kohler. Despite Einhorn's death six years earlier, and despite his absence from the city for a quarter century, Baltimore was still an Einhorn stronghold because of Har Sinai and its memory. Its very atmosphere would support Kohler's agenda. Furthermore, Philipson's helping presence was a boon to Kohler. He had been cultivating the impressionable young rabbi, and had entrusted him with organizational tasks for the conference: to secure responses from Rabbis Krauskopf, Berkowitz, Aaron and Sonneschein, to gain funding, and to sell the idea.<sup>110</sup> Ultimately, however, Isaac Wise did not agree to a Baltimore meeting, despite his disciple's presence there, and he supported a conference in Pittsburgh. Baltimore was too removed from his sphere of influence. The compromise was eventually settled upon, despite Kohler's strong bid for his first choice. Finally, Kohler wrote rather sardonically in a postscript to a letter to Philipson: "...our friends betrayed little desire to go to Baltimore.... I think I shall propose Pittsburgh as place.... I shall see what can be arranged."<sup>111</sup>

Philipson's role in Pittsburgh was rather minor, despite Kohler's pre-conference trust and seductiveness.

Kohler had planned to hold at the conference a session to consider the prayerbook issue, and he probably hoped to consolidate the ritual of the many reform congregations. As Kohler wanted Olat Tamid to prevail over Minhag America as the dominant ritual, he wrote to Philipson, urging his special participation:

Dear Dr! I hope you will not disappoint us. We cannot spare you, particularly at the Prayer Book meeting. Besides, let us concentrate our forces and accomplish something creditable and worthy of a Conference of Rabbis! We must have you, and I wish you would prepare or suggest something in the way of practical reform!<sup>112</sup>

The "Authentic Report of the Proceedings of the Rabbinical Conference," which ostensibly was kept by Philipson who was selected a secretary of the conference, indicates no such meeting to discuss prayerbooks ever was convened.<sup>113</sup> It was probably too hot an issue for a divided house to consider. Nevertheless, Philipson recorded elsewhere that he was very taken in by Kohler's appeals and flattery, and in that year, 1885, began a lasting, significant friendship and colleagueship with Kaufmann Kohler, a relationship which would evolve into a very powerful partnership.<sup>114</sup>

Besides being a secretary of the Pittsburgh Conference, Philipson participated in it in a variety of sundry matters, but with an interesting twist: he was on the programme committee; he moved that Kohler's platform be considered by a committee, and then he was appointed, along with Kohler,



to serve on that committee; he spoke in favor of Sunday Services (notably in opposition to Isaac Wise's then stated opinion, and in agreement with Kohler, who spoke immediately before Philipson); he was appointed (with Kohler) member of a committee charged to prepare ritual manuals for rabbis and to report back at a proposed meeting for the following May in Cincinnati; and he signed the proceedings as 'Secretary.'<sup>115</sup> In all, Kohler's ploy seems to have worked: Philipson appears, at least on the surface, to have been in Kohler's camp throughout the convention.

Much transpired in the aftermath of the Pittsburgh Conference. When the Orthodox attacked the Platform, Philipson was too excited and involved to remain quiet. In Baltimore Philipson preached a series of eight sermons supporting the Platform's eight points, and he watched as Benjamin Szold lead Oheb Shalom away from the Union and towards the coalescence of a rival, "liberal" Jewish movement.<sup>116</sup> In his preaching, the young tyro entered the fray and cast himself forever as a supporter, and later as a defender, of the Pittsburgh platform. Years later he even would be identified with it when the Central Conference of American Rabbis prepared a new declaration of principles.<sup>117</sup>

For David Philipson, the Pittsburgh Conference was one of the most significant happenings in his rabbinate. It gave him a clear ideology with which to identify, to support, and to be supported by; it gave him a new partner

in Kaufmann Kohler and a position of honor among his colleagues by simply being accounted one of them at the tender age of 23; it gave him an identity. Later when Philipson would trumpet his claims to fame, his place in H.U.C.'s first class, his role in founding the C.C.A.R., his relationships with American Reform Judaism's great leaders, and more, he would always celebrate his participation in the Pittsburgh Conference. This was so despite his relatively minor role in the Conference; the significance was that this made Philipson a unique figure and provided him with an undeniable authenticity in his representative role within Reform Judaism.

Although his position in Baltimore was a happy and successful one, Philipson was not destined to remain there for long. While in Baltimore, Philipson considered but declined pulpit offers from synagogues in New York City, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Chicago.<sup>118</sup> It was not until an offer came forth from Congregation Bene Israel of Cincinnati, the late Max Lillienthal's congregation, that Philipson could be tempted to leave Har Sinai.

By late 1887 it was common knowledge that Bene Israel's rabbi, Rev. Raphael Benjamin, had fallen into some disfavor and was to be replaced. The congregation had already advertized in The Israelite inviting applicants to contact the congregation, but it also had begun private negotiations towards filling its pulpit.<sup>119</sup> The obvious route to take

was for Bene Israel's leadership to contact Dr. Wise to secure an H.U.C. graduate - a local product - as its next rabbi. To do otherwise would insult the College and its President, and cause bad blood in the Cincinnati Jewish community. Thus, it is not surprising that as early as December, 1887, almost a year before he would be installed as Bene Israel's next rabbi, Philipson received a letter from Dr. Wise, saying: "These men (the 'leading men of Bene Israel Congregation') speak of you or Keller (Heller?) as the coming man. I believe, however, they will finally unite on you."<sup>120</sup> Even earlier, a macher, Isaac Lipman, had written to Philipson suggesting something was in the air.<sup>121</sup> By January, 1888, Philipson was in earnest discussion with the Cincinnatians.

After months of deliberations in which the congregation dragged its collective feet, Philipson finally was elected as the new rabbi in June, 1888. He read of his election in the newspaper(!), and to his dismay learned that the vote had been very close; Benjamin was still appreciated by many in the congregation, and they had supported the incumbent. This naturally troubled Philipson, for he feared walking into a hornet's nest. He immediately accepted the invitation, conditional upon his securing a release from his Har Sinai contract, a prerequisite which was not so willingly forthcoming.<sup>122</sup> Har Sinai balked and even offered Philipson a raise if he would stay. It was not until Julius

Freiberg wrote to Har Sinai petitioning Philipson's release that it was finally granted. For Philipson, this was an early lesson in power politics. Looking out for its own interests, Har Sinai then required Philipson to replace himself in the Baltimore pulpit before he could depart for Cincinnati.<sup>123</sup>

Replacing himself also was not an easy matter. H.U.C.'s ordination was about to take place, and apparently no ordinees were available or competent to step into Har Sinai's pulpit. After corresponding with Dr. Wise, it was decided to promote for the job Rev. Tobias Schanfarber (H.U.C. '85), who had succeeded Israel Aaron in Fort Wayne.<sup>124</sup> Philipson and Wise greatly wanted to secure another H.U.C. graduate for the position in order to maintain Har Sinai's sympathies with the Cincinnati-based reform movement. Once Schanfarber was secured, Philipson wrote to Julius Freiberg, "... (it) is another victory for our institution."<sup>125</sup> Philipson was becoming practiced in Cincinnati's organizational politics well before his return to the city in November, 1888. Additionally, Philipson's arrival in Cincinnati was delayed until November because Schanfarber dawdled in securing his own contractual release. Philipson quickly became schooled in inter-rabbinic politics as he forcefully and uncompromisingly "pulled rank" on Schanfarber and compelled him to arrive in Baltimore sooner than planned; by then Philipson was eager to begin his new

position, and it was not good for Har Sinai to be in a rabbinic limbo.<sup>126</sup>

What was the magnetism which pulled David Philipson back to Cincinnati and fulfilled the wish of Max Lilienthal that "young Philipson" succeed him at Bene Israel? There were a number of factors which made Bene Israel a very attractive possibility.

Cincinnati housed the College to which Philipson still felt a debt of gratitude, and at which he had spent many happy years. Nothing had happened during Philipson's Baltimore sojourn to sour for him his views of the institution or its president. These experiences would come later. Additionally, Philipson once had planned to stay at the College and teach instead of immediately entering the active congregational rabbinate. Here was an opportunity to return to Hebrew Union College, and he looked forward to it as a labor of love, or at least as debt repayment.<sup>127</sup> In fact, Philipson and Wise had begun planning Philipson's teaching load even before Bene Israel had confirmed matters, and the two had to slow their deliberations. It was hoped that Philipson would put to use his Assyrian skills, learned under studies with Paul Haupt, to help build a new department at H.U.C.<sup>128</sup> For Philipson, returning to his alma mater - not as a veritable tyke but as an established, cultured rabbi from the East Coast - was a romantic vision! (Later, when the romance soured, Philipson would look back

on this decision as one which had sprung from the passions, not from reasoned thought.)

A return to Cincinnati also was a romantic return to the city of his teachers. Isaac Wise happily anticipated Philipson's "homecoming"; it validated the teacher and would strengthen the College. Although he claimed that he did not like "playing the bishop," Wise was pleased to install Philipson at Bene Israel.<sup>129</sup> Yet, for Philipson, as much as this represented a validation of Isaac Wise, even more it was an acknowledgement of the late Max Lilienthal. Here was the student being called to assume the revered pulpit of his most beloved teacher and friend; here was the chance to carry on his mentor's esteemed work; here was the fulfillment of a dream. It is understandable, therefore, that Philipson commenced his inaugural sermon at Bene Israel with a tribute to Lilienthal:

I thank you for the kindly greeting to me returning. It calls forth the fondest and most precious memories of the past, it awakens the brightest hopes for the future....  
Oh, friend, guide, teacher may thy spirit of peace further prevail, may the congregation that thou didst mould and the pupil into whose mind thou didst first inculcate the ideas of Judaism's glorious past be joined by the influence of love which thou knewest so well to spread about thee. This hour is consecrated by memory of thee!<sup>130</sup>

A final, yet very significant motivation for Philipson to move westward was his own ambition. He knew that the seat of power in Reform Judaism was then in Cincinnati, and



he wanted to be associated with that power and its institutions. Philipson's only real barrier in his move to Cincinnati was his wife's rootedness in Baltimore. He claimed to have won her over by displaying the opportunities for advancement that were in Cincinnati.<sup>131</sup>

David Philipson preached his farewell sermon at Har Sinai in October, 1888. In so doing, he closed what would be the happiest chapter in his rabbinate. He said, "Believe me, it is with heavy feelings of regret that I look upon you for the last time in assemblage before me as my congregation.... These years will always be to me, no matter what the future may have in store, among the fairest and brightest of my existence."<sup>132</sup>

#### Returning to Cincinnati For Better or For Worse:

##### The Wise Years

Just as it had in Baltimore, Philipson's career at Congregation Bene Israel (K.K.B.I.) also began with a pleasant "honeymoon" period. Despite some grumblings from Rev. Benjamin's supporters, Philipson got off to a good start: "...The entire Jewish community was keyed to a high pitch of excitement. The occasion (of Philipson's installation) passed happily." Philipson wrote years later.<sup>133</sup> He added: "Almost at once I was hurled into a round of hectic activity. I recall that there was a week in which I gave eleven addresses here and there. I began

teaching at the Hebrew Union College.... I was happy in my work."<sup>134</sup> It also was said about his return to Cincinnati, that Philipson was "...a very young man embracing with all the enthusiasm of youth the serious duties of his new position. Supreme confidence in himself and passionate love of his work were his armor and he went on his way unafraid."<sup>135</sup>

The success of Philipson's early work and his transition was aided by the generally fine climate and resources then present in Cincinnati's Jewish community and in the congregation, despite the murmuring of Benjamin's supporters. The city's Jewish community was quite remarkable because it could boast extraordinary leadership, including Isaac Wise, the late Max Lilienthal, the Freiberg, Bettman, Hoffheimer and Seansongood families, Moritz Loth, Alfred M. Cohen, and others. Indeed, the quality of Cincinnati's lay leadership, and its overriding sense of Jewish manifest destiny and American Jewish hegemony made it a community unique in America. That the U.A.H.C., the Sabbath School Union, and H.U.C. were established and situated in the city reflected the active interest of the laity. Philipson could write of Cincinnati's Jewry:

It has for years been the proud boast of the Cincinnati community that it takes greater interest in Jewish affairs than any other city in the country.... Still today the Cincinnatians lay the flattering unction to their souls that they are the foremost Jewish community in the country.<sup>136</sup>

In such an environment Philipson could not but jump in. His early Cincinnati rabbinate was punctuated by a whirlwind of involvement.

One additional element contributed to David Philipson's early success and acceptance. As much as Philipson's affections and relationship with Max Lilienthal helped shaped Philipson, they also softened the transition on the congregation's part. At Philipson's installation service, when Bene Israel President Max Hellman introduced Philipson by recalling Lilienthal's onetime hope for Philipson to succeed him, and when Philipson shortly responded with his inaugural sermon and invoked Lilienthal's hallowed memory, they were not hollow words.<sup>137</sup> Lilienthal had been Bene Israel's very beloved leader for nearly three decades, and his posthumous influence and approval - if it may be - carried weight. Philipson and the lay leadership consciously exploited the Lilienthal-Philipson connection in order to facilitate the rabbinic transition and, perhaps, to spiritually return the congregants to memory of an earlier heyday. In such a mood, and anticipating the support due to Lilienthal's hand-picked successor, Philipson was ready to begin what would be his lifelong charge.

Philipson's first task was to bring new life to Bene Israel's religious school, confirmation program and young adults. He quickly took charge of the school away from Jacob Kronacher, whom he described as a "dictatorial

creature," more "celebrated for the size of his nasal proboscis," than his pedagogy.<sup>138</sup> This was a dangerous move for Philipson, as a few years later Kronacher would become K.K.B.I. president. Philipson weathered the storm, however, and he loosened up the school, providing a less Germanic, more "modern" style of instruction.<sup>139</sup> Philipson also engaged himself with the confirmands, giving weekly lectures in a rather stiff, academic style. In reflection on his class of 1889, he decided to be more regularly intimate with his confirmation classes in the future - which he was - and to include a more liberal dose of books and discussion to enliven the course.<sup>140</sup> Additionally, recognizing the lack of programming and involvement by the young adults of the Congregation, Philipson announced at his second Kol Nidre that he was forming a culture association which would meet to explore current issues. It was vastly successful: a week after his invitation about 60 young people gathered and formed the "Culture Society of the Mound St. Temple."<sup>141</sup> This group of young professional men and young women grew and became a lively auxiliary of the congregation; it doubled in membership by Fall, 1891.<sup>142</sup> Philipson's relatively engaging, creative style of congregational leadership and teaching was a true departure from the earlier, Teutonic system of operations. It may reflect his native American, youthful pragmatism; it certainly is indicative of his activistic and optimistic Reform Judaism.

Philipson was aware and proud of his innovations, as he wrote in concluding his 1894 history of K.K.B.I.: "Judaism has taken new life, and of this new life this and the other reform congregations are the exponents and the visible symbols.... May the congregation proceed bravely on its path..."<sup>143</sup>

David Philipson's busy path spilled beyond K.K.B.I. into the larger Cincinnati and national arenas. Articles and sermons from Philipson's pen regularly appeared in Cincinnati's American Israelite, and even in New York's American Sentinel.<sup>144</sup> Locally, Philipson participated in the affairs of the Humane Society, the Board of Trustees of the Associated Charities, the 100th Anniversary of the Inauguration of George Washington, and Cincinnati's historic Literary Club.<sup>145</sup> His voice and his presence were becoming established, sought and respected. Furthermore, almost immediately Philipson began teaching at the College. Nationally, Philipson was elected to the American Oriental Society, and was courted by Joseph Krauskopf to work for the Jewish Publication Society.<sup>146</sup> Although the two had not been friendly since their student days, Krauskopf and the Publication Society needed the support of Philipson's growing Cincinnati influence. With both magnanimity and self interest Philipson agreed to help; in 1890 he confided into his diary of his "mistreatment" on the part of the society, yet in 1892 he would be asked to translate the Book

of Numbers for the JPS Bible translation, and in 1894 the Society would publish his second book, Old European Jewries.<sup>147</sup> An additional, exciting honor for Philipson was to participate - indeed, to deliver a paper on "Judaism and the Modern State" - at the famous World's Parliament of Religions of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair.<sup>147a</sup> All of these speaking and writing opportunities, together, began to shape the young Philipson into a developing public figure.

David Philipson's most exciting and important early national activity came in Spring and Summer, 1889, with the founding of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. That Spring, Dr. Wise took his young disciple and neighbor into his confidence and discussed forming a rabbinic conference. By 1889 H.U.C. had already ordained twelve rabbis and eight more were to graduate that June. Thus, Dr. Wise felt that he had enough support to found such a union; additionally, Philipson reflected that much of the earlier, rabbinic internecine squabbling had ceased "...owing indeed largely to the death of a number of bitter opponents of Wise."<sup>148</sup> Wise and Philipson drew up the plan to launch the organization when the U.A.H.C. was to meet in Detroit that July.

Wise asked Philipson to be the convener and the catalyst of the assembly: "Although he (Isaac Wise) was the inspiration and largely the author of the plan, he desired to remain in the background.... He asked me to assemble the



rabbis present at the Union meeting in Detroit."<sup>149</sup> Most likely, Wise was perspicaciously concerned with the enduring success of the rabbinical conference, and he wanted its initial appearance to be one sanctioned of and by the members, not solely by Wise. Furthermore, Philipson was a known commodity to the East Coasters; he once had been a respected upperclassman of the other HUC graduates, and he was completely loyal to Wise; he made a good deputy for the Founder. Nevertheless, the opportunity thrust Philipson into a temporary limelight, and one which helped cement the image of a Wise/Philipson cooperative union. Additionally, Philipson's position in front of his peers doing the bidding of Wise also resulted in his being elected the first Corresponding Secretary of the Conference, an office whose tasks kept him in touch with his colleagues in a public, official role.<sup>150</sup>

Philipson's local and national influence also was boosted by his post at the College. Almost immediately he began to teach Assyriology and other semitic languages, and soon he was teaching Bible and homiletics, as well. He was at the College four days a week, which was a source of great fulfillment to the still grateful, young rabbi.<sup>151</sup> At the College, too, Philipson was at first Wise's loyal man Friday. He traveled and spoke to raise support for the College, and he used his East Coast familiarity to make contacts for Dr. Wise. At least once, although he was neither an officer of

the faculty nor a member of the College's Board of Governors, to which he was appointed in 1893, Philipson acted on Wise's behest and helped fill a vacancy in the College's faculty.<sup>152</sup> Additionally, as a known Cincinnati rabbi, Philipson's recommendation was sought regarding the placement of H.U.C.'s graduates.<sup>153</sup>

The "honeymoon" at Bene Israel began to crack for Philipson before two years had passed. Despite receiving a well-deserved raise in October, 1890, Philipson found much which disgruntled him,<sup>154</sup> both with the congregation and with his once-beloved teacher, Dr. Wise. Philipson had two basic disappointments with the congregation: one concerning ideology and ritual and another regarding personalities.

By the Fall of 1890 Philipson had planned to institute new reforms in the congregation's ritual practice. He wanted to use more English to make worship more intelligible to the congregants, but he encountered resistance from the more traditionally-minded Julius Freiberg. The Board finally did acquiesce and allow Philipson a trial period to test the new ritual, but not before Philipson vented steamy aggravation into his diary's pages.<sup>155</sup>

One year later another rift developed over congregational praxis, but this time Philipson lost the dispute. Several years earlier, before coming to Cincinnati, Philipson had argued at the Pittsburgh Conference in favor of Sunday lectures, but without

abrogating the historical Sabbath.<sup>156</sup> This discussion and the solution supported by Philipson was in response to the question of how best to reach congregants who did not attend Saturday morning services. In Fall 1891, the same question was before the Bene Israel leadership. By the last decade of the nineteenth century when their temple building was still downtown on Mound Street, most Bene Israel congregants already lived up on the hill. No time seemed like a good time to trek to the city for worship. Nevertheless, the congregation's board was inclined to try late Friday evening lectures; its rabbi still favored Sunday morning lectures. On October 19, 1891, Philipson entered in his diary regarding the decisive board meeting:

...it was resolved to have Friday evening lectures. Let them resolve; I will not deliver them; the people do not and will not and can not come in that evening; if Sunday services or lectures are a giving in to the needs of the people, an innovation, Friday evening lectures were none the less so; late services on Friday evenings were never known in Judaism until Dr. Wise introduced them; they have not been a success...<sup>157</sup>

Philipson was deflated; the same man who wrote in his diary on October 29 that he would not deliver Friday lectures, wrote three days later:

Last Sunday they defeated Sunday lectures and voted to have Friday Evening lectures without consulting me; on Thursday evening the Board fixed the first evening and the hour, again without consulting me. I have been instructed(?) to lecture and just when

to do so. It is surprising that I have not been told what to lecture about.<sup>158</sup>

Philipson protested, but was defeated both in the practice he would be obliged to follow and in spirit; reluctantly he delivered Friday evening lectures.<sup>159</sup> The Sunday/Friday controversy remained a tension throughout Philipson's tenure: Sunday lectures were resubmitted and successfully adopted in 1919, reversed in 1930, and then reintroduced in 1932.<sup>160</sup>

What was the significance of such a religious policy defeat by the rabbi, and how did he handle apparently losing the confidence of his flock or its leadership, whose deference he needed to properly function? Philipson was miserable. In private he threatened to resign, and might have, had there been any likelihood of securing another pulpit.<sup>161</sup> However, the worst of his quarrels took place in the Fall around the times of the High Holidays, and there were very few prospects of changing positions at that season. Hence, Philipson had to gird himself and stick it out. He was still not yet thirty years old, and these frays can be seen as manifestations of lingering youthful righteousness and inexperienced, impolitical zeal. Despite the controversy and difference of opinion, there is no evidence that the Board ever was dissatisfied with Philipson. Rather, they probably saw this as an episode where the mature lay leaders needed to direct the young rabbi.<sup>162</sup> Through these battles, however, Philipson was

both soured and seasoned; he would have to rebound and continue.

David Philipson's disappointments regarding relationships and personalities were equal or more severe than those in the ritual realm. When he had departed Cincinnati in winter, 1883, to assume the Har Sinai pulpit he was a raw, malleable, untried rabbi. He had not yet experienced thinking for himself in matters of consequence. This was how Bernhard Bettmann, Julius Freiberg and Isaac Wise remembered the lad. When he returned to Cincinnati, however, he was somewhat tested, considerably more cultured and confident, and willing to stand on his own. Furthermore, he had been schooled in the radical Reform, Einhorn environment, but he was returning to the more moderate lair of Wise and the Freibergs. A clash was inevitable.

Bernhard Bettmann, a member of the other big temple in town, was the president of the College Board of Governors and a powerful, self-made successful businessman.<sup>163</sup> He was used to having things his way. Philipson and Bettmann had corresponded for months prior to Philipson's arrival at Bene Israel, mostly about Philipson's future role with H.U.C., and both seemed fairly pleased with the shidduch.<sup>164</sup> Yet, two years later the romance dissolved. Philipson wrote in his diary entry of September 11, 1890: "Mr. B. has been another bitter disappointment to me. The glamor of youthful

admiration has disappeared and I see clearly many things which were dark to me before."<sup>165</sup> Philipson believed that Bettmann felt threatened by Philipson's suggestions of change and his growing influence at H.U.C., and that Bettmann was working to limit Philipson's sway, most notably by keeping him off the H.U.C. Board of Governors.

Another disappointment for Philipson was his estimation of the wealthy distiller and Bene Israel's longtime past president, Julius Freiberg. Philipson and Freiberg also had corresponded anticipating Philipson's Cincinnati arrival, and Freiberg even used his great power to secure Philipson's contractual release from Har Sinai.<sup>167</sup> The two had fond feelings for one another, so much so that Philipson was somewhat shaken in September 1888, six weeks before assuming Bene Israel's pulpit, to learn that Freiberg had declined the congregation's presidency. The young rabbi feared losing the macher's backing.<sup>168</sup> This relationship also suffered two years later. In the same diary entry wherein he complained about Bettmann, Philipson also lamented about Freiberg.

Mr. F. is another disappointment as I suppose I am to him. He expected to find the boy who had left here seven years ago, whom he thought he could manage as he would but instead of that a man who had thought and read much returned and Mr. F. was much surprised. We will never be able to agree, he is conservative or rather orthodox. I am of the reformed religious school.<sup>169</sup>



In fact, it was Freiberg who was Philipson's opposition in the English/Hebrew controversy in the Fall of 1890.

Ironically and luckily for Philipson, Freiberg who had again been elected congregation president in 1889, declined reelection in Fall, 1890, sparing Philipson and the congregation what would have been a battle.<sup>170</sup> Within a year some peace had crept back into this relationship; Freiberg was no longer patronizing towards Philipson, and the rabbi also was more accepting of his deep-rooted, influential congregant.

Overall, in this period of crisis, the Falls of 1890 and 1891, Philipson was deeply upset about his position. He felt betrayed, unappreciated, and disgusted with his congregants. He saw them as unscrupulous, uncultured people who flaunted their limited knowledge and without license exploited their rabbi.<sup>171</sup> Sadly broken and uninspired, Philipson wrote on November 1, 1891, the anniversary of his installation:

It is three years today that I came to this city. Had I known what the fates had in store for me I would never have come here. It has all been a sore disappointment. It has been one long struggle.... It is a mistake for any man to leave the place where the dear ones are... I am not fitted to struggle with unscrupulous people who do not understand the finer feelings.<sup>172</sup>

Despite the depths of disappointment Philipson suffered on account of his congregation, Bettmann, Freiberg, and others, Philipson's greatest hurt was on account of his once

beloved teacher, Isaac Mayer Wise. When Philipson first returned to Cincinnati he was properly deferential to Wise. Yet, after he became settled and established, Philipson began to veer off on courses of his own. He became a regular speaker at public events, his by-line was seen in The American Israelite, and he developed into one of the two rabbis of Cincinnati. In a tribute to Philipson on his fortieth anniversary at Bene Israel, The Israelite wrote it best:

...(Philipson had to meet the) problem of laboring in a community alongside Isaac M. Wise.

As teacher and disciple the two walked hand in hand, but the public had to be forced to recognize the value of the young rabbi, seemingly impossible of recognition when compared with the enormous prestige of his famous colleague.

Without cheapening his appeal, or feebly imitating his teacher, but with a cool, refined and powerful application of his great gifts and devoted energies, Dr. Philipson measured strides with Isaac M. Wise.<sup>173</sup>

While the public had to recognize the young rabbi's value, it was difficult for Wise to do so. Except for harmoniously sharing a limelight with Max Lilienthal, Isaac Wise had been unchallenged as the rabbinic king of Cincinnati. Even with Lilienthal, the two stars really commanded separate galaxies, and they respected each other's brilliance. Philipson, however, as yet possessed none of Lilienthal's prominence, and Wise could not concede equality of status to him. Furthermore, Philipson was young, strong,

handsome, cultured, idealistic, and very importantly, native-born and accent-free. He had polish and potential, and he began to represent a threat to the very man whom he hoped would, in fact, graciously boost his career. Another crisis was imminent for Philipson.

Undoubtedly, a series of particular events transpired which catalyzed a falling-out of the two rabbis. Most of these incidents went unrecorded and are forever lost, but Philipson did recount some in his diary along with a sad and bitter description of his very troubled feelings. The clash over Sunday services or Friday services was one such episode; Philipson was openly opposed by Wise, much to his shock and resentment. Philipson wrote:

...it was Dr. W. who most violently and bitterly opposed, who aroused fanaticism against the movement, who succeeded in throwing the firebrand of discord into the ranks of my congregation and in temporarily putting an end to the Sunday lectures...<sup>174</sup>

Another episode was when Philipson agreed to regularly write for The Israelite, and requested the title/position of Assistant Editor. Wise's son, Leo, the managing editor, agreed, but Dr. Wise refused. Additionally, on at least two occasions Wise used the pages of The Israelite to publically contend with Philipson, which was again shocking and humiliating to the young and helpless rabbi.<sup>175</sup>

Although Philipson may have engendered some sort of responses from his teacher on the occasions when they

disagreed, the viciousness of Wise's retorts was inconceivable to Philipson. His only recourse was to quietly commiserate with friends, avoid the Doctor, consider another job, and spill his emotions into the diary. All these he did. In 1890 and 1891 he expressed desires to leave,<sup>176</sup> but that would have been difficult for Wise's personal patronage controlled job placement. At what may have been his most despondent time, Philipson entered in his diary:

Dr. W's conduct during all this time that I have been in Cincinnati has been the source of great sorrow to me. He was my teacher. He was one of my ideals. He stood on a very high pedestal; I thought him one of the superior beings but have found him to be only common clay. An ideal has been shattered. Sad it is, perhaps the saddest experience in my life; I would have given much not to have lived through it.... he is a man of great, of vast learning, of mighty energy but of a very envious and jealous disposition. He can not endure that anyone shall stand near him, independent in thought and action; he must rule.... he would gladly excommunicate all whom he cannot subdue, even his own pupil...<sup>177</sup>

Although Philipson could only resolve to endure the pain and press forward with his duties and his career, it was not easy; almost half a century later in 1936 he again reflected on these episodes and pondered, "Let me forget the treachery of supposed friends..."<sup>178</sup>

David Philipson's Cincinnati rabbinate during the last decade of Wise's life (he died in March, 1900) was passed

with much activity. In 1894 at the 70th anniversary of the congregation he initiated an effort to relocate the temple on the hill, and he kept the pot boiling until the new building on Rockdale Avenue was finally dedicated in 1906.<sup>179</sup> Philipson also became active in civic work, calling for improved city government and better public services,<sup>180</sup> and spoke frequently before local organizations. David Philipson's involvement with the United Jewish Charities grew, as well.<sup>181</sup>

Philipson also was active in scholarship. In the 1890's he began to research the history of the reform movement, and he learned much from Isaac Wise who had lived through a good portion<sup>182</sup> of reform's history. This research eventually led to Philipson's The Reform Movement in Judaism, and Philipson's hallmark as the historian of Reform Judaism. Also, in 1892 David and Ella Philipson spent the summer in Europe, where the research for Old European Jewries took place. That same year saw Philipson's publication, The Oldest Jewish Congregation in the West, issued.<sup>183</sup> Additionally, in 1892 Philipson worked with the C.C.A.R. Ritual Committee towards producing a union prayerbook, and later in 1894 Philipson collaborated with Rabbis Gustav Gottheil and Jacob Voorsanger in producing the Union Prayerbook II for the High Holidays. This brought a most interesting and enlightening experience for Philipson: not only did it broaden his publishing knowledge, offer him

a hand in shaping Reform Judaism's liturgy, and secure him a position among his colleagues, but it also brought Philipson to New York City's Lower East Side for the first time.

When the three rabbis had concluded their task, which they did at Gottheil's summer home in Yonkers, Gottheil, the rabbi of New York City's Temple Emanu-El, invited Philipson and Voorsanger to spend a day in the city. Philipson wanted to see the Lower East Side. Later, this historian of Europe's old ghettos recorded his thoughts on the visit:

"I shall never forget my first sight of the milling crowds in the New World ghetto. I was in a strange world. Squalor, misery, wretchedness. Russia had poured hundreds of thousands into this district. I felt that they were my coreligionists but it all was very foreign to me with my American upbringing and my American outlook."<sup>184</sup>

For the relatively sheltered, German-Jewish, Midwesterner Philipson, who obviously knew of the Eastern European immigrants who had been pouring into America for over a decade, this still was a shocking eye-opener.

Philipson had basically two reactions to the Eastern European Jewish immigrants: one from his German cultured, highbrowed bearing and the other from his liberal, optimistic Jewish spirit. The first response was one of distinction: these immigrants were coreligionists, but they were of a very different ilk; the second attitude hopefully envisioned the assimilation of these Jews into American (i.e. liberal or Reform) Judaism. "Whatever may be said of



the lack of culture, the ignorance, the superstition, the filth, the laziness of the Russian Jews yet all this does not alter the pitiful aspect of the problems."<sup>185</sup>

Philipson's appraisal of the immigrants was honest; he looked down upon the newcomers, yet he felt compelled to help Americanize them, if not for their sake, then to protect the cultured, integrated image of the Jew in America and, therefore, his own image and station. He saw these immigrants negatively; to him they were particularistic, clannish, uncultured Jews and either were observant or secular, and evinced none of the spirit of Americanism which elevated the German Jews. They could only hurt the established Jews should the latter be associated with them. Philipson and the German Jews were in a xenophobic quandary: they wanted to be disassociated from these newcomers, but in the gentile eyes of America there was no distinction. The only solution was to help ameliorate their condition and to Americanize them.<sup>186</sup>

Philipson participated in Cincinnati's chapter of the Society for Ameliorating the Condition of Russian Immigrants (The name of this organization is strikingly haunting. Two generations earlier in America the Christianizing proselyte, Joseph Samuel C.F. Frey led a missionary society called the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, which ostensibly supported converted Jews in their efforts to become Christians; but actually hoped to convert Jews; in

the 1890's Philipson et al. had their similarly-named society to support immigrant Jews in their efforts to become Americans. Both took uprooted Jews and attempted to reprocess them into new forms.<sup>187</sup>), he conducted an auxiliary religious school at Bene Israel for the Russian children, and he supported the efforts of the Baron de Hirsch Fund in resettling the immigrant Jews away from New York and the Eastern Seaboard.<sup>188</sup> Despite his seemingly magnanimous efforts, Philipson maintained his "us and them" policy of distinction towards the Eastern European immigrants for the remainder of his life. As a Jew of "German stock," he always considered himself better than the others, whose children he once described as "...grateful little subjects to work with."<sup>189</sup>

The end of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century for Philipson continued to be active, building years in his rabbinate. Among other activity, in 1898 he wrote the famous anti-Zionist resolution presented at the U.A.H.C. convention in Richmond, Va.; he was an officer and soon the president of the Sabbath School Union; he helped reorganize Cincinnati's interfaith Cosmic Club which sponsored years of good-natured study and socializing; he opened the U.S. Senate with prayer; he joined a fight to clean up Cincinnati's corrupt government; he chaired the committee to celebrate Isaac Mayer Wise's 80th birthday, and he used his influence with Governor Taft

of the Philippines to improve U.S. policy in that protectorate.<sup>190</sup>

During this time although Philipson's stature grew, Ella Hollander Philipson was not happy. Periodically she was ill, and she longed for her Baltimore friends and family. Apparently, she also was mistreated by some Cincinnatians for being "above them". The Philipsons' road was rocky: despite successes they also endured heartbreaking setbacks and continuous periods of doubt and depression. They would wonder if coming to Cincinnati had been a wise move.<sup>191</sup>

There was as yet one lustrous hope remaining for Philipson in Cincinnati. After Isaac Wise died in March, 1900, which left David Philipson as the unchallenged senior rabbi of Cincinnati, a void made itself manifest: the Hebrew Union College needed a new president. This was the never-stated-aloud, but golden plum which Philipson coveted.

The death of Wise created a very complex situation. Conflicting agendas, human ambitions, and political aspirations all focussed on the College's vacant presidency. There were many possible candidates for the position, and those whose obligation it was to fill the office, the Board of Governors, found themselves in an unprecedented position.<sup>192</sup> A 1901 survey of eighteen alumni of the College seeking their opinions regarding a new president yielded ten different names. Philipson received three

votes, two of which were second choices.<sup>193</sup> In this milieu of conflict and indecision - on many matters - no successor could immediately be selected, and two temporary presidents, Moses Mielziner and Gotthard Deutsch, served until Kaufmann Kohler finally was elected to the post in 1903.<sup>194</sup>

Philipson was both an active and a passive participant in the affairs during this time. At least two prominent rabbis, Max Heller and Adolph Moses,<sup>195</sup> lobbied on his behalf. Yet, factors beyond Philipson's control barred him from being considered as a serious candidate. Some people urged that the successor not be a Cincinnati man, in order to involve a wider constituency in support of the College; a New Yorker was their preference.<sup>196</sup> Some favored a known scholar, such as Israel Abrahams or Claude Montefiore for the job; others pushed that the man be an American scholar.<sup>197</sup> Philipson's scholarship was not in this category. Additionally, Philipson's old antagonist, Bernhard Bettmann, still presided over the College Board of Governors, and he opposed Philipson. In Philipson's estimation, Bettmann could not countenance any Cincinnati rabbi other than the B'nai Jeshurun rabbi, as succeeding Wise.<sup>198</sup> Furthermore, Bettmann preferred someone from outside; Philipson was too near to the College for Bettmann's personal comfort. He favored Abrahams, Morris Jastrow, or Rabbi J. Leonard Levy of Pittsburgh.<sup>199</sup> Yet, Levy declined the offer and supported Kohler. Levy argued

that Kohler's scholarship, New York and Chicago connections and seniority in age gave him presidential attributes which others, including himself and Philipson, lacked.<sup>200</sup> Despite these arguments, Philipson believed that he could have been elected save for one issue:

"I would not play politics. If I had I have no doubt I might have landed the presidency of the Hebrew Union College as Wise's successor.... I might...have obtained the office if I had gunned for it. But I would not. The dignity of my position was more to me than any presidency. I would not stoop to lobbying."<sup>201</sup>

This noble restraint may actually have been Philipson's rationale which cloaked his bitter acknowledgement of defeat. Yet, when all was said and done, Philipson was not the president of H.U.C., but he was left as Cincinnati's premier Jewish spokesman, and one of Cincinnati and America's most powerful rabbis. This was augmented when his friend, Kaufmann Kohler, came to town; Philipson sat in the catbird seat of power and his influence was great. He became "the uncrowned king of the College."<sup>202</sup>

#### The Kohler Years:

##### The Growth of a National Rabbinate, 1903-1921

David Philipson reached the zenith of his power and influence during the years of Kaufmann Kohler's H.U.C. presidency (1903-1921), roughly the first two decades of the twentieth century. His patterns and styles were set; now he

began to play them out, particularly with added significance in the national arena. After Isaac Wise died his disciples undertook leading the C.C.A.R.; Philipson was elected its fifth president in 1907. Philipson also participated in founding the American Jewish Committee, organizing cooperation of the J.P.S. and the C.C.A.R. to produce an English, Jewish Bible translation, directing the U.A.H.C./C.C.A.R. Commission on Jewish Education which he chaired for two generations, and continued scholarly efforts. Overall, Philipson's national and local influence grew, especially at Hebrew Union College.

Although Philipson was not elected H.U.C.'s new president, Kaufmann Kohler's arrival made Philipson the next best thing. Kohler's presence reunited the longtime friends and onetime collaborators. This time, however, Philipson was not the neophyte. By 1903, not only was Philipson entering his fifth decade of life and completing twenty years in the rabbinate, he already was fifteen years at Bene Israel and was Cincinnati's undisputed rabbinic leader. Kohler was the newcomer. Philipson's seniority, prestige, familiarity with Cincinnati politics and position on the Hebrew Union College Board of Governors made him the perfect support for Kohler. Philipson's assets matched Kohler's needs; the two agreed that Philipson was Kohler's "mainstay" for years.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore the junior did not deviate in his party line loyalty to the senior, and was rewarded with



nearly unrestricted trust and confidence. Also, Kohler intended to direct the College along a strict, classical Reform Jewish ideology of which David Philipson not only approved, but welcomed and supported wholeheartedly.<sup>204</sup> In such a relationship, Philipson's influence waxed enormously great, and he became the College's uncrowned monarch. Years later he reflected on Kohler: "A great scholar but no executive. I supported him loyally."<sup>205</sup>

Kohler used Philipson and sought his opinion and partnership in many issues. Kohler often invited Philipson to address the students, officially and unofficially.<sup>206</sup> Philipson chaired the Board's Committee on Filling Vacancies in the Faculty in which role he worked closely with Kohler to secure and promote the men that they wished. Philipson also chaired the Committee on Admissions, thus wielding a hand in the selection of the College's student body, and ultimately, in the Reform rabbinate. Also serving on the Committees on Salaries and Scholarships and on Course of Study, Philipson thereby could influence the school's program, its students, the faculty and its direction. Philipson did all this and more, as well as at various times teach Semitic languages, Bible, and Homiletics (although he was in no sense a scholarly Semitist). Furthermore, in many letters and reports, Kohler admitted to acting or deciding on matters after securing Dr. Philipson's counsel. The two were a very powerful team.<sup>207</sup>

Yet, despite Philipson's secure station at H.U.C., shortly after Kohler's arrival in Cincinnati Philipson twice tendered to the Board his resignation as a professor. In May, 1905, and again in October, 1906, after having been prevailed upon to return, Philipson resigned from the College faculty. The circumstances surrounding these resignations are not completely clear, yet, somewhat reconstructed, they reveal controversies at the College, and how power and personalities periodically clash.

Philipson had been teaching Homiletics since 1891.<sup>208</sup> This was a very important practical subject, as the students needed to conduct themselves well on the bima, and preaching would be their primary means of instruction and of presenting themselves to their congregants. Thus, Philipson had significant access to and influence upon scores of early American rabbis. In May, 1905, something induced Philipson to resign the chair of homiletics; he indicated both in his published autobiography and in his private diary that Kohler wanted to teach the subject, and that he would not stand in the President's way.<sup>209</sup> In Kohler's September 26, 1905 report to the Board, however, he cast the matter in a different light:

Owing, however, to the resignation of Prof. Rabbi Dr. Philipson at the last meeting of the Board we have at present none to take charge of one of the most important departments of the College, the chair on Homiletics, and I sincerely hope that you will take the necessary steps to again receive the valuable, or

invaluable, services of Dr. Philipson given by him so assiduously and devotedly these many years. The news of his resignation has caused great uneasiness among the students and friends of the College and given rise to misgivings and misunderstanding; the sooner, therefore, the position is filled again by him who has reflected much credit on it hitherto, the better will be the condition of the College.<sup>210</sup>

Despite the cloudiness in these affairs, Philipson probably did resign, as indicated, to make room for Kohler, yet the latter failed to foresee the responses to the act. He prevailed upon Philipson, with the Board's unanimous request, to withdraw the resignation and continue teaching.<sup>211</sup>

About a year later another political incident transpired resulting in Philipson's ultimate resignation from the faculty, and which was not mentioned in Philipson's published autobiography. Philipson was never liked by Isaac Wise's grandson, Max B. May, who felt that the great rabbi loved Philipson more than his grandson, or so Philipson conjectured. Regardless, May arranged that the College's patron, the U.A.H.C., pass a resolution preventing a person from simultaneously serving as a College faculty member and as a College Board member. At the time, Philipson was one of only two persons in such a position (Rabbi Louis Grossman of Cincinnati was the other). Philipson thought that May expected him to resign the Board position and remain on the faculty, but Philipson surprised him. He resigned from the

faculty and arranged to be appointed a special lecturer in Reform Judaism, thereby relinquishing faculty status but retaining his student contact and his Board position and influence. Philipson later rationalized that this move serendipitously occurred at the moment his Reform Movement in Judaism was published, and Philipson was evermore hailed as the historian of the movement.<sup>212</sup> Philipson continued both teaching the history of Reform Judaism and serving as a member of the College Board of Governors until late in his life.

Overall, Philipson had acquired much power at the College, yet along with the power he also gained opponents. Despite his despal of political maneuvering by rabbis, Philipson was compelled to engage in it, and to somewhat master it in order to retain his position. Once atop the mountain, Philipson had to continually assert himself to remain on top, which also did not help to ingratiate him to others. His would remain both a secure position and a tenuous one.

During the remainder of Kohler's H.U.C. presidency - indeed until Kohler was succeeded - Philipson remained strongly in power and allied with Kohler. In 1907 when Kohler and the College became entangled in a messy affair surrounding the resignations of three openly Zionist faculty members, Max L. Margolis, Henry Malter and Max Schloessinger, Philipson not only stalwartly sided with

Kohler in accepting the resignations of these ideological incompatibles, but he delighted especially in seeing Margolis leave. Philipson saw the controversy as simply being one of insubordination; Margolis was an ambitious man who clashed on several fronts with Kohler and the College's positions. Additionally, it was commonly rumored that Margolis was after the same plum that Philipson sought: to eventually gain the H.U.C. presidency. From Philipson's point of view, Margolis' departure eliminated another contender.<sup>213</sup> Philipson also became very involved in placing the College's graduates, especially as assistants in large congregations. In such a manner he was able to offer patronage to many young men. Just as he chaired the admissions committee which oversaw entrance to the College, Philipson's connections also made him an important, if unofficial, placement official. Among the many young men during these years who were supported by Philipson, to some extent, either for entrance proteksia or exit patronage included Morris Lazon, Philip Bookstaber, Nathan Stern, Julian Morgenstern, Edward L. Israel and Jacob R. Marcus.<sup>214</sup> Many of his disciples and former students also corresponded with Philipson and respected him as a father figure or turned to him for professional advice. In fact, Philipson unofficially acted as a posek, sending out teshuvot to his students' shealot.<sup>215</sup> Indeed, Philipson's kingly role at the College and for its graduates was second only to that of

the president, and sometimes surpassed that, until vayakom malekh chadash - a new king arose over the Hebrew Union College - who did know David.

As much as Philipson's influence grew through his work at the College, it also increased through his work in other national and professional organizations. One such instance was Philipson's activity with the American Jewish Committee, which was effectively called into being following the shocking pogroms in Russia in 1903 and 1905. Following the first horrors, Philipson and myriad others made public outcries, but Philipson went so far as to propose a national Jewish organization to speak for Jews, and to unite the various groups which were acting independently. His call was made at the 1903 U.A.H.C. convention in St. Louis, but his resolution failed to bring an active response.<sup>216</sup> Others, too, called for a national Jewish organization, but the concept lacked the required critical mass needed for concretization. Following the 1905 pogroms, Louis Marshall called together thirty-four national leaders, including David Philipson, to consider forming such a body. The idea took hold. Although the concept was rampant at the time, Philipson overly prided himself on fathering the idea of a national Jewish Congress. He participated in Marshall's organizational conference (he was one of but four rabbis present) and served on a committee of seven to iron out the structural plan for the embryonic American Jewish



Committee.<sup>217</sup> Other than this initial work, Philipson's involvement with the Committee would be little more than serving as a District VIII member of the General Committee.<sup>218</sup> Most likely, he was the "Cincinnati presence" at the inaugural meeting, and his involvement served somewhat to placate the Cincinnati Reform establishment; the Committee was to be a New York City-run oligarchy. Philipson did not operate in this circle. Throughout his career, although he periodically worked with several of them and even was called to the Temple Emanu-El pulpit, Philipson always was somewhat estranged from New York's uptown Jewish elite. He was a provincial Midwestern Cincinnati who lacked the broad point-of-view of the New Yorkers; he did not belong in the inner world of the American Jewish Committee.

The national Jewish organization into which Philipson did most naturally fit, however, was the Central Conference of American Rabbis. The first two decades of the twentieth century also marked the height of Philipson's power in the C.C.A.R. (For a fuller analysis of Philipson's C.C.A.R. role, see chapter four below.) Following Isaac Wise's death, the presidency of the Conference passed among its leading members in two-year terms; Philipson was elected president for 1907-1909, becoming the Conference's fifth president. Not only was he a president, but he served on the Executive Committee for years and he was part of the

C.C.A.R.'s inner circle from which its officers came. Many of Philipson's close friends and colleagues also served as president in these years, including Joseph Stolz (1905-1907), Samuel Schulman (1911-1913), Moses Gries (1913-1915), William Rosenau (1915-1917), and Leo Franklin (1919-1921).<sup>219</sup> With his friends running the Conference, Philipson enjoyed a long period of great power. Among rabbis, Philipson was a force.<sup>220</sup>

Philipson's C.C.A.R. presidency was a lively period. In 1908 Philipson helped engineer an agreement with the Jewish Publication Society to jointly sponsor an English translation of the Bible. Also, the Conference went on record opposing intermarriages and supporting aid to Ethiopian Jews; it more avidly struck an anti-Zionist posture (which was, in part, Philipson's legacy for Zionist Max Heller, who succeeded Philipson as president), and it energetically entered the tract-writing business, with Philipson writing its second tract, "The Jew in America."<sup>221</sup> During his two-year term of office, Philipson chaired two conventions of the Conference, the second of which Philipson arranged to take place in New York City in 1909. This was the Conference's first autumn convention and its first convention in that city. In organizing the convention along these novel lines, Philipson sought to make a showcase of modern American Reform Judaism in American Jewry's unofficial capital, which teemed with Jewish nationalists,

secularists, socialists and traditionalists. The pretense for the November gathering was to celebrate the centenary of David Einhorn's birth, but Philipson truly sought an ideological showdown. He wrote in his diary: "I was president at the time and I was determined that the meeting should take place in the metropolis so that Reform and anti-Zionism should have a hearing."<sup>222</sup> Philipson got his publicity; he also invigorated his Zionist opponents of which there was a growing number in the C.C.A.R., and who were led by the incoming Conference president, Max Heller.<sup>223</sup> The personal antagonism of Heller (and later his son, James, who would eventually succeed to the pulpit of Cincinnati's rival Bene Yeshurun) and Philipson would endure until their deaths.<sup>224</sup>

Philipson also was a relatively senior member of the C.C.A.R. by this period, and obviously would remain so all his remaining days. Most of the Conference members had been his students at one time, and despite their collegueship would look to him as a senior statesman. During this period Philipson began to consciously foster such a relationship and to assert his historical claims to fame. In a floor debate when the 1912 convention was considering the executive structure of the Conference, Philipson announced: "I am going back into history now, because I was the first Corresponding Secretary of this Conference, and I, knowing the history of the Conference from the very

beginning...believe it would be well for us to abide by the old rule."<sup>225</sup> This was among the first public occasions when Philipson invoked his seniority for legitimization. He was still shy of fifty years old, but almost thirty years in the rabbinate; he already had observed twenty-three years of the C.C.A.R., and would see thirty-seven more before his death. It is no wonder that Philipson's positions later appeared passé: he invoked his historical connections for his authenticity, and he would continue to do so for nearly four more decades.<sup>226</sup> To a degree, Philipson may have hastened his ultimate antiquation by standing on history for legitimacy.

Nevertheless, Philipson still enjoyed much influence in national organizations. He was very involved in Jewish education. He chaired the U.A.H.C./C.C.A.R. Commission on Jewish Education, and thereby influenced the issuing of many textbooks. "Also in the publishing world, Philipson chaired the C.C.A.R. Committee on Revision of the Union Prayer Book which brought out revisions of the two U.P.B. volumes in 1918 and 1921, and his involvement with the J.P.S. went beyond the Bible translation into active service on the Publication Committee and numerous subcommittees."<sup>227</sup> Additionally, Philipson participated in the National Federation of Religious Liberals, he was a director of the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, and he keynoted the

founding convention of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.<sup>228</sup>

This period of the first two decades of the century also saw Philipson's emergence in the realm of scholarship. Most notably, his Reform Movement in Judaism, which would become the standard work in the field, first appeared in 1907. This book filled a void in the movement's identity and credibility; now it had a meticulous, if partisan and passionate historical study and an historian. In general, The Reform Movement in Judaism was well-acclaimed.<sup>229</sup>

Philipson devoted about a decade's sporadic research to writing his Reform Movement. The same period saw him produce two book-length selections of the writings of Isaac M. Wise, a study of Jacob Ezekiel, biographical research of the founders of Europe's reform movement, and some evaluations of local, Ohio Valley Jewish history. In this period, and leading to the First World War, Philipson began developing himself into a careful, if not analytic, student of Reform Judaism and American Jewry. This attention to American history gained predominance during and following the War when Philipson shed much of his Germanophile identity; thereafter, Philipson's historical work nearly completely focussed on the American Jewish front.<sup>230</sup>

In the same period when Philipson earnestly began to study the history of America's Jews, that history and the complexion of the community was undergoing a dramatic

metamorphosis which would impact on David Philipson. The first decade of the twentieth century, alone, saw a million Eastern European Jewish immigrants arrive in the United States.<sup>231</sup> The numerical and cultural domination of the German Jews over the Eastern Europeans was toppling. Additionally, Cincinnati's hegemony in American Judaism was rapidly yielding to New York.

Philipson was ambivalent in his outlooks towards the newcomers. Like a well-to-do, benevolent uncle - secure in distance and material - Philipson was sympathetic to their plight. As early as the first years of the 1890's, Philipson had established a religious school for the immigrants at Bene Israel.<sup>232</sup> He was sincerely devoted to the principles of Prophetic Judaism. In 1910 when Romanian and Austrian Jews were persecuted, as their Russian neighbors had been before, Philipson pleaded their case in his Rosh Hashanah sermon, "Have you read the tales of suffering, persecution, exile? ...If our Judaism means anything does it not mean this: to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to stretch out the hand to the suffering brother?"<sup>233</sup> Magnanimously, Philipson saw a rich opportunity in helping the immigrants: "...oh! what an opportunity is here for the bringing of the doctrines and teachings of reform to these bright, intelligent wide-awake young men and women of the Russian quarters!"<sup>234</sup> The prevailing spirit of optimism, belief in American Jewish



potency, and a developing American hegemony in World Jewry<sup>235</sup> all supported Philipson's viewpoint. He would proclaim, "Woe unto us if we have not vision! ...the blessing and prosperity which are ours here in America are to become the instruments of salvation for our brethren."<sup>236</sup>

Along with the optimism and sense of duty, however, Philipson also harbored a disdain for the new arrivals. To Philipson, not only did their uncultured, unruly, Old World style reflect badly on the established German Jews, but the newcomers also brought a devotion to Jewish nationalism and either a lack of religiosity or antiquated orthodoxy.<sup>237</sup> Despite the opportunity to Americanize and reform the immigrants, Philipson maintained a careful distance from them. The dissimilarities outweighed klal yisrael. Thus, despite active work in Cincinnati's assimilationist Americanization Executive Committee, despite pushing Reps. Nicholas Longworth and Alfred G. Allen in 1911 to support abrogation of America's long-standing trade agreement with Russia, and despite his opposition to general immigration restriction, Philipson practiced and encouraged a policy of segregation. As the chairman of the Committee on Applications of the H.U.C. Board of Governors, Philipson tried to bar Eastern Europeans from entering the College.<sup>238</sup> Regarding "young men from the East Side of New York," Philipson wrote to a New York City rabbi, urging him not to send these prospects to Cincinnati: "They have often been a

cause of great annoyance and disturbance. Frequently too they have not been in sympathy with the standpoint of the college. I believe I need say nothing further to you. You can read between the lines."<sup>239</sup> With such a policy, Philipson was not concerned with sending religious leaders out to the Eastern Europeans to bring them to the reform fold, rather he was protecting the College from what he perceived as unwelcome influences and philosophies. He was preserving Reform Judaism's purity from what Adolf Kraus had called "the riff raff."<sup>240</sup> In Cincinnati, Philipson could afford to be so parochial; while New York City was gaining hundreds of thousands of immigrant Jews every year, Cincinnati's population of newcomers remained relatively small and Philipson could look the other way, if he wished.<sup>241</sup>

Philipson almost became very familiar with New York City's Jewish situation: in 1904 and in 1911 New York City's Congregation Emanu-El sought him to assume its lofty pulpit. Following Gustav Gottheil's death in 1904, Louis Marshall sounded-out Philipson to see if he would consent to come to New York, should a call be extended to him.<sup>242</sup> Philipson craftily declined Marshall, indicating that he could not, in good conscience, respond to such a tentative sounding-out.<sup>243</sup> Effectively, he neither said "yes" nor "no," but pushed Marshall and his Board into making a decisive offer. The offer was not forthcoming. Philipson's true objection

was not to the nature of the process, but to the unspoken reality that whomever was selected would not be the new senior rabbi, but would be a coequal with Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman, Gottheil's assistant, for whom Philipson had little love or respect.<sup>244</sup> Silverman had set up this situation, and Philipson would not agree to it. By the nature of the maneuvering, it is probable that Philipson would have accepted an offer to be the outright senior rabbi of Emanu-El, had it been offered. Why else would he have jockeyed around Marshall's bid?

Even though with Kaufmann Kohler now running the College and Philipson's star being on the rise in Cincinnati, David Philipson undoubtedly salivated for the New York City position. Emanu-El's was the finest pulpit in America, and succeeding Gottheil would have been a signal honor. Despite the fact that Emanu-El's rabbi would be overshadowed by its great lay leaders, Marshall, Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, Adolph Ochs and others, this should not deter Philipson; he had endured Cincinnati's very great laity. Furthermore, Philipson had just lost a bid to be the king of Cincinnati Jewry, to be the College President, and a move to Emanu-El would be a very significant comeuppance. Additionally and ironically, in 1868 Temple Emanu-El had sought Max Lillienthal to be its rabbi, but he turned it down after the Cincinnatians applied great pressure.<sup>245</sup> Again, Philipson was in his mentor's footsteps. Yet, Philipson

made his ploy, and discovered that Silverman was too well entrenched.

Seven years later after Judah Magnes departed Temple Emanu-El in order to direct the New York City Kehilla, the congregation again sought Philipson. This time the scenario differed but the outcome was identical. Although the deliberations were more drawn out, and this time it was Isaac Wise's son-in-law, Adolph Ochs, directly, and the powerful Jacob H. Schiff who applied the leverage indirectly through Philipson's brother-in-law, Jacob Hollander, the results were the same.<sup>246</sup> This time the job was clearly offered, but Philipson wisely refused to share the position with Silverman. Neither could he countenance the congregation retiring Silverman while he was in the prime of his life, nor could Philipson take the job and then request the congregation to pension Silverman, as he was asked to do; either of which scenarios would disgrace or emasculate the men. Even though Schiff wrote Hollander "...that Philipson represented more than anyone else, the Judaism for which Temple Emanuel has stood these many years..."<sup>247</sup> Philipson could not be moved from his position. He was rightly protecting his integrity and his aspirations. Ultimately, after pressure from the Congregation's powers, from Solomon Schechter who wanted Philipson to come to New York and make peace in the Jewishly fractured city, and from Jacob Hollander who believed that New York was the right

place for Philipson and Ella, Philipson still passed his final "no thank you" to Jacob Schiff.<sup>248</sup>

Philipson's rationale in his rejection of Temple Emanuel, although distinct from the aforementioned issues, also showed some truth. When faced with one of the most critical decisions of his career, elements of the true Philipson came forth. As in 1904, Philipson silently craved the position. Yet, he was a man of principle, integrity and dignity, and although he could have grandly graced the New York City pulpit, the conditions of the move would have soiled him. Furthermore, in his letter of rejection he indicated that he could not leave Cincinnati where his influence, through the College, would be greatest. This was a thinly-veiled response to Schiff's words: "It is a call to duty.... It is not Orthodoxy or Reform, but Judaism or Zionism..."<sup>249</sup>

Philipson parried the thrust, writing:

My best contribution to our cause  
therefore lies in doing all I can  
towards shaping the views of these  
future leaders by word and example here  
where we have them in their formative  
years. Such to my mind is my duty at  
this juncture. And therefore I feel  
that I should remain here.<sup>250</sup>

The open rationale, therefore, was that as Philipson's Cincinnati stature had risen since 1904, and as Kaufmann Kohler was nearing seventy years old, Philipson would not leave Cincinnati for he again hoped to be the College's next president. This time the comeuppance seemed to be reversed. Privately in his diary, however, Philipson confessed that

had the Silverman issue been resolved and the offer been outright, he likely would have agreed.<sup>251</sup> The prospect of leading America's cathedral congregation almost surpassed any other dream for David Philipson.

Years later, after he had not even received the consolation prize, Philipson more soberly reflected, "I...thank my stars that I did not go to Temple Emanuel when I was so strongly urged by the committee to become the rabbi of the congregation. The traditional word about that congregation in the nineteenth century was 'strong in the pew, but weak in the pulpit.'"<sup>252</sup> After seeing the domination and treatment of Emanu-El's rabbis, Silverman, Samuel Schulman, Nathan Krass, and Hyman Enelow, Philipson was relieved that he had said no. Thus, he realized that he did prefer being a big fish in the smaller sea of Cincinnati - and being respected for it - than being a small, but possibly abused fish in a big ocean.

Ultimately, the Emanu-El episodes reveal Philipson's integrity, ambitions, and national standing, as well as the place of the rabbi in the congregational world. Even at the zenith of his power and career when he stood second to none in the rabbinate, Philipson, like all rabbis, still deferred to the powerful and substantial lay leaders. Although he almost won the greatest of American pulpits - the culmination of a fantasy - Philipson's dignity would not allow him to sully himself or anyone else to gain the post.



Nor would he let the post become belittled. His honor, however, also was a barrier.

The same integrity which twice prevented Philipson from gaining the Emanu-El pulpit, also twice prevented him from being considered and elected H.U.C. president. How ironic: if Philipson had a Shakespearian fatal flaw which kept him from the highest heights, it was the very quality which also lifted him from being merely a mailman's son to the stuffed-shirt gentry: the flaw was Philipson's over-development of a gentlemanly dignity and integrity which he thought was befitting a cultured American rabbi! Philipson would play out the bitterness of his disappointments at others' expense for the rest of his life.

On the home front in Cincinnati during this period, Philipson continued to wrestle with the problem of poor attendance at divine services. He hoped that when the new temple on Rockdale Avenue opened in Fall, 1906, it would help solve the difficulties. No longer would the mostly suburban-dwelling congregants have to journey downtown to worship. Nevertheless, Philipson was planning to introduce an early Friday evening service, and strive to again make Shabbat morning the primary service. He did not want to violate the family time which he always considered to be Friday night.<sup>253</sup> Hopefully, he looked forward to eliminating the Sunday service; it was "...better than none. At least the men can come, but it was merely a civil day of

rest, without sanctification."<sup>254</sup> This set-up did not last. In 1908 the K.K.B.I. Board reinstituted the late Friday service on the wish of "many members of the Congregation," and it remained in force.<sup>255</sup> Sunday services did continue, on and off, for decades.

In other efforts to increase Temple attendance and participation, Philipson turned to giving birthday blessings to the children on the last Sunday of each month, and to renewed observance of the pilgrimage festivals. With dignified pageantry Philipson paraded the congregation's children and their parents onto the "platform" to receive his blessing. For a long while this apparently was successful and popular; Philipson viewed this as a holy duty in which he was both loving and religiously awesome to his flock. Later, attendance of the parents slipped, causing Philipson to lament:

They do not grasp what it means to a child to know that the father and mother are present when it is blessed. Their presence would indicate for the child that the blessing is not merely a school function but that it is a very important matter.<sup>256</sup>

This matter actually indicates that to a real degree Philipson was not in congruence with his congregants on what was important. He also instituted a Fall Harvest service, modeled after church harvest/thanksgiving services, to replace Sukkot, and a congregational seder with local, nonresident Jewish college students as guests.<sup>257</sup> These

events along with intense preaching were all aimed at increasing attendance and stimulating religiosity, which Philipson thought was sorely lacking.<sup>258</sup>

Philipson presented a religious, moral message whenever he was on the pulpit in a religious service. He might directly inveigh against corrupt government or prohibition when speaking in public or in a Sunday Lecture, but on the Sabbath at the Temple he always preached a religious sermon based on the weekly Torah portion. Even when he did discuss current issues, like Zionism or the World Court, he always found a religious plank on which to base his message.<sup>259</sup> Furthermore, reflecting his Germanic sense of discipline, Philipson's sermons were consistently precise in their structure: they always began directly with the text, followed by explication, three points of illustration, and a conclusion with a charge. This was his prime - sometimes only - avenue of communication with his congregants, and he diligently provided them with religious instruction in the higher morality.<sup>260</sup> Later in his career he took serious umbrage at the younger rabbis who used movies, books, and other popular culture or current events as topics for homiletic discourse, or even borrowed sermons from other clergy.<sup>261</sup>

Administratively, Philipson was always in proper deferential compliance with his board. His was a day when the rabbi did not attend temple board meetings, but

communicated with the board through its officers or via the mail. Although Philipson conducted the congregation's religious affairs and the board ran everything else, Philipson still needed to secure Board agreement for most congregational matters. When he decided to organize a men's club in spring, 1907, Philipson sought board approval, but was rejected on the grounds that "...ladies be eligible for membership."<sup>262</sup> After a little more lobbying, Philipson received permission.<sup>263</sup> Philipson did serve as an ex-officio member of several board committees when the new Rockdale Avenue facility was being built, and he chaired the Committee on Dedication Exercises.<sup>264</sup> Yet, throughout his rabbinate, Philipson and the board worked in separate domains, but fairly consistently they supported one another. Philipson was always careful to properly and punctually convey his plans to the board, and he seldom encountered opposition.

Although he officiated at life-cycle ceremonies of his congregants and taught the confirmation class, Philipson did not develop a generally close rapport with his flock. He did fraternize with his leadership, and he would do the extra work needed to please the important people. Once he even wrote to Rebekah Kohut, the widow of his one-time institutional rival, Alexander Kohut, in order the place a wayward daughter of a fine, Cincinnati Jewish family in Kohut's school for girls.<sup>265</sup> In general, however, Philipson

disdained pastoral work; it was only later in his career that his outlook changed.

Philipson was involved in many issues during the first two decades of the twentieth century. An outspoken advocate of child labor laws, Philipson called child labor "...the Moloch of greed (which) is consuming the vitality of the children..."<sup>266</sup> He felt that because of their commitment to the family, Jews should be active in the campaign for saving the children.<sup>267</sup> Philipson, as Lilienthal, was equally passionate in his opposition to Bible reading in the public schools. It was his opinion that the public schools were a great democratizing influence, and they should be protected from any witting or unwitting sectarianizing. This was guaranteed, he claimed, by the American principle of separation of church and state, and Philipson energetically joined an effort in the press and in the Ohio legislature to successfully squelch a bill mandating Bible reading in the schools.<sup>268</sup> In a similar manner, Philipson was always vigilantly guarding against anti-semitic defamation. He would work with newspapers, jurists (including William Howard Taft and U.S. Chief Justice White), lobbyists and other civic leaders to expose or rectify an injustice. The Henry Ford/Dearborn Independent case which began in 1919 particularly agitated Philipson, and he joined the public outcry against the carmaker.<sup>269</sup> Early in the century Philipson was very involved in promoting clean government in

Cincinnati.<sup>270</sup> Years later he opposed prohibition on grounds that it would promote illegal liquor traffic (and privately that it would hurt Cincinnati's distillers, some of whom were important congregants).<sup>271</sup> Also, in 1921 Philipson arbitrated a wage dispute in Cincinnati's construction industry, which brought him further respect and the opportunity to serve his municipality.<sup>272</sup>

Philipson's most absorbing issues during this period, however, were his anti-Zionism and his patriotic, yet peace-seeking reactions to the Great War. In this period, Philipson and nearly all of American Reform Jewry were anti-Zionist (see chapter three for a full discussion of Philipson's anti-Zionism). When Philipson declared in an address at the U.A.H.C. meeting in Indianapolis in July 1906 that,

Reform Judaism and nationalism, or let me use the synonym for Jewish nationalism now in vogue, Zionism, are incompatible and irreconcilable. Reform Judaism is spiritual, Zionism is political; Reform Judaism is universal, Zionism is particularistic. Reform Judaism looks to the future, Zionism to the past, the outlook of Reform Judaism is the world, the outlook of Zionism is a corner of Western Asia<sup>273</sup>

he was giving voice to the mainstream philosophy, even though he engendered some opposition. Until 1918, following the Balfour Declaration, Philipson and his colleagues relegated their efforts to speaking, lecturing, sermonizing, writing and generally arguing their universalist position.



No organized or political efforts were undertaken, as it seemed to Philipson and the Classical Reformers that there was no need: the anti-Zionists had the support of American Jewry's most powerful men and they could not conceive of the Zionists making any real inroads other than noisemaking and clouding the scene. Once the Balfour Declaration was issued and acknowledged by President Wilson, the anti-Zionists awoke to the reality that their opposition had effectively organized themselves into an established movement, and would require a response of equal organization and effectiveness if the universalist cause was to continue. At this point Philipson turned from vocal polemics into attempting to organize a body. The subsequent years, with the San Remo Conference and the Lodge Resolution in the U.S. Congress, were critical ones for Philipson and marked a turning point in his own leadership and in the Zionist-anti-Zionist controversy. Philipson's attempt at organizing the anti-Zionist troops failed, and as the Zionists pushed their agenda forward, Philipson was reduced to again polemicizing from pulpit and press.

World War I also elicited great passions from Philipson, as well as from America and her Jews in general. Just as the War brought the United States out of an isolationism and aroused feelings of great American nationalism, it also caused a coming of age for America's Jews, and helped foster Americanism among them. The

established German-Jews underwent an identity crisis. Some, like Philipson, who always considered himself of this stock, became outspokenly anti-German; others were like H.U.C. professor Gotthard Deutsch who equivocated in his position and incurred the wrath and hostility of many, including David Philipson.<sup>274</sup> Philipson very publically combined high patriotic feelings with fierce anti-German sentiments, and was bitterly attacked in the German press.<sup>275</sup>

Despite his active preaching and speechmaking on the war issues, Philipson balked when it came to involvement in relief for Jewish war refugees. Although appointed a member of Louis Marshall's Committee of One Hundred to raise funds for Jews in the war zone, Philipson politely refused. He replied, "The Jews are not fighting nor suffering as Jews in a Jewish cause."<sup>276</sup> To Philipson, Jewish suffering in Europe was incidental to the larger war; this was not an anti-Jewish pogrom as was Kishineff. He added, "I fear that an unfortunate reaction will result against the Jews if it is known that there is a special Jewish fund. Jews will receive nothing from general funds.... American Jews should contribute to the general funds which are being raised in this country..."<sup>277</sup> On this matter Philipson and Marshall had fundamentally different views. Marshall was looking far ahead: war brings orphans and widows, and despite the bold talk about brotherhood, "Who ever gives to Jews?" he

retorted to Philipson. Angrily and satirically he added, chiding Philipson:

When was it that this new idea, that it may be dangerous for Jews to help one another, came into existence? ...It has not been recognized by our philanthropists, who have built up a remarkable chain of institutions intended solely to relieve Jews.... I am afraid that I am behind the times when I assert that the duty of a Jew helping Jew in distress was never greater than it is today.<sup>278</sup>

Philipson's view was honest and decent, but limited in scope and too rigid in allegiance to his principles of universalism and American nationalism. Marshall, by far the broader and deeper-minded of the two, urged a blending of Americanism with active support of klal yisrael. This same difference kept Philipson entrenched in Jewish universalism and anti-Zionism, but allowed Marshall to become American Jewry's greatest leader and later rebuild a compromise Jewish Agency.

After the War, Philipson's universalism and hopes again reflowered with the promise of The League of Nations. Philipson drew up a petition for the U.A.H.C. supporting the League, and he spoke tirelessly from his pulpit and elsewhere urging both citizens and the Senate to give the League a chance.<sup>279</sup> To Philipson, this represented the possible fruition of his ideas and the ultimate legitimization of his religious and human universalism. He was dismayed

and disheartened by America's eventual lack of support for the plan, and its consequent and ultimate impotence.

By the end of the twentieth century's second decade Kaufmann Kohler was nearing eighty years old, and was about to retire. Kohler's retirement and the eventual succession of Julian Morgenstern to the Hebrew Union College presidency marked a transition in Philipson's life, too. Many other events in the rough period 1918-1922 contributed to a major turning point in David Philipson's career at that time, but the change in the Cincinnati power structure was most telling. Philipson was Kohler's right-hand man and could almost call the shots; once Morgenstern became College President, however, David Philipson was, comparatively, on the out. He did remain powerful on the College Board; Morgenstern was not free to act completely as he wished.

Philipson not only aspired to the H.U.C. presidency upon Kohler's retirement - it is probably the major reason he remained in Cincinnati when he could have left for New York - but he was a natural, prime candidate for the position. However, there were other contenders as well, including William Rosenau of Baltimore, Philipson's good friend. After the Board decided against a hasty decision, they agreed instead to appoint an acting president.<sup>281</sup> Julian Morgenstern and Henry Englander, both onetime students of Philipson whom he had helped to secure H.U.C. faculty posts, as well as Philipson were nominated for the position.<sup>282</sup>

Philipson declined the nomination, probably because it was somewhat belittling to be placed on the same slate as two of his appointments, and because he did not desire the equally humbling, adjectival title of "Acting" President. Philipson also may have thought that should he be elected to the interim position, it might hurt his chances to secure the permanent post; he could not foresee the energetic path that Morgenstern would follow in achieving that very end. Morgenstern was elected by a ten to six margin over Englander; Philipson received two votes despite his declension of the nomination.<sup>283</sup> A year later, after vigorous work as Acting President, Morgenstern won the permanent job.<sup>284</sup>

Philipson became very bitter towards Morgenstern, not as a result of Morgenstern winning the presidency, rather, at the means he employed to do so. As early as 1917, or earlier, Morgenstern began plotting a path towards the presidency. In that year, Morgenstern, who was chairman of the C.C.A.R. Committee on Nominations, displaced Philipson from the C.C.A.R. Executive Committee and had himself, among others, nominated. Morgenstern also engaged in other subtle political gambits to gain the interim and then the outright position.<sup>285</sup> Philipson never forgave Morgenstern for what he considered the underhanded, dirty manipulating that he employed to supplant Philipson and steal the prize. Philipson recorded: "He used all the methods of the ward

politician. He degraded the office by his method of securing it. I have never known a ranker sense of ingratitude.... He has been simply contemptible in his attitude towards me."<sup>286</sup> Philipson also confided:

I was the logical man for the office and I was to be kept in the dark as to the plotting that was afoot.... Had I cared to, I could easily have instructed my friends in the Board of Governors on my behalf. But this was abhorrent to me. I would make no contest. Had the position been offered me unanimously I would undoubtedly have accepted.<sup>287</sup>

Other factors, as well, prevented Philipson from gaining the job which he coveted.<sup>288</sup> From his own estimation, however, Philipson was beaten when Morgenstern's maneuvering outplayed Philipson's dignified presence.

In his own way, however, Philipson did politick for the job: he maintained his stately, presidential posture and did not engage in demeaning scheming which could tarnish the College or its chief executive. This, he thought, would properly distinguish him and set him above the others for the job. Yet, in September 1922, when Morgenstern was nearing the completion of his one-year pro tempore presidency, Philipson did somewhat lobby for the job in responding to the Board of Governors when it wished him a happy 60th birthday:

The institution is very dear to my heart, and to have a voice in its administrative body, I consider a very great privilege. Having been connected with the College in well nigh every capacity, as student, as professor, and



as a member of the Board of Governors, I feel that I have been indeed as closely identified with the institution throughout its entire history as any living individual. It is my hope and prayer that during my entire lifetime I may be privileged to share in the work for which the College stands.<sup>289</sup>

It was too little, too sweet, and too late. For nearly the rest of his life, Philipson was in contention with Morgenstern, suffered insult from his former pupil, and lacked the same power and influence he enjoyed while Kaufmann Kohler presided over the College.

#### The Latter Years: 1920-1949

For David Philipson, the years following Julian Morgenstern's election to the College presidency - indeed, nearly all of Philipson's remaining life - were not generally characterized by the grand successes and innovations which his earlier years had witnessed. The remaining years included a fair measure of disappointment, nostalgia and defeat, which tempered some of Philipson's power and prestige. The early 1920's, especially, saw a number of events and issues which served to sober Philipson: open and successful Zionist agitation - especially the negotiations leading to the San Remo Conference and the Lodge-Fish Congressional resolution - despite the failure of the Zionist Organization of America; the quick rise to power of Morgenstern with the attendant diminution of Philipson's

influence; the growth of the second American Jewish Congress with its Zionism and somewhat Eastern European constituency; the formation of a rival Reform Jewish seminary in New York headed by Zionist Stephen S. Wise; increased world militarism despite grand hopes for peace which followed the close of the War; vastly increased anti-Semitism in the United States, including many university quota systems limiting Jewish enrollment, and the failure of the American Jewish Committee to control it; the election of the ardent Zionist, James G. Heller, to Cincinnati's rival Bene Yeshurun pulpit; the budding hegemony of the Russian Jews in the United States over and against the older German Jews; the growth of a new cadre of C.C.A.R. leadership from which Philipson felt alienated; and a wave of restrictionist immigration legislation which effectively halted post-war refugee Eastern European immigration, and also eroded the spirit of American liberalism.<sup>290</sup> It was a new era. Indeed, the Roaring Twenties were a period of prosperity, but instability, as well; Philipson certainly could not divorce himself from its disequilibrium. An historian of the period wrote: "At the end of the second decade of the century, the ideological thrust and the organizational momentum of the former years began fading away.... the inner strength was gone, even if the great words of another era reverberated in the air."<sup>291</sup> This description fit Philipson: his words still radiated and his presence was

felt, yet his force was subdued as the turmoil from the transition to a new world pervaded Philipson, American Jewry, and American life in general.

In the Zionist/anti-Zionist controversy up to this time, the Zionists had been playing "catch-up." They were struggling in the face of an entrenched establishment. The membership of the major American Jewish organizations (the C.C.A.R., U.A.H.C. and American Jewish Committee) were all very strongly German-Jewish anti-Zionists.<sup>292</sup> The Balfour Declaration changed everything. Following the War, the Zionist Organization of America emerged very strong and organized.<sup>293</sup> Then, the Zionists scored their significant coup when they received President Wilson's sympathies in 1918, and Philipson and his anticipated league could not even organize let alone present an alternative perspective to Wilson.<sup>294</sup> This blow awakened Philipson to the new reality, yet he was unable to cope with it. He had been the polemical, vocal, anti-Zionist standardbearer, but he was not an organizer. It would not be until 1942 when Philipson's younger sidekick, the firebrand Louis Wolsey, had organized the American Council for Judaism, that a somewhat lasting anti-Zionist group would be established.

The polemics continued. In 1922 when Congress was debating resolutions supporting the Balfour Declaration, Philipson corresponded furiously with government officials, especially with Congressman Julius Kahn of California and

the influential Henry Morgenthau, hoping to arrange a defeat of the joint resolution in committee.<sup>294</sup> In late April, Philipson went to the capital and testified for hours on behalf of his anti-Zionist position. Nevertheless, the resolution was passed supporting a Jewish homeland in Palestine, yet Philipson claimed a hollow victory because the resolution termed Palestine "A national home for the Jewish people," instead of "The."<sup>295</sup> Overall, the seeming Zionist victory as well as Philipson's semantic success merely translated into propaganda material for both sides, and kept the pot boiling. For Philipson, it was high drama and an official hearing for his opinions. Yet, it also was an open defeat and sufficiently controversial, even among the anti-Zionists, some of whom thought Philipson had erred in being too public and instigating. He skipped the C.C.A.R. Convention that year to avoid the hot battleground.<sup>296</sup>

Throughout the twenties and into the 1930's Philipson continued his anti-Zionist preachings. Although for Philipson the battlefield in the latter decade was the C.C.A.R., which was influenced by the influx of Jewish Institute of Religion graduates, Philipson still believed that the majority of the Reform laity remained anti-Zionist. It put him in a lonely position, as he did not receive much support:

The other rabbis (in Cincinnati) are all Zionists. But I believe nay I have reason to believe that the great majority of our reform Jews in all the

congregations are with me. But they are silent. They simply do not care. They are willing that I make the fight. We are indeed (in) a sorry plight.<sup>297</sup>

In the same spirit, Philipson even did not fully trust the ideological allegiance of his most trusted comrades. When his disciple, Philip Bookstaber, journeyed to Palestine for a visit in 1932, Philipson warned him equally with jest and concern, "...Don't return a Zionist." Although he heeded his master's admonition, Bookstaber still received a full reindoctrination upon his enthusiastic return stateside.<sup>298</sup> Philipson was insecure and feared infidelity from his diminishing community of loyalists.

Reform Judaism and the C.C.A.R. in the 1930's underwent redefinitions along the line of principles. It moved away from the strict universalism of the Pittsburgh Platform towards the more particularistic program of the Columbus "platform" of 1937. In this time Philipson verbally sparred with his rivals, especially Stephen S. Wise. The JIR president called Philipson "an archaeological specimen," and Philipson countered with a charge of demagoguery. The contestations were so bitter that Philipson resorted to a "hands off" policy, and avoided open debates and forums.<sup>299</sup> As Palestine continued to be upbuilt in this period, Philipson resorted to greater preaching against political Zionism. At the same time, however, he acknowledged and supported the positive development of the ancient homeland. Still, Philipson and the Classical Reform Jewish philosophy

were being outnumbered as new, previously unheard of agendas were taking hold in American Jewish life.

Although the anti-Zionist failures of 1918-1922, and the other distresses dimmed Philipson's prestige and power, he did remain a presence in many national roles during his last decades. Nevertheless, in the C.C.A.R., while he continued to serve on and chair important committees, Philipson began to feel outside the mainstream of the organization in the mid-early 1920's. He even complained to the Conference president, Abram Simon, in 1924, "For some years there seems to be a studied effort to keep me in the back-ground at meetings of the Conference, and if I were not so loyal to the cause I should long since have stayed away from the meetings."<sup>300</sup> Yet, Philipson could not be kept in the background. He was too vital and powerful a force in the Conference, and that very same year he was reelected to the Executive Committee, of which he had not been a member since Morgenstern removed him in 1917.<sup>301</sup> Probably, words from Simon aided Philipson in that issue.

For about the next decade, until the new Guiding Principles were passed in 1937, Philipson continued to serve the Conference, but with steadily decreasing influence. He chaired the Committee on Arbitration for many years, and helped bring a number of congregational-rabbinical disagreements to resolution.<sup>302</sup> He also chaired the Committee on Liturgical Literature for a long period,



despite a number of personal aggravations with his incessant opponents.<sup>303</sup> In the late 1920's and again in the 1930's, Philipson and a number of others from the C.C.A.R. and the Synagogue Council of America met with moviemakers and members of the Catholic hierarchy to forge an agreement to reduce immorality in films.<sup>304</sup> 1929 saw Philipson elected Honorary President of the Conference; the next year his reelection to the honorary office was contested by James Heller and Joseph Silverman.<sup>305</sup> For one who disdained rabbinical politics, Philipson was inextricably involved in them.

Perhaps Philipson's most powerful position during these latter years was as chairman on the Commission of Jewish Education of the U.A.H.C. and C.C.A.R. He influenced the production of dozens of books for children and adults, and he helped shape the character of Reform Judaism through directing the focuses of its educational arm. These efforts were not without their controversies, too, however. Most problematic were Philipson's relations with Emanuel Gamoran, the Columbia University-Mordecai Kaplan trained Educational Director of the Department of School and Synagogue Extension. Gamoran was a Zionist, and his nationalism at times found expression in his work; hence, there were periodic altercations between the Chairman and the Educational Director. After one such argument over wording in a text book the Commission was about to release,

Philipson wrote: "G's Zionism colors all his thinking. His point of view is at variance with the official attitude of the Union and the great majority of the Commission. We should never have engaged him. There is constant friction."<sup>306</sup> Yet, Philipson could not dismiss Gamoran for there was no one who could fill his shoes. They had to endure one another, and Gamoran had to concede to Philipson's wishes.<sup>307</sup>

By the mid-1930's Philipson was effectively relegated to a symbolic role in the C.C.A.R. The Conference had officially moved from anti-Zionism to neutrality on Zionism by 1935,<sup>308</sup> and was considering a new declaration of guiding principles. Philipson still adhered to the tenets of the Pittsburgh Platform, and opposed any new proclamation. In 1936, however, recognizing the handwriting on the wall (he had been "put on the shelf" the year before, when he was elected to Honorary Life Membership),<sup>309</sup> he suggested: "I am not usually in favor of compromise but if there can be unity among our Reform Rabbis and our Reform Jews, I would be willing to exercise a little forbearance and accept this declaration."<sup>310</sup> The next year, in the interest of that same unity, he moved the adoption of the new principles, an action which was rightly received by some as a noble or conciliatory gesture.<sup>311</sup> Philipson remained the somewhat antiquated senior statesman of the Conference and the movement until his death in 1949. Wisely, however, he

selected his involvements carefully: he avoided the 1942 C.C.A.R. Convention which was chaired by his arch-opponent, Zionist James Heller, and after keynoting the opening conference of the nascent American Council for Judaism that same year, he carefully limited his engagements to selected speaking appearances. Not only was he tired and elderly, but his ideas had fewer sympathizers. As a symbol, he represented a nostalgic, venerated - by some, tolerated - Jewish universalism.

Philipson's position at the College during Morgenstern's presidency was also somewhat stressful. The two were constantly at odds with one another, garnering support on various issues behind each other's backs, and periodically taking cheap shots at the other. At one point, Morgenstern had to beg of Philipson, who chaired the Board's Committee on Filling Vacancies in the Faculty: "With these considerations in mind, I must ask the Committee on Filling Vacancies not to make my task difficult..."<sup>312</sup>

After years of feeling abused by Morgenstern, whom the historian of the College described as "...seems to have labored under a compulsive need to destroy the older rabbi..."<sup>313</sup> Philipson suffered his greatest insults in 1932 and 1933. Philipson's 70th birthday was celebrated in 1932, and at a College luncheon to fete him, Morgenstern arose and thoroughly lambasted his onetime teacher and patron.<sup>314</sup> The following year marked the 50th anniversary

of the College's (and Philipson's) first ordination in 1883. As the sole surviving member of that class and the College's senior statesman, Philipson fully expected to be invited to speak at the occasion, but he was rebuffed. Morgenstern offered no invitation to Philipson to participate in the 1933 ordination in any manner, so Philipson boycotted the exercises - the first time he missed them in the 45 years he had been living in Cincinnati. Moreover, Philipson enlisted his influential New York friend, Adolph Ochs, to send a stinging rebuke to Morgenstern, and then Philipson dramatically severed his academic connections with the institution. After a tense week of negotiations and apologies, Philipson was prevailed upon by the Board to continue lecturing.<sup>315</sup> Nevertheless, Philipson treated his diary to the following promise of vindictive pleasure: he planned to rub in Morgenstern's faux pas of gross negligence "...whenever the opportunity arises."<sup>316</sup>

Philipson disagreed with Morgenstern on a number of other substantial issues, especially during the difficult days of the Depression. In the late twenties and into the thirties, Philipson had contended that the College was enrolling too many students. Unfortunately, the crunch of the economic crash, coupled with competition from JIR graduates, proved Philipson right. In 1932 only two of eighteen ordinees had found positions by mid May.<sup>317</sup> A few months later Philipson blamed the rabbi-glut on H.U.C.'s

president: "The ambition to have the largest rabbinical student body in the world quite blinded the eyes of the head of the institution..."<sup>318</sup> The College did reduce its numbers during the next decade; then, Philipson felt that Morgenstern's methods for dismissing students were sometimes unwarrantably harsh!<sup>319</sup> Philipson also felt that Morgenstern vacillated regarding Zionism, which may have been the case. Morgenstern tried to please both sides: he attended the 1929 Zionist Convention and recognized the legitimacy of Zionism, yet he also "...served notice on the Zionist members of the Faculty..." in 1931.<sup>320</sup> This seeming irresolution did not help matters between the two, either.

After his wife, Ella, died, Philipson established the Ella H. Philipson Fellowship in Jewish History at Hebrew Union College. He had hoped it would provide funds for students to do specialized historical work, and if no candidates should be available it would provide for the publication of studies preferably in American Jewish history. In 1946 he modified his will, providing \$25,000 in capital to produce income for the Fellowship.<sup>321</sup> By this time, Philipson had become relatively close to the College's Professor of History (soon American Jewish History), Dr. Jacob Marcus, whose book, Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto, was published with the help of this fund in 1947.<sup>322</sup>

Philipson's many national and international institutional involvements continued into his later years,


although in quite a few cases his role ceased to be central and controlling and was more advisory and representative. Philipson attended the special conference in 1926 to found the Synagogue Council of America as a representative of the U.A.H.C., and he periodically served on some of its committees. To his mind, it never fulfilled its promise of becoming the leading interdenominational organization in American Jewry because it was constitutionally handicapped by the need to pass resolutions unanimously. It was somewhat of a disappointment for the unity-loving Philipson.<sup>323</sup> Philipson also was involved in the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League. His influence in the ADL was inflated in the late 20's and 30's because his congregant, Alfred M. Cohen, was the international president of the I.O.B.B. While attending the World Union for Progressive Judaism's 1928 conference in Berlin, at which he delivered a paper, Philipson was entreated by a number of Germans to bring news of growing German anti-Semitism to Cohen's attention. Philipson, of course, promised to do so, and he remained active in the ADL and a colleague of Cohen until late in the 1940's. Philipson also had a high regard for the World Union, to which he was a C.C.A.R. representative for many years. He hoped it would be a liberalizing influence in the stagnant European reform movements. In 1926 when he was preparing to revise his Reform Movement in Judaism, he pledged to add a new chapter chronicling the global efforts of this new



organization.<sup>324</sup> Similarly on the international front, David Philipson supported the work of ORT, especially in helping the uprooted Polish Jews, and he became a member of the American Advisory Committee of the Hebrew University. For these organizations and many others, Philipson was an important Cincinnati connection whose endorsement could help a fund-raising drive, or could help fill a room for a visiting speaker.<sup>325</sup>

On the home front, social action was not among Philipson's highest concerns in his later years, as it once had been in his earlier days when he worked hard for clean government and opened a school for Russian Jewish children. Nevertheless, he did participate in the National Child Labor Committee. Also, Philipson petitioned his legislators on behalf of the World Court and for protective child labor legislation, he fought against militarism in education, and he strove to keep Bible reading out of the public schools.<sup>326</sup> However, Philipson's most involved extra-curricular activities in the 1920's and early 1930's - until Hitlerism and the Depression brought new, compelling concerns to the forefront - were in the area of Jewish-Christian Goodwill, especially on the university campus.

David Philipson always prided himself on his work on behalf of interreligious goodwill. Thus, when anti-Semitism began to rise in the 1920's it was both a disillusioning disappointment and a call to action for Philipson. A



shocking manifestation of this resurgent anti-Semitism was the imposition of Jewish quotas at many universities, including Harvard. Philipson berated Harvard for this in his 1922 Atonement Eve sermon, calling its actions not only anti-Semitic, but un-American, as well.<sup>327</sup> This is rather ironical because less than three years later in April, 1925, as chairman of the Commission on Jewish Education, Philipson presided over a meeting of representatives from national Jewish organizations interested in promoting Jewish activities and studies on university campuses. This meeting was held at Harvard.<sup>328</sup> Basically, the April 1925 meeting was in response to efforts by Protestants elsewhere to have credit granted to college students for denominational religious instruction given off campus. Philipson and others considered this an effort towards Protestantization of the educational system, and a violation of the separation of church and state. The meeting brought no substantive results, except that Philipson was identified as being on the forefront of Jewish organizational efforts to bring religious studies to universities.<sup>329</sup>

By 1927 practical results did develop. In 1925 Philipson had become excited by a pilot project to build the "American Association on Religion in Universities and Colleges." This organization aimed to encourage nonsectarian teaching of religious values, i.e. morals, on college campuses, and to promote equally the interests of

the major American religious groups. Philipson was naturally invited to be one of the Association's three Jewish directors.<sup>330</sup> By 1927, partially in response to heightened Ku Klux Klan agitation, the Association had become active, and Philipson was earnestly engaged in fundraising on its behalf. In a plea to the philanthropist, Julius Rosenwald, Philipson admitted: "To my mind this (is) one of the finest cooperative non-sectarian movements for the furtherance of good will and the stressing of the spiritual and idealistic elements in college life that has ever been attempted."<sup>331</sup> Philipson worked very hard for this organization, especially for its trial attempt at building a school of religion at the University of Iowa. The idealism, universalism, and efforts towards fellowship of the organization and its sponsors (which included Dr. O.D. Foster, Cyrus Adler, Adolph Ochs, Bishop Charles H. Brent, John H. Finley, John C. Agar and Archbishop Dowling) attracted Philipson, and after attending a seminar on interreligious harmony in the university, he once wrote, "I felt indeed that a new day was dawning."<sup>332</sup>

In a similar vein, Philipson was also very involved during this period with Rev. Everett Clinchy and the early National Conference of Christians and Jews. He likewise praised that organization for furnishing "...one of the few rays of light in the very dark age..."<sup>333</sup> Philipson especially used his fine contacts among the Cincinnati

Christian clergy to further the Conference's local work, and he was able to use his good relations with B'nai Brith President, Cincinnati Alfred M. Cohen, to forge a cooperative spirit between the two organizations.<sup>334</sup>

Philipson's efforts on behalf of interreligious goodwill in the 1920's and 1930's were directly in reaction to incidents of anti-Semitism. In addition to the university quota matter, Philipson was very embittered by the Henry Ford/Dearborn Independent slanderings, discrimination against Jews by New England resort hotel proprietors in the 1930's, and the terrible Nazi propaganda and atrocities. To Philipson, all these matters not only brought about various degrees of Jewish suffering and destroyed good relations, but they also fostered alienation and isolation of the Jews. Not only did the anti-Semites cause separatism, but the Jewish response, especially to those resorts which prevented Jews from lodging, was to patronize "Jewish" hotels, especially in Atlantic City, and thereby unwittingly enforce their own de facto separatism. Through this development, Philipson feared a recrudescence of medieval ghettoism. He lamented the apparent regression, and could only hope for a better day.<sup>335</sup>

Philipson was very busy with scholarly work in his last three decades. From his own pen, he published a number of books and articles. Also, in the early 1920's he helped

organize the Hebrew Union College Annual, and he continued to direct its affairs as Chairman of its Board of Editors.<sup>336</sup> Through this work, combined with serving on the JPS Publication Committee and several of its subcommittees, including chairing the JPS' Historical Jewish Community Series, as well as chairing the C.C.A.R. Committee on Liturgical Literature and the U.A.H.C./C.C.A.R. Commission on Jewish Education and influencing its publishing efforts, Philipson wielded much influence in the growing world of Jewish publishing. After revising his Reform Movement in Judaism, which reappeared in 1931, Philipson was pleased to see it selected as the February (1931) choice of the Jewish Book of the Month Club. This should not have surprised Philipson: half a year earlier when Ralph Goldman of Chicago was organizing the Jewish Book of the Month Club, he urged Philipson to join the Club's Board of Judges, which Philipson agreed to do.<sup>337</sup> Thus, Philipson had a hand in the popular, educational and scholarly publication and distribution of Jewish books. At various times he helped publish works of many scholars, including Cecil Roth, Sheldon Blank, Jacob Marcus, Moses Gaster, Alexander Marx, Umberto Cassutto, Abraham Duker, and others. In many ways, Philipson was in a pivotal position in the world of Jewish scholarship, and he was generally fair and genuinely concerned with quality and accuracy in the works which he supported.<sup>338</sup>

These labors, in addition to his own books and articles, gave Philipson much gratification. Not only was he influential and helpful, but his scholarship accorded him a permanent memorial. David Philipson never had children; quite possibly his vigorous scholarly pursuits, especially in his later years and when Ella became ill, were subconsciously intended to insure for him the lasting memorial which children could have done. He wrote in 1937, "...the activity from which I have derived the greatest satisfaction and comfort has been my literary labor."<sup>339</sup>

In Cincinnati, aside from the College, Philipson was by far the senior statesman in the Jewish community. His involvement in civic and Jewish organizations had never been greater; the list of his associations and his time spent serving these concerns could fill an entire career. Philipson chaired the Cincinnati Citizenship Council into the 1940's; he served on the board of the Associated Charities, and he actively supported the Community Chest. Philipson served as a director of the Mercantile Library and the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, and he was a member of the Cincinnati World Court Committee. He served on the Anti-Defamation League and the Board of Jewish Ministers; politically, he worked for the Charter Movement and especially for the campaign of Russell Wilson for election to City Council. Also, Philipson was an outspoken opponent of the city's political machines, of church-sponsored



gambling, of prohibition, and of child labor practices.<sup>340</sup> Overall, Philipson was a very significant figure in the Cincinnati community. No liberal or well-meaning organization would fail to solicit his support, and Philipson readily consented most of the time. In such a way, Philipson's influence was maintained at a high level for a very long period. He knew the history of the community and he knew how to get things done. Because his principles and prestige were well-known in the region, he was unquestionably looked to as a leader and a spokesman, not only of the liberal Jews, but of all the city's Jews and of the city itself, at times.

In the Congregation at this time Philipson attempted sporadic innovations, and he continued to struggle with the eternal problem of poor attendance at services. In January, 1928, Philipson began to broadcast his Sunday morning addresses over the radio. He was able to reach thousands of people this way, and he received several complimentary notes of appreciation from listeners. Yet, Philipson was undecided whether the radio ministry attracted worshippers or kept them away from temples. Although in his sixty-fifth year and quite attached to his own traditional philosophies and mannerisms, Philipson still was willing to experiment with new technology.<sup>341</sup> In another innovation, Philipson established a high school department in his religious school to try to capture the youth after Confirmation. This was

but a fair success: in 1935 eleven students graduated from the high school, whereas 61 had been confirmed four years earlier. The numbers bothered Philipson, but in consolation he was proud of the quality.<sup>342</sup> In 1936, Philipson also initiated two small, biweekly discussion groups at Bene Israel. These were prototypical chavurot, and Philipson cautiously hoped that this would be a channel by which congregants would be brought back to temple participation.<sup>343</sup> In the late 1920's Philipson turned to wearing a gown in the pulpit. He contended that it added dignity to the clergyman, and that it was neither orthodox nor reform. Philipson would not wear the "cap," however. In 1935 he suggested to a group of foreign H.U.C. students from Germany that they should adopt minhag haMakom while worshipping at the Rockdale Temple, and sit bareheaded.<sup>344</sup> Naturally, as a strongly principled man, Philipson was only conducive to those changes which harmonized with his doctrine.

The problem of poor attendance at divine services still plagued Philipson in his last decades. Time after time Philipson bemoaned the dismal attendance at Sunday services, at festival services, and even at High Holiday services.<sup>345</sup> Upset, he once called his congregants, "Philistines in the pews," when lamenting the apparent irreligiosity of the day.<sup>346</sup> This truly depressed Philipson. He had labored for upwards of two generations in the "vineyard of the Lord,"

and he felt unrewarded; he saw but diminishing attendance and seeming apathetic irreligiosity. Philipson cried out silently in his journal, "...I am rapidly losing my fine spirit of optimism...I must not lose my grasp."<sup>347</sup> A year later he reflected:

I thought that I had reached the pass(?) when the matter of numbers no longer has any weight and that I felt that it should make no difference whether fifty or five hundred attended a service. But last Sunday morning I came to a realization that I have not altogether reached that enviable state.<sup>348</sup>

Recognizing the need to bolster attendance, Philipson had been hiring H.U.C. students and assistants whom he hoped would help attract the younger generation to temple activities. This turned out to be a disappointment:

I myself am no longer a fount of living waters that can bring enthusiasm into others. I thought that a young man would be able to do this. Therefore, I took an assistant. But R. has proved a grievous disappointment.... The burden still rests upon me.<sup>349</sup>

This was a heavy burden and Philipson did recognize that he was, in part, responsible for the lack of service attendance. Yet, he probably never realized how passe and repetitive his preaching had become, and how uninspiring he had become to some in the younger generation.<sup>350</sup>

In the everyday affairs of Bene Israel, Philipson remained as involved as he ever had been. Despite having HUC students and assistant rabbis to run the school,

Philipson continued teaching the Confirmation Class until his retirement in 1938.<sup>351</sup> Since his arrival in Cincinnati, Philipson had opposed on principle charging religious school tuition; he wanted religious instruction to remain available for all who desired it. This policy was followed for decades and as it happened it was fortuitous: by the late 1920's most of the new children registering in K.K.B.I.'s school were from orthodox, probably less affluent homes. Philipson considered this service among the finest missionary work of liberal Judaism.<sup>352</sup> With the onset of financial constriction in the Depression era, however, the religious school boards of both large Cincinnati Reform congregations cooperatively decided to levy tuition fees. Philipson unsuccessfully opposed them. He felt this would deter some families from sending their children, especially since sixty percent of Bene Israel's school children were from nonmember families. Philipson was correct. Enrollment dropped in Fall, 1932, when the tuition fee was imposed.<sup>353</sup> This was one more occasion where later in his career, Philipson - the man of principle - was defeated by compelling practical concerns.

Interestingly, a lifelong custom from which David Philipson only deviated late in his career was his aversion to pastoral work. Something, most likely some sobering glimpses of his own mortality, persuaded Philipson to become more of a pastor. He always had customarily performed the

standard life cycle ceremonies for his congregants, and he had especially served dutifully his wealthier and more powerful members. Early in his career Philipson had believed that pastoral visiting was a job of the gentile minister who would discuss salvation with his communicants. Philipson also despised the clergymen who would visit congregants and engage in gossip. Yet, in the 1930's when he and Ella were both periodically ill as well as aging, Philipson learned to take comfort and find spiritual satisfaction in pastoral work. After visiting an ill congregant in February, 1934, Philipson reflected: "The duty of bikkur cholim, the visiting the sick has always been among the foremost admonitions of Jewish ethical teaching."<sup>354</sup> Although he had always visited the congregation's machers when they were ill, it was only when advanced in his career that Philipson discovered that even the average b'nai yisrael merited - required - sick care. In May, 1934, when Philipson was surprisingly invited by Stephen S. Wise to deliver the ordination address at the JIR, Philipson included attention to pastoral counseling in his charge to the graduates.<sup>355</sup> Finally, in 1937 after visiting a sick man in the hospital, Philipson resolved:

I shall certainly do so for I want to help the brave wife as much as I can. I am coming to the conclusion that the finest service a rabbi can give is along the lines of helping rebuild human lives. More and more shall my activity lie along these lines.<sup>356</sup>

To help build human lives always had been Philipson's goal in the rabbinate. However, late in his career he came

down off the preaching platform and tried a new technique: he learned to be with his congregants, somewhat. He discovered on a basic level the reality of human frailty and weakness, and most importantly, he discovered it about himself. After a particularly difficult pastoral call in Spring, 1937, Philipson conceded: "My heart bled when he bemoaned his lot. I felt my inadequacy.... Why, oh why!"<sup>357</sup> This discovery was a very significant one for Philipson. His later journals are filled with entries describing pastoral visits, and reflect a man wrestling with himself. He probably made his peace with this, and he endeavored to share his learning with others. In 1949 when Philipson was dying in a Boston hospital, Rabbi Beryl D. Cohon visited him and reported this conversation: "I said that I would be in again... I had to visit a member of my congregation. 'Do that,' he said, 'do that. Always visit your members when they are sick.'"<sup>358</sup>

Although Philipson derived satisfaction from visiting and comforting his congregants in his later years, he did not gain much satisfaction from his fellow Cincinnati rabbis. In 1931 the Reading Road Temple, lead by Samuel Wohl, merged with Bene Yeshurun, lead by Philipson's *bête noir*, James Heller, to form the Isaac M. Wise Temple. Wohl and Heller were antithetical to every aspect of Philipson's concept of the reform rabbi, and very often they were in contention with Philipson and even uncivil to him.<sup>359</sup> The



year 1931 also saw a new "chief orthodox rabbi" enter the community, Eliezer Silver, and Philipson failed to get along with him, too. Philipson privately called him a combination of the charlatan and the fanatic. Rivalling Philipson for power in Jewish Cincinnati, Silver learned very quickly how strong the senior Reform rabbi was. In a legal battle over locating a mikvah in Avondale, Philipson and his attorney, Alfred M. Cohen, defeated Silver and his attorney, Robert Taft! The acrimony between reform and orthodox reached such a point where Philipson seriously questioned continuing to support religious education for the orthodox.<sup>360</sup> It was very sad and unfortunate for David Philipson that during his last decades in Cincinnati, nay, nearly his entire Cincinnati rabbinate, he failed to enjoy satisfying rabbinical collegiality. As difficult a man as Philipson was to associate with, the other local rabbis often were equally thorny and difficult.

#### Depression, Despots, Despondency and Death

The 1930's were a hard time. Money was tight, jobs scarce, suicides increasing, pessimism prevalent. For the Panglossian optimist, Philipson, this was a great challenge. Could he remain hopeful in this era? Could he bring hope and courage to the forlorn in his congregation?

Philipson tried to lead his congregation. He felt it was his charge: "I feel that in time of depression like the

present it is the duty of the pulpit to instil courage into the people notably the courage that comes from the spiritual conception of life."<sup>361</sup> Yet, Philipson first had to work to convince himself anew, of his own hopeful religious philosophy. His journals were his sounding boards as he fought his own depression so he could lead his congregants (see below).

Bene Israel was hit hard by the Depression, as all organizations were. The congregation did not hire an extra assistant or H.U.C. student to help Philipson at the High Holidays in 1931, as it usually did. Members were resigning, but the congregation refused to accept the resignations. Philipson took voluntary pay cuts of one third his salary in 1932 and 1933.<sup>362</sup> In one week in October, 1931, Philipson officiated at two funerals of congregants who took their own lives. Despite conducting their funerals, Philipson privately was angered and disgusted with the suicides.<sup>363</sup>

Philipson worked laboriously with the Community Chest and the Associated Charities to try to ease the burdens. In April, 1932, there were 774 evictions alone, and 20,000 names (60,000 mouths) on the Charities' list.<sup>364</sup> "I have never seen such hopelessness,"<sup>365</sup> the rabbi wrote. To face the problem of the homeless, Philipson was appointed chairman of the Associated Charities' Committee on the Housing Situation and Evictions, and after meeting with the

Housing League in June, 1932, the groups hammered out a very humane, workable plan.<sup>366</sup> Philipson could not surrender his hope; to do so he believed would have been an abrogation of his sacred obligation and mark him as a failure. Instead, Philipson kept looking for rays of hope, fruitful plans, and spiritual insight: "The facile optimism of the near past has now given way to a realization of the real state of affairs."<sup>367</sup>

Fortunately, 1932 also was an election year, and Philipson found that he could not vote for the incumbent, Herbert Hoover, whom he felt was not equal to the task.<sup>368</sup> Instead, he placed his faith in the Democratic challenger, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Philipson and Roosevelt were spiritually alike. They both had deep reservoirs of optimism and strength, and they both had abiding beliefs in America, her people and democracy. By early 1933, although Philipson had just taken his second salary reduction in two years, Philipson began to feel optimistic again about domestic matters. Regarding FDR he wrote in Spring, 1933: "Confidence has displaced despair."<sup>369</sup> The new mood was exciting - almost millennial - to Philipson. Yet, almost at the exact time when things began looking up in America, Jewish spirits were plummeting across the ocean in Germany.

As early as the late 1920's Philipson began carefully monitoring the situation in Germany. When he traveled to Europe in Summer, 1928, to deliver a paper at the World

Union for Progressive Judaism conference in Berlin, Philipson inquired about the true conditions then prevailing. Leo Baeck told him that anti-Semitism was on the wane, but there were many who differed with him.<sup>370</sup> By 1931 Philipson was watching Germany very closely, and with every election in the Reichstag his emotions rose and fell like a roller coaster. In March, 1931: "Disturbing news is emanating all the time from Berlin.... The atmosphere is now very dark but this too will pass and the better sense of the German people will conquer."<sup>371</sup> A year later when Hindenberg prevailed over Hitler in the election, Philipson poignantly sighed, "For the next seven years Germany is safe in the ranks of social democracy."<sup>372</sup> By August, 1932, however, when election after election swelled Hitler's representation in the Reichstag from 12 to 107 seats, Philipson vacillated from praying "This too will pass," to feeling great anxiety. After the Nazi's polled only 37% of the vote in late July, Philipson thought that Nazism had run its course. "Thank God!" he cried.<sup>373</sup> He was premature. He also was silent the following January; the absence of any mention of Hitler in Philipson's January 30, 1933 journal entry (ironically, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's birthday) remains haunting.<sup>374</sup>

For Philipson, the German Jewish situation and the flood of refugees which poured out of Nazi Germany was a vastly different scene than was witnessed two generations

earlier with the Eastern European migration. For Philipson, the victims of Hitler's Germany included assimilated, well-to-do, German, Jewish gentry. These were Jews who mirrored Philipson's conception of the Jew: German by nationality, Jew by religion. This phrase was the very watchword of Berlin's Central Verein der deutschen Juden. These were the best of Europe's Jews: educated, cultured, patriotic, religious people. They were not impoverished traditionalists or secularists, socialists or Zionists as the Russian Jews had been. They were Jews like David Philipson, himself. Philipson was brokenhearted and frightened. Although he fervently believed that the same could not happen in America, and he openly preached that message, this development shattered the core of his universalist optimism, and a part of Philipson himself.<sup>375</sup>

Initially, Philipson believed that the Nazi situation was local to Germany. He believed that the "Jewish problem" must be solved in each country by the Jews and citizens of that nation. This view began to crack, however. He saw Hitlerism as bringing renewed medieval persecution and ghettoization to the Jews. This was his great fear, until it dawned on him that the real purpose of Hitler was Jewish extermination. With this realization Philipson became heartsick and could not console himself even with thoughts of Jewish survival in the faces of Haman and Torquemada; Goebbels and Hitler were of a different race.<sup>376</sup> Yet,

Philipson still held on to some optimism and hope, and he worked with the various boycotts, protests and relief efforts.

Philipson joined a Cincinnati mass protest meeting in May, 1933, on the condition that it was not only a Jewish protest, but a mass protest of the citizens of the city. Likewise, he joined in the anti-German boycott when it became a larger effort beyond merely a Jewish boycott. Philipson felt that the boycott was effective, for a while.<sup>377</sup> Philipson also was a member of a five-man committee to combat Nazi propaganda and influence in Cincinnati, and he called for greater support of the Anti-Defamation League.<sup>378</sup> What greatly troubled Philipson, however, was the silence of President Roosevelt. Philipson believed that Roosevelt, "...with his fine broad spirit is as indignant as any modern living man can be at the conditions there prevailing."<sup>379</sup> Unfortunately, Philipson and the Jews never received the aid and support which they hoped for and expected from the American president.

Throughout the 1930's Philipson protested, spoke at rallies, served on the Cincinnati Emergency Committee, tried to help individuals to leave Europe for America, and most of all, mixed fear with hope. He was distraught over the military buildup in Europe, and he was furious with the news of some Catholics sympathizing with the Fascist powers.<sup>380</sup> Early in 1938 when Hitler annexed Austria, Philipson's



prayers were hauntingly to the point: "...Our hope is in the Lord who will not suffer Israel to be consumed."<sup>381</sup>

Philipson's helplessness was consuming, however. America had not helped, the German people had not helped; Philipson could only trust in the Lord. Despite his own private gifts of relief, argumentation against Detroit's Father Coughlin, and efforts to aid individuals in Europe (Philipson traveled to Washington, D.C. in 1939 with Morgenstern and Solomon Freehof on behalf of H.U.C.'s Refugee Scholars Project), the hope was gone and the best Philipson could say was yemach shemam, in regards to Hitler and his confreres.<sup>382</sup>

The Holocaust completed a shattering of David Philipson. He was the man who once thought that he was living near to the messianic age - the best of all Jewish worlds. He discovered, however, that he was living in a protected island in the very worst age Jewish life had ever seen or could imagine. The success of American Jewry was a small consolation following the destruction of two thirds of Europe's once thriving Jewish community. The added pain that it was cultured Germany, the land which had spawned a Jewish intelligentsia and the forebears of America's uptown Jews, which was the villain also was devastating. The foundations on which Philipson built his weltanschauung were crumbling, and to many others they seemed faulty. Even Philipson had doubts. The unheard cry still issues from

David Philipson's silent journal: "Has it all been a dream, this Jewish emancipation?"<sup>383</sup>

The depression from which Philipson suffered at earlier times surfaced quite pronouncedly in his last decades. There were many causes for this despondency. The deaths of Joseph Krauskopf and Hyman Enelow distressed Philipson greatly. Krauskopf's passing left Philipson the sole survivor of H.U.C.'s first class, and left him somewhat lonely and conscious of his own aging. The death of one of Philipson's favorite pupils and friends, Enelow, and the ensuing bitterness over memorial services, also crushed Philipson. Other friends were passing away, too.<sup>384</sup> Many of his older rabbinic colleagues had long been staying away from the C.C.A.R. conventions,<sup>385</sup> which also made Philipson lonely and feel somewhat antiquated. Philipson had no children, so he looked to certain students and colleagues for family, especially Philip Bookstaber whom he considered like a son.<sup>386</sup> Philipson did not have many friends. Aside from Enelow, Bookstaber, Moses Gries of Cleveland, and his long-time congregant, Solomon Fox, Philipson was at a loss for friends and friendship. It left him lonely and sad.

Many issues of the day also troubled Philipson. He was a man of principle and optimism, and the troubles of his day seriously effected him. High divorce rates, the growth of intermarriage, and open expressions of sensuality in society all caused Philipson to lament civilization's seemingly low

morality. The growth of nationalism and militarism made him feel uneasy about his world, and anti-Semitism in America equally tormented him. Philipson also privately was disgusted with the younger rabbis who employed sensationalism in the pulpit to draw crowds, and cheapened Philipson's sacred calling. Events like the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby caused Philipson to question, "Has civilization failed?" All of this, and the Depression and Nazism, as well, pounded against Philipson's ideological armor of optimism, and broke through to trouble and depress the aging rabbi.<sup>387</sup>

Additionally, aging, itself, and the spectre of his own senescence depressed Philipson. From his earliest days Philipson was bothered by old age. He asked in 1888, "How is it when people become old they grow so queer?"<sup>388</sup> Many years later Philipson urged himself onwards: "I do not wish to fall into the state of mind that usually accompanies old age, a feeling that the world is growing worse."<sup>389</sup> Despite his efforts at self-buoyancy, however, he did succumb to the melancholy.

David Philipson's last decades also saw Ella Hollander Philipson endure illness and bitterness. Her life in Cincinnati had not been the most pleasant. She had not made many friends and she missed her family in Baltimore. She had lived among strangers for decades, Philipson once reflected.<sup>390</sup> The Philipsons never overcame their doubts

about coming to Cincinnati, and David knew privately that it had been a mistake. He wrote: "...here...is the clash between private happiness and public service. Ella has sacrificed much. But here we are and here we must endure until the end."<sup>391</sup> Ella became very ill in Summer, 1938, and suffered a partial stroke on August 10. The next two years were passed in stoic discomfort, until Ella died in November, 1940.<sup>392</sup> She had been David's strength and counsellor, and more than anyone she molded him into the figure that he was.

Due to all of these causes, and probably others as well, David Philipson passed his last decades with many periods of great despondency. In his journals he recorded some of these moments, especially from 1927 to 1931, which seems to have been his bluest period. More than once he wished he had retired earlier, and managed to take some rest and have some peace.<sup>393</sup>

David Philipson finally did retire in November, 1938, amidst great celebration of his fifty years as Bene Israel's rabbi. He had considered retiring earlier, but he decided to keep going to round out a half century in one congregation: "This will stand as the record in this country. For that reason and that reason alone I am continuing."<sup>394</sup> Unfortunately, Philipson had miscalculated: he learned from Henry Cohen of Galveston, Texas, that Cohen outlasted him by half a year!<sup>395</sup> Nevertheless, Philipson

retired from the active rabbinate on the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in Cincinnati. Except for a brief spurt with the American Council for Judaism in the early 1940's, and attending periodic meetings of the organizations to which he still belonged, David Philipson did take the rest which he long had desired.

David Philipson died June 29, 1949 in Boston. He had been attending the CCAR Convention in Bretton Woods, N.H., when he was stricken, and after receiving the acclaim of his colleagues he was taken to Boston's Beth Israel Hospital where he died.<sup>396</sup> Philipson was buried in Cincinnati's United Jewish Cemeteries in the "Rabbi's Corner," where his gravestone rests in the shadow of obelisks marking the resting places of his mentors, Isaac Mayer Wise and Max Lilienthal. Had David Philipson written his own epitaph, it might have been from his September 13, 1932 diary entry:

...I can not be more grateful to my God who has given me strength to uphold the ideals towards which I have directed my vision. To be accounted a worthy successor of Wise and Lilienthal is reward sufficient; to be given an equal place with these great teachers of mine in public service and public esteem is a great satisfaction; to be one of this rabbinical Cincinnati triumvirate surpasses the wildest dreams of my youth.<sup>397</sup>

CHAPTER TWO  
DAVID PHILIPSON AS A LEADER

V'ish a' diglo

...Every man under his own standard... (Num 1:52)

By all accounts David Philipson was acclaimed as a leader. He was an influential figure, he held numerous positions of power in local and national organizations, and he was looked to by a number of constituencies as their spokesman and chief at various times. What was the source and nature of Philipson's influence, however, and what were his credentials? Additionally, as a powerful leader in American Reform Jewry, how did Philipson manifest his leadership?

Philipson's fundamental source of authority was through being a rabbi. Philipson was a spiritual leader in a day when spiritual leadership and guidance was desired. As the rabbi, he was the communal religious leader, by definition. Yet, clearly not every rabbi succeeded in influence or leadership as did Philipson; there was something special added to his rabbinate. What was this? Very important was Philipson's position in H.U.C.'s first class which gave him seniority over other rabbis. Although he was younger than many, Philipson still was an upperclassman and one of the College's bikkurim. He therefore stood symbolically closer to the ultimate sources of authority: Isaac Wise and Max



Lilienthal. Philipson began his career as "the first bold disciple" of the two leaders, and this claim to fame remained his throughout his days.<sup>1</sup>

David Philipson fit into a unique niche as an American Jewish leader. As a young rabbi and the modest son of a Columbus mailman, Philipson did not possess any of the traditional criteria for American Jewish leadership. What established him as such a commanding figure? He lacked all of the customary criteria: he could claim no political connections, yichus, wealth (although through his wife's family Philipson did gain access to the affluent Jews), administrative genius, or stellar scholarship. David Philipson's only original, substantial merit was his discipleship to his important mentors, and his zealous devotion to Reform Judaism. Once Isaac Wise died, David Philipson stood alone as the man nearest the Founders. Becoming the historian of the movement only cemented his position. David Philipson's criterion for leadership, then, was that he would become the standardbearer of American Classical Reform Judaism. This he did.

A standardbearer is one who holds high the banner of a movement, and is a spokesman and a leader in that movement. He need not be the initiator. Philipson was not an original ideological genius of Reform Judaism; that role belonged to Israel Jacobson, Samuel Holdheim, and Abraham Geiger, as well as Isaac Wise, David Einhorn, and to a degree, Max

Lilienthal, in America. Nor was Philipson a creative thinker, inventor or experimenter within the movement; those were Leopold Zunz, Samuel Adler, Ludwig Philippson, and others, including Emil G. Hirsch and Kaufmann Kohler in America.<sup>2</sup> Philipson was seldom innovative. He did not design or proffer the paradigm; rather, he held it aloft and defended it after it had been shaped and accepted. He was the standardbearer.

Philipson's authority as a leader did not rest on genius intrinsic to himself, but in his relationship to the Founders and to the history of Reform Judaism in America. He not only owed a debt to the founders, but he also had a vital stake in their being continually memorialized and nearly canonized. Philipson's position depended on it. Hence, for Philipson, the immortality of Wise, Lilienthal, and the vivified Pittsburgh Platform was vital. To David Philipson who was their standardbearer, they were orekh yameycha.

Additionally, Philipson stepped into the role of Reform Judaism's standardbearer because it was vacant. For years, Isaac Wise and David Einhorn had been associated with that function. But Einhorn died in 1879, and by the 1880's Wise was very busy with the College, and aging, besides. For a while, it looked as if Kaufmann Kohler would step into the void, following his sensationalized "debates" with Alexander Kohut and his convening and shaping the Pittsburgh

Conference.<sup>3</sup> That did not materialize however; it was not in Kohler's nature. In helping to bring Philipson back to Cincinnati from Baltimore, and in directing him to convene the opening meeting of the nascent C.C.A.R., Wise unknowingly nudged Philipson into this role. Philipson's participation in the Pittsburgh Conference also helped fit him for this task. Nobody else had taken up the banner, so Philipson did, albeit unwittingly and quite subconsciously, at first.

David Philipson was well-suited for the role: he was well-schooled in Reform Judaism. He received his first indoctrination in Reform Jewish principles from Wise and Lilienthal.<sup>4</sup> Philipson seems to have accepted these doctrines unquestioningly and made them his life principles. While in Baltimore at War Sinai, however, Philipson modified his Classical Reform positions by studying the more radical views of his predecessor, David Einhorn. Philipson acquired a set of Einhorn's periodical, Sinai, and read it thoroughly.<sup>5</sup> He then blended the more moderate views of his Cincinnati teachers with those he accepted from the extremist, Einhorn. Years later Philipson could write, "I had been reared in the Wise school; I had my first graduate training, if I may call it so, in the Einhorn environment."<sup>6</sup>

The Reform Judaism for which Philipson was the standardbearer is best described by the Pittsburgh Platform. This Judaism was a spiritual, ethical religion emphasizing

the universalistic, prophetic mission idea. Cultic practices were removed, reason was dominant; a concern for social justice was manifest. The adherents of this religion were not a nation with territory, but a religious community which lived with its gentile neighbors in all lands in a spirit of progress and common humanity.<sup>7</sup> The ideal of Philipson's Reform Judaism was optimistic, noble, and exciting. He would not need to be convinced of its merit, nor cajoled into flying its colors. Philipson would embody this religious ideal all the days of his life.

The fifth principle of the Pittsburgh Platform resonated especially strongly in Philipson. It read: "We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine...nor the restoration of any laws concerning the Jewish state."<sup>8</sup> Although Philipson espoused all of Classical Reform Judaism in general, he made anti-Zionism and Jewish universalism the cornerstone of his creed, as well as the central focus of his career. In reflection on that career he wrote: "The Reform rabbis, with few exceptions, antagonized the Herzlian proposition. And none more decidedly than did I."<sup>9</sup> His famous motto was: "I am an American in nationality and a Jew in Religion."<sup>10</sup> Philipson was not unaware that he carried the banner and lead the troops. Additionally, for David Philipson, a fundamental tenet of his life was that the creed came first, and that

all action or reasoning followed from the creedal foundation. "Men may come and men may go, but principle stands forever," Philipson wrote in 1907.<sup>11</sup> A disciplined, careful thinker as well as a devoted, zealous disciple, Philipson knew his principles, held firm to them, and carried proudly the standard of his movement.

What was Philipson's own philosophy of Jewish leadership? In a 1917 address entitled "Jewish Leadership," Philipson offered his definition of the Jewish leader. Consistent with his classical Reform ideology, Philipson asserted that true Jewish leadership was Jewish religious leadership. He wrote:

A Jew may be very distinguished as a lawyer or a physician, a banker or a professor, this will entitle him to leadership in his profession or business but not to Jewish leadership unless he have by devoted service to the cause of Judaism in its religious, philanthropic, or educational endeavors given evidence of his ability to lead along these lines. Not the politician of Jewish birth who claims to control a so-called Jewish vote is a Jewish leader, not an atheistic labor agitator who happens to be of Jewish birth is a Jewish leader, not an irreligious Jewish nationalist is a Jewish leader, however much they may be advertized as such in the public prints. Jewish leadership as such is a religious leadership.<sup>12</sup>

In this address, from his viewpoint, Philipson not only took shots at Louis Brandeis (politician) and Horace Kallen (nationalist), but he also suggested that although a Jewish layman could be a Jewish leader, this was primarily the

rabbi's role. Philipson argued for religiosity as a condition of Jewish leadership not only to polemicize against those whom he did not regard as Jewish leaders, but because he sincerely believed it. Philipson's own Reform Jewish religiosity could not be questioned. Additionally, Philipson would obviously advance the position of the rabbi in the Jewish world, which in his time, as in every age, saw laymen exercise great influence in the national Jewish bodies. Philipson believed that the central, most vital Jewish body was the congregation, however. Thus, the rabbi of that community should be regarded as the leader.<sup>13</sup>

How should this rabbi/Jewish leader acquit himself in his role? The rabbi needed to be many things, Philipson believed, but very importantly, the rabbi must be a gentleman and a scholar. This was the paragon against which Philipson judged himself and others. Philipson was distraught when he saw behavior unbecoming of a rabbi; Morgenstern's and Heller's antics especially irked him. After observing some upsetting conduct by a rabbi, Philipson wrote:

What Lord Coleridge when Chief Justice of England said in regard to incoming young men who desired to be admitted to the bars, is as true of rabbis. When asked what qualifications were necessary for the candidates he said, "first and foremost, they must be gentlemen. Everything else is secondary." To which I say Amen!<sup>14</sup>



Philipson preferred quiet, tactful diplomacy - in the Lilienthal image - over brash forcefulness. He demanded of the spiritual leader an unrelenting deference to the highest principles of truth and honesty. The rabbi should be a willing host and friend to the gentiles, and model the path of interreligious goodwill.<sup>15</sup> Also, Philipson firmly believed that the rabbi must guard the spirituality of the pulpit: "No subject which is not in some clear and definite manner connected with the outcome of pulpit work is legitimate for treatment in the pulpit."<sup>16</sup> Regarding pastoral work Philipson's views underwent some change during his career, but, he always maintained a position in keeping with the highest dignity of his calling; gossipy visits were disdained because they belittled the minister. Giving genuine comfort, on the other hand, was ennobling of the leader.<sup>17</sup>

The ~~history~~ of David Philipson as the Reform Jewish standardbearer may have actually begun just after the 1885 Pittsburgh Platform and the organizational meeting of the C.C.A.R. in Detroit in 1889. At the C.C.A.R.'s first regular convention the following year, Philipson ~~co-~~presented a resolution calling for the Conference to officially endorse anti-nationalism. After a substantial discussion the motion was narrowly defeated and a reconsideration motion was tabled. These votes indicate that although anti-nationalism was generally acclaimed as

the mainstream philosophy, there was some ambivalence as well as a not insignificant nationalist presence in the early C.C.A.R. The way would not be simple for Philipson. Apparently, however, this defeat neither dissuaded nor tarnished the young rabbi. At the following convention in 1891 Philipson delivered an address in which he reiterated his position and again urged the Conference to register an anti-nationalist endorsement: "I believe it would be in place and proper for this conference here assembled to express its disapproval of that movement and to declare to the world at large that inasmuch as it is a separatist scheme it has not the sympathy of the rabbis of the country."<sup>18</sup> The CCAR Yearbook records no action taken on Philipson's suggestion. (At the previous convention the C.C.A.R. did, however, reprint the principles of the Pittsburgh Platform, thereby implicitly accepting its anti-nationalist position.)

Significantly, therefore, it was David Philipson who proposed the first two anti-nationalist expressions in the C.C.A.R.<sup>19</sup> There certainly were others who shared Philipson's philosophy, including the Conference president, and who could have sponsored the calls. Yet, it was Philipson who did. It is possible that Philipson, the young upstart, was speaking out where other, older, more worldly men chose not to. Yet, Philipson clearly believed strongly in his principles, and he asserted himself among his peers

very early by stepping onto the rabbinical stage with a position. This was new ground on which Philipson was treading. By persistently speaking as he did, Philipson established a stance and a role for himself in the C.C.A.R., and his principles and eagerness to address the issue were dramatically registered. Furthermore, Philipson would make the C.C.A.R. a primary, if not central arena in his career, and one in which he would wield great power.

Once he had established himself as a standardbearer, Philipson did not back down. While Wise was still alive Philipson was properly deferential to his master, but he was becoming more and more public and outspoken. Also, Wise was using Philipson, despite their personal tensions, to fill this role. In 1893 Philipson spoke at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago on "Judaism and the Modern State," and in 1898 it was mostly Philipson who framed the U.A.H.C.'s anti-Zionist response to Herzl and the first Basle conference which took place the previous year.<sup>20</sup> In those years Philipson also began to research the history of the Reform Movement, and produced a series of articles for the Jewish Quarterly Review which eventuated into his Reform Movement in Judaism.<sup>21</sup> Once Wise died and Kohler came to Cincinnati, Philipson was truly unleashed. Kohler's goals included indoctrinating young H.U.C. students in the tenets of Reform Judaism, and Philipson not only joined and supported

him in this effort, he became "the force behind Kohler," and did much work himself.<sup>22</sup>

Philipson would be Classical Reform's ideological spokesman for the rest of his life. He led the procession against the Balfour Declaration and against every Zionist effort through the 1930's. By the 1940's a new corps of anti-Zionist leaders had evolved, but they still looked to Philipson as the senior statesman. Even in such a role he remained somewhat the Movement's standardbearer.<sup>23</sup> In chairing the Commission on Jewish Education, in his continued presence in the C.C.A.R., through lecturing on the history of the Reform Movement at Hebrew Union College, and through his civic activities, David Philipson never relinquished his position. Nobody could represent Reform Judaism as well as he could;<sup>24</sup> it was his life's work.

#### Power Broker...and Broken Power

Philipson parlayed his role into a position of great power. In many ways he played the power broker. He was second only to the president of Hebrew Union College in placing the College's graduates in congregational positions, and through his nationwide connections he also was instrumental in helping many rabbis change positions.<sup>25</sup> In the days of the Depression when jobs were especially scarce, Philipson was made chairman of the C.C.A.R. Committee on Pulpit Placement in an effort to alleviate the conditions.

Philipson was distressed, however, that he could do very little as there were very few vacancies.<sup>26</sup> Philipson also exercised his power in the publishing world, in influencing committee appointments and operations in the C.C.A.R. and other organizations, and in selective fund-raising campaigning. his clout was augmented because he could often turn to his influential laymen and gain their support, as well.<sup>27</sup>

Politics were another province wherein Philipson could be influential. Basically, he was very careful and tried to isolate the "civic" side of himself from the "rabbinic" side when he addressed a public issue. Yet, in rare breaches of his policy, Philipson endorsed both Murray Seasongood, a Bene Israel congregant, and Russell M. Wilson in their Charter Party campaigns for City Council. Both were elected and both served as Cincinnati's Mayor. Although Philipson had a policy against openly supporting political candidates, he supported Seasongood and the Charter Movement because they opposed the machine government which Philipson detested. Also, Philipson supported Wilson in order to defray slanderous charges which were broadcast by Wilson's opponents that the candidate was an anti-Semite.<sup>28</sup>

Philipson often contended that there was no such phenomenon as "The Jewish Vote." He did not want Jews to be considered an isolated group, especially when it came to the American democratic process. Philipson believed that each

individual voted his own conscience. Also, Philipson was ethically opposed to supporting a Jewish candidate for office simply because he was a coreligionist; each candidate also had to be evaluated on his own merit.<sup>29</sup> Yet, Philipson violated his principle at least once.

When Alfred M. Cohen was positioning himself in 1911 to win the Democratic Party's gubernatorial nomination, Philipson worked "under the table" to muster support for him: he wrote to Adolph Ochs, his friend and the publisher of the New York Times. Philipson asked Ochs if he would arrange that the Times, the nation's leading newspaper and Democratic to boot, would give Cohen plenty of good publicity. Although Philipson undoubtedly rationalized that Cohen was a good man and deserved the attention, he probably would not have done the same for any other good and deserving candidate. Cohen was special: a successful Cincinnati attorney and state senator, he was the Congregation president and had been an officer of Bene Israel even when Philipson arrived in 1883. Later, he chaired the HUC Board of Governors. Philipson certainly had deferred to Cohen's requests for over two decades; if Cohen had prevailed upon Philipson for his support it is likely that the rabbi would have had to consent, creed or no creed. Even the most devoutly principled man knows when to bend. Ochs agreed; Cohen did not succeed.<sup>30</sup>



Interestingly, this matter transpired at the same time that Ochs and Jacob Schiff were trying to woo Philipson to New York's Temple Emanu-El. To the Emanu-El proposition Philipson could not bend ("Principle comes first"), but to Cohen he would. This matter presents an insight into the world of rabbinical-congregational politics. Cohen was Philipson's "boss," and the clergyman had to concede to his lay leader. Schiff and Ochs, although immensely powerful, were not Philipson's "bosses," although they were vying to be, and they had to concede to the clergyman's wish. Philipson, like most rabbis, could not hold back from the demands of his own powerful laity. Yet, he held off other lay leaders, even the most influential Jews in the country, dickering with them until they dangled at the end of his string. The manipulation of power is a very delicate art. One must carefully know the limitations, especially if one is a rabbi.

Philipson could become rather insulated in Cincinnati. By late in his career he had been in Cincinnati for several decades, and he became accustomed to the general deference of the community's laity. Even with the influential lay leaders a modus vivendi had come about. However, Philipson had to remember that outside of Hamilton County, Ohio, his name was not so well known and lay people might not be deferential. In 1928 when Philipson chaired the Arbitration Committee of the C.C.A.R., he was called upon by a rabbi to

settle a dispute between the rabbi and his modest, Indiana congregation. Philipson wrote to the congregational president outlining his view of the matter and the proper course to follow.<sup>31</sup> He received a short, terse missive in reply:

Am in receipt of your letter of the 21st, and we, the Board of Directors and myself, do not appreciate the tone of the same at all. We are quite aware of our duties in this world, and always have performed the same in an ethical way. We do not feel we deserve any criticism from you and we also question your right to lecture us, especially since you heard only one side of the story.<sup>32</sup>

Philipson recognized that he was powerless and recommended to the rabbi that the matter should be dropped. They should avoid a chillul Hashem, he warned.<sup>33</sup> This was a regular concern of Philipson: he preferred to walk away from a tussle a little defeated, than to engage in it and possibly emerge victorious, but also emerge soiled and a party to desecration of the Holy Name. Hidden within Philipson's philosophy and advice was a concern which often was present for him. As a standardbearer of the Jews and as a civic leader, Philipson could not help but ask the question: Ma yomru hagoyim? What will the gentiles say?

David Philipson followed in the path of his teacher, Max Lilienthal, and always had a sensitive ear directed towards the larger community. (For a fuller discussion of Philipson's relations with gentiles and the gentile

community, see chapter five, below.) Philipson cultivated relations with non-Jews and gentile clergymen, and was very involved in general municipal concerns. He had been called, in fact: "a rabbi for the goyim."<sup>34</sup> This was not entirely untrue, however. Upon Philipson's retirement he received myriads of accolades and acknowledgements, most of them praising him for, among other things, his work in interfaith relations. Everett Clinchy of the National Conference of Christians and Jews was one of the two principal speakers at Philipson's retirement dinner.<sup>35</sup>

As a leader and spokesman, Philipson was very aware that the position of "spokesman for the Jews" was a prestigious one in a tolerant society. Oftentimes the gentiles were more respectful and reverential towards the community's rabbi than were the Jews. Just as they maintain a respectful posture towards their own clergy, so too they are respectful to the Jewish clergy. Additionally, Philipson's Jewish mission concept required good relations with the gentile community. Philipson, as a spokesman, served as the "ambassador to the gentiles." Thus, in the community's eyes, Philipson appeared to be the Jewish chief, and he certainly appreciated the attendant honors.<sup>36</sup>

By the 1930's the Reform Judaism whose standard David Philipson had born was decidedly changing. Most dramatically, the Zionist movement had grown and solidified, and the Zionists within Reform Judaism were becoming more

and more successful. In 1931 the "Zionist national hymn 'Hatikvah'" was incorporated into the new Union Hymnal, and in 1935 the C.C.A.R. officially declared its neutrality on Zionism. Both of these events stunned Philipson, but also were signposts of the changes taking place.<sup>37</sup>

In 1937 the C.C.A.R. narrowly elected a new "Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism." Included in this "Columbus Platform" were assertions of Jewish peoplehood and a call for the rehabilitation of Palestine.<sup>38</sup> Although Philipson was a member of the Committee on Reevaluation of Reform Judaism which presented the document, he probably was included as an acknowledgement of his seniority and to placate the anti-Zionists. He certainly was not needed on the committee. Philipson only begrudgingly supported the new principles, as he indicated when he moved for its acceptance: "I am now the only man living who was at the Pittsburgh Conference. I was not in favor of a new Declaration but the Conference wanted it.... For the sake of historic continuity, I should like to be the one to move the adoption of this Declaration of Principles."<sup>39</sup> Three years earlier when the plan for a new declaration was first discussed, Philipson asked Abraham Feldman, who had proposed the idea, "What will you do with me, one of the last survivors of those who signed the Pittsburgh Platform?"<sup>40</sup> Feldman claims to have replied: "We will give you the zechiyah and the pleasure of being the first to sign the new

platform!"<sup>41</sup> Philipson, who was to retire the following year, had been demoted in status from the standardbearer to a symbol, and by his plea for continuity, he apparently was fully cognizant of it, too.

Philipson continued as a symbol until his death. When he keynoted the organizational conference of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism in June, 1942, he was the octogenarian representative of an earlier Reform Judaism. He began that address: "Memory is deeply stirred as I stand before you my colleagues who agree with me in the universalistic interpretation of our Jewish reform movement. I am now the oldest reform rabbi in the United States. Time was when I was the youngest."<sup>42</sup> Even though Philipson's audience was composed of his ideological partners by and large, Philipson still hinted at a distance between him and them. He was from a different Reform Jewish age, and his presence and words symbolized that fact.

To those who were not his ideological compatriots, all the more Philipson was a symbol of a different Reform Judaism. He still held the banner aloft as the standardbearer of Pittsburgh Platform Judaism, only he had far fewer followers. It was not in David Philipson's nature to change his views (principle stands forever), so while Reform Judaism changed in the early mid-twentieth century, he remained steadfast. Along the way Philipson picked up the title, Dean of American (Reform) Rabbis. It was an

honorific title of which Philipson was proud. He even signed some professional correspondence with the title: Dean of American Reform Rabbinate.<sup>43</sup>

The question ought to be considered: What motivated David Philipson? What compelled him to succeed as a figure in the Reform Movement? There are many possible explanations. Undoubtedly, Philipson never forgot his humble origins, and once he acquired a taste for the finer life and for his own potential, he knew what to drive for. He always remembered his mother on her yahrzeit, and in his reflections he looked back on a world which he had left.<sup>44</sup> Also, from childhood days Philipson was bright and a hard worker. It was part of his earliest nature to be curious and to challenge himself. As an eldest son he also may have felt pressure to succeed, as well. Once at H.U.C. his models were not ordinary rabbis, but the vastly successful Wise and Lilienthal. To pattern himself on these figures might bring a drive for success. As a rabbi Philipson again was an eldest son - of the College. The same pressure to succeed was again felt, and quite likely the College was a more demanding "father" than Joseph Philipson had been. Also, Philipson could see the advantages of power and influence, and he desired them. As he improved himself, he received a respect which he had not known before, and this, too, motivated the rabbi to succeed and earn more kavod. Finally, there was Philipson's wife. Ella was bright (it



was sometimes said in jest that she wrote David's sermons<sup>45</sup>) and she knew what her husband could become. She had an air of confidence and culture, and she shaped David Philipson into a similar mold.<sup>46</sup> The couple had no children, which also may have subconsciously driven Philipson to succeed in order to compensate for what was lacking. Overall, David Philipson had an abundance of motivations for success.

In the end, David Philipson - standardbearer, symbol, and Dean - served an important leadership function. As one of the first rabbis ordained in America, and as a native American as well, Philipson was a model of the American rabbi. He was a prototype: American born, American trained and ordained, and a servant in an historic American congregation. As much as his leadership role was to hold a standard, he also set a standard. In Cincinnati where he influenced nearly three generations of rabbis, he modeled scholarship, decorum, communal relations, and leadership. If Isaac Wise and Max Lienthal were the shapers of the earliest American-trained rabbis, then Philipson, one of their first products, served as a production prototype. In eulogizing David Philipson, Dr. Jacob R. Marcus concisely pointed to Philipson's unique role:

In some respects he was the first native American liberal rabbi, and as such, he set a fine pattern of scholarship, culture and dignity.

For an entire generation after the death of Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise, Dr. Philipson was the spiritual leader of American Jewry.<sup>47</sup>

## CHAPTER THREE

## DAVID PHILIPSON: AMERICAN ANTI-ZIONIST

## A Philosophy of Anti-Zionism

Reform Judaism in America has been the stage for many debates and dramas for Judaism as it has encountered modernity. Among these controversies, one of the most central, protracted, and at times, bitter, was Zionism. In this matter Reform Judaism's basic ideology began as anti-Zionist, but it did not take long for opposing viewpoints to arise. Soon there were Zionists and anti-Zionists, with leaders and spokesmen in each camp. In this arena, Rabbi David Philipson played a critical role.

Philipson was allied with the mainstream anti-Zionists from his very beginning at Hebrew Union College, and he made this issue and this ideology the central concern of his career. Basically, Philipson's beliefs were simple. He asserted at every opportunity that he was American in nationality and Jewish in religion. He maintained that Zionism was unequivocally political in character, and that Judaism was unalterably religious in character, and that the two were essentially incompatible. Philipson maintained this position, unchanged, for the duration of his lengthy rabbinate. In that time, however, Philipson witnessed great change in Judaism and in world affairs. As an instrumental figure among the anti-Zionists, how did he react to these

events, and how did his ideology weather the challenges that came forth? What was David Philipson's role in the anti-Zionist controversy in Reform Judaism?

Philipson's positions on Zionism were well-rooted; he was a very principled man. "Men may come and men may go, but principle stands forever,"<sup>1</sup> he had said. Although Philipson did moderate some beliefs at times, his cardinal doctrine of the incompatibility of Reform Judaism and Zionism never faltered, and he proudly declared this often.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, although Philipson apparently used both terms "Zionism" and "Political Zionism" interchangeably, he did believe and argue that all Zionism was political by definition.<sup>3</sup> (Hereafter, in the interest of consistency and unless otherwise noted, I will use "Zionism" to mean "Political Zionism": The political movement for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.)

What was Philipson's anti-Zionist creed? What were its salient points? What were its origins? In what way, other than in the core, did Philipson change his beliefs?

David Philipson's anti-Zionist philosophy can best be described as a series of clashes between his American Reform Jewish ideology, and that of Zionism. Central to this conflict were four issues: 1. the question of national allegiance: American or Jewish; 2. the nature of the Jewish community: religious or political; 3. the essence of Judaism: universalistic or nationalistic; and 4. the goal of

Judaism and Jews in America: integration or separation. In each case, Philipson subscribed to the former description, and he claimed that Zionism advocated the latter.

Philipson was enormously proud of being American. He punctuated his yearly liturgical calendar with sermons and addresses extolling the virtues of Lincoln, Washington, Liberty, Union and the American heritage.<sup>4</sup> Clearly, Philipson not only agreed with the noble and universalistic messages of these men and values, but he believed in them as one would trust in a religious faith. Philipson admitted:

The two main articles of my life's creed have been liberal Judaism and Americanism. I have constantly defined myself as an American of the Jewish faith. I have given myself wholeheartedly to the carrying out of the fundamental principles of Americanism as subsumed in the Bill of Rights: free speech, free press, separation of Church and State, and the right of assembly. From this line I have never consciously departed.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, Philipson's personal nationalism was Americanism, and he would declare: "Nationally, I feel bound to my American brothers of whatever faith or non faith."<sup>6</sup> Philipson also deeply believed that Judaism and American republicanism were philosophically harmonious. In an address at the second C.C.A.R. convention (1891) Philipson proclaimed:

Here in America the reform movement could develop and grow; here with our republican form of government, with each and every man free to think and believe as he will, Judaism has celebrated a rebirth, prophetism the religion of Judaism in all its purity is again

preached.... Judaism is in perfect harmony with the law of the land...<sup>7</sup>

According to David Philipson, implicit in Zionism was the concept of Jewish nationalism: a Zionist therefore felt a "national patriotism" to the land of Zion, not to whatever diaspora country that person may dwell in. This idea was anathema to Philipson for two reasons. First, he asserted that a person could only espouse one nationality, and if one was an American Jew, one's nationality was American. This was the crux of Philipson's thought on this issue. He wrote: "No one can march under two national flags. No one can divide his national allegiance.... The Zionist is Jew in nationality.... The American non-Zionist is Jew in religion and American in nationality."<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the national political allegiance of an individual was determined by the country in which he lived, and Philipson would not allow that one could have more than one such political devotion. He wrote:

Zionism is not compatible with Americanism...its political ideal are other than American.... Louis D. Brandeis...is reported to have declared that ("")Zionists and Americans alike were striving for the principles of brotherhood, democracy, social justice and liberty." Here Zionism and Americans are clearly mentioned as two different classes of men. This justifies the statement frequently made by non-Zionists that the Jewish nationalism advocated by Zionism and Americanism are mutually exclusive.<sup>9</sup>

Essentially, Philipson felt that American Zionists were unpatriotic, and to the ultra-patriotic Philipson, this was nearly tantamount to criminality.

Philipson's second argument against a Jewish nationality was that it was impossible. He followed Samuel Holdheim and Abraham Geiger's thoughts that ever since the destruction of the Temple there no longer existed a Jewish state; hence, no longer could one profess Jewish nationality.<sup>10</sup> Philipson defined nationality entirely in politico-geographic terms. To Philipson, being a Jewish nationalist was thoroughly incompatible with being a Jewish American.

The second tension in Philipson's ideology was over the nature of the Jewish community: was it religious or political? This was very simple, and Philipson was dogmatic in his belief. He espoused Classical Reform Jewish tenets when he spoke at the 1891 Central Conference of American Rabbis Convention: "There is no such thing as a Jewish nation or a Hebrew people; the Jewish nation ceased to exist eighteen hundred years ago. There is no Jewish nation now, we are Jews in religion only."<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Philipson wrote in his statement of creed: "We are members of a historical community molded by historical forces. We are held together as Jews, not by political or national ties but by religious and historical bonds."<sup>12</sup> Philipson could allow no peoplehood to the Jews - neither racially, politically,



nor abstractly. Rather, he called them a goy kadosh, a religious community. Any form of Zionism, Philipson contended, was predicated on a united Jewish political peoplehood, and therefore stood antithetical to his principle that Jews were a religious community only.

The essence of this religious community was the focus of the third tension in David Philipson's anti-Zionist philosophy. Was it universalistic or nationalistic? Philipson adamantly professed Jewish universalism, and refuted any Jewish ideology contrary to this. The Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, in which Philipson was proud to participate, and especially the third, fourth and fifth paragraphs thereof, concisely expressed his principles. Critical for Philipson was that a spiritual mission had replaced the political mission:

We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and today we accept as binding only its moral laws...  
 ...Their observance (certain Mosaic and rabbinic laws) in our days is apt rather to obstruct than to further spiritual elevation."  
 ...we recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men.<sup>13</sup>

The compelling ideal of Jewish universalism animated Philipson's every deed and thought. Obviously, Jewish nationalism not only was contrary to this by definition, but

it refuted this Jewish conception. To a principle-steeped mind like Philipson's, one could not be a committed Reform Jewish universalist as well as a Zionist. Philipson wrote: "In a word, the Jewish universalist stresses the faith as the distinguishing mark of the Jew wherever he may be; in his faith the Jew differs from his fellow citizens. On the other hand, the Jewish nationalist emphasizes the national distinction of the Jew."<sup>14</sup>

To a degree, therefore, Philipson was fighting against Zionism for his survival. Nationalism refuted universalism, and if nationalism prevailed then universalism would be defeated. Both universalism and Zionism were neo-Messianic Jewish responses to the "Jewish emancipation" of the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment eras.<sup>15</sup> How was a Jew to live once he was emancipated? One could either assimilate into the host culture, or one could reinforce one's particularity and differences, or one could find a compromise. Philipson would not compromise; he chose the first option.

David Philipson's fourth major issue with anti-Zionism concerned the ultimate goal of American Jewry: to integrate into American society or to remain a distinct group? Philipson responded to this on two levels: the philosophical, ideological side and the basic, patriotic American side. Doctrinally, Philipson opposed setting the Jews apart; he was fully an emancipated integrationist. He

viscerally hated the ghetto because it set the Jews as a people part.<sup>16</sup> When he wrote his history of the European ghettos (Old European Jewries) his viewpoint was that he was studying an antique.<sup>17</sup> The renewed "ghettos" of New York's Lower East Side troubled him. The new immigrants needed to be integrated and Americanized.<sup>18</sup> Ultimately, Philipson's philosophy can be reduced to a single sentence: "...true assimilation means an acceptance of the outlook of the nation whereof one forms a part in all things except religion."<sup>19</sup> Hence, Philipson was a Jew in religion, and an American in all other matters.

Philipson wanted to be considered an American unconditionally. He had studied enough medieval European Jewish history to know how well conditions were for Jews in America. He blamed the Zionists for throwing a monkey wrench into the harmonious world of the Jew in America: "They have implanted in the minds of the American people the thought of the alienism of the Jew. And in that they have performed the greatest disservice possible."<sup>20</sup> In a similar argument, Philipson opposed the concept of a "Jewish vote," and he blamed that issue on the Zionist agitation, as well, especially during the 1936 U.S. presidential campaign.<sup>21</sup> Philipson believed that Jews were as American as any other American citizens, only theirs was a different religion.

The core of Philipson's anti-Zionist philosophy was that of Classical Reform Judaism. He professed American

national allegiance with a universal Judaism and religiously-bound, America-integrated Jews. Contrariwise, Philipson understood Zionists as professing a Jewish or Palestine-oriented national allegiance, with a nationalistic Judaism and politically-bound, separatist Jews. The ideological battle lines were drawn. To this foundation Philipson added a number of additional anti-Zionist polemics.

Philipson recognized the Jews as a religious community. Many of the Zionists, he claimed, were not religiously but politically defined Jews, and as such, the religious orientation of those Jews was secular. This, too, was anathema to the Rabbi, as he believed secularism was contrary to the particular religious genius of the Jews. He feared it would weaken the religious essence of Jewish life. Philipson loathed secularism from early in his career when he publicly criticized the president of the American Secular Union at its annual meeting (1890),<sup>22</sup> through late in his life when he wrote: "I have always been an opponent of any interpretation of Judaism that is other than religious.... I can not conceive of a Jew who really understands his religion taking any other stand."<sup>23</sup> Even in 1941 when Zionist Edward L. Israel, a native son of Philipson's Rockdale Avenue Temple, was elected Secretary of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Philipson was urged not to despair: although a Zionist, Israel was on record as

opposing secularism, too.<sup>24</sup> Philipson might be able to tolerate a religious Zionist. Nevertheless, generally he scorned those Zionists whom he perceived to be irreligious secularists.

Philipson also contended that Zionism and the activity of the Zionists engendered anti-Semitism. This issue went both ways. The Zionists, of course, disagreed, claiming from the outset that a Jewish homeland was a solution to worldwide anti-Semitism.<sup>25</sup> Reform Judaism initially opposed nationalism as a corrective to anti-Semitism because it was contrary to the Reform beliefs in optimism and fellowship as expressed in the Pittsburgh Platform. Additionally, Philipson blamed the idea of "racial Judaism" for having spawned physiological and occupational stereotyping of the Jews, and attacked the "race Jews" for "feeding the furnace of anti-Jewish prejudice."<sup>26</sup> Almost rabidly, Philipson pointed to Zionism and public displays of Jewish separatism as aggravating anti-Semitism. For instance, in 1918 an article in the New Republic charged that Jews were aliens. Such a charge supported Philipson's argument that Zionism fostered anti-Semitism. Philipson responded:

Your regrettable characterization of the Jews as aliens leads me to elaborate for a moment a statement hinted at above and which I have taken occasion to make heretofore in discussing Zionism, viz., that this latter-day nationalist movement is fraught with danger to the welfare of the Jews in this country because it lends color to the contention that the Jews constitute a separatist

national group. Your statement bears me out.<sup>27</sup>

Later, when Arab-Jewish tensions and fighting erupted in Palestine, Philipson also branded Zionism as the cause.

The only nationalism Philipson could tolerate was American nationalism which he professed; all others he scorned. Philipson even identified the common element of nationalism in Zionism and Hitlerism. "Nationalism," he wrote in 1940, "is the world's greatest curse today.... A reflection of this German and Italian extreme nationalism is found in Jewish nationalism or political Zionism."<sup>28</sup> How pained and confused Philipson was in watching the events leading to World War II and the Holocaust. It must have hurt him deeply to see a common thread in his lifelong antagonist, Zionism, and the emerging horror, Nazism. After struggling a lifetime - with diminishing success - against the former, he was equally disheartened and helpless in facing the latter.<sup>29</sup>

A final charge of Philipson against Zionism is found in his early (1890's-1900's) xenophobia. He apparently saw in the great tide of East European refugees of the late nineteenth century and later a threat to true Americanism, and to the secure station of the established German-American Reform Jews. To Philipson's rather narrow eyes, these newcomers brought with them their proto-Zionist movements, Chovevei Zion and Bilu, they spoke Yiddish, and they were clannish and generally less-schooled than their German-



American coreligionists. Furthermore, he thought that they were either observant Jews or secular socialists and idealists; they were not Reform Jewish universalists. They only knew Jewish peoplehood. All of this evoked images of ghettoization in the young Philipson's mind. In an undated address from early in his career, Philipson wrote:

The coming of hundreds of thousands of Jews from the ghettos of Eastern Europe to our shores (and) the recrudescence of anti-Jewish prejudice in the anti-Semitic movements of this day have caused many to throw up their hands and to give way to despair to the reactionary forces that are beating against them.... Will we be swamped in ghettoism? Will we lose faith in the high truths of the universalistic preaching of Judaism because of Zionism? Will we change our cry, "Forward to the...age of universal peace," for the slogan, "backwards to ghettoism, medievalism, nationalism"?<sup>30</sup>

Philipson concluded by predicting that the newcomers would be Americanized before Reform Judaism would be ghettoized. In 1908 and in 1909, Philipson made the same claims in his C.C.A.R. messages as the President.<sup>31</sup> These views mostly disappeared from Philipson's pen by World War I. By then, the Eastern Europeans had become more populous in American Israel in-general, and were beginning to be found in the Reform Movement, as well.

In all, David Philipson's anti-Zionist ideology underwent little change during his lengthy career. Critical events in Zionist and Jewish history, such as the Zionist Congresses, the Balfour Declaration, the Paris Peace

Conference, the San Remo Conference, American immigration laws, Arab-Jewish fighting, and even the 1939 British White Paper and the 1947 United Nations resolution did not cause a change in his outlook. He held firmly to his position; it was his claim to fame. Instead of change, Philipson responded with reiteration and renewal of his polemics. For instance, in December, 1947, Philipson wrote to Lessing Rosenwald, the president of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism: "We are Jews in religion, and Americans in nationality. That has been my motto in all my career, and I see no reason to change it now despite the changed attitude of the United Nations towards Palestine."<sup>32</sup> Philipson's consistency also was manifest in the many sermons and addresses he gave, in which aside from words to the particulars of the occasion, he regularly included a stock body of anti-Zionist rhetoric which he would readily repeat at any opportunity. David Philipson believed in his position, and felt that his principles were rightly grounded in the finest ethical and Reform Jewish foundation.

There was one issue, ironically, on which Philipson did moderate his views. This was in regards to the land of Palestine and its upbuilding. Early in his career, Philipson steadfastly proclaimed that America was his homeland, and he spoke of Palestine only in a biblical context or as a tender memory. Philipson nearly echoed the maxim of Rev. Gustav Poznanski, who declared in 1841, "This

country is our Palestine, this city our Jerusalem, this house of God our Temple."<sup>33</sup> "Palestine" was a symbol for Philipson, too. In an early sermon entitled "Pesach," Philipson said "...may the next year find us in Jerusalem or in other words in freedom, possessed of the rights of man, for that is what a repossession of the holy city of old meant..."<sup>34</sup> Additionally, Philipson, like so many other American Reform Jews, believed that the reflowering of Palestine was but an impracticable dream. That was Philipson's message in an early Tisha B'av sermon: "...the barren sterile existence of that land which once fertile flowing with milk and honey can today scarcely support the few settlers who inhabit it. It is to us nought but a recollection..."<sup>35</sup> Later in his life, however, although the essential ideology did not change, Philipson did acknowledge certain changes in Palestine. Even Philipson would admit that Palestine no longer was merely a tender memory or a symbol, but that a modern reality had entered the picture.

In 1922 Philipson testified before the House Foreign Relations Committee to protest the United States Government recognizing the Balfour Declaration. In a synopsis of his appearance in Washington, Philipson wrote that after he explained to the lawmakers the CCAR's historical position on Zionism, he explained his concept of Jews and Judaism and concluded with the following:

My testimony at Washington followed the line of my public expressions on this

subject during my years. Palestine, free? - yes, thank God! Palestine a national home for Jews who live there? - yes yes yes! But Palestine the national home of the Jewish people? - no, no, no! This distinction expresses the gist of the whole matter. This is my innermost conviction. I cannot speak otherwise.<sup>36</sup>

To so positively assert that Palestine should be a home for Jews was a statement Philipson would not have made earlier. Years later he even admitted that the difference between Zionists and anti-Zionists before the Balfour Declaration was only academic.<sup>37</sup> At this juncture, however, Philipson was testifying about a real matter of earthly consequences before congressmen who were accustomed to practical matters, not only philosophical contentions. Also by this time there were established Zionist organizations worldwide, a small, but sturdy core of chalutzim in Palestine, and the recent publicity following the imprisonment and release of Vladimir Jabotinsky. Philipson tempered his sloganizing before the congressmen. Thus, Philipson's opposition to the Balfour Declaration hinged on a definite article: he supported Palestine as a homeland for Jews, just as America or France was such a land, but he opposed Palestine as the homeland for the Jewish people.

By the late 1930's and through the next decade, Philipson demonstrated greater interest in the welfare of Palestine and its citizens. Even earlier, following the 1929 Arab uprisings, Philipson joined the national emergency

appeal and urged his congregants to send relief aid for the victims and survivors.<sup>38</sup> Probably the growing Nazi menace in Europe sparked Philipson's devoted concern for klal yisrael. He was becoming more and more interested in the upbuilding of the land of Palestine, and in the peaceful co-dwelling of its Arab and Jewish citizens. He did not change his primary principles regarding nationality and peoplehood, but he did admit that Palestine was becoming a homeland for Jews, and as such, it had to be addressed. Following the British Royal Commission's recommended partition plan in 1937, Philipson stated: "A truncated Palestine is no Palestine. A Jewish Palestine without Jerusalem, which is placed in the British Corridor in this partition, is like the play of Hamlet without Hamlet.... Palestine, all of traditional Palestine, is the homeland of Palestinian Arabs and Jews."<sup>39</sup> This statement almost appeared to be a radical position for Philipson, complete with a sentimental notion of Jerusalem and a mention of a traditional Palestine. Nevertheless, Philipson concluded with a consistent assertion of his principle.

In September, 1939, instigated by the terrible events of that ~~fate~~ful month, Philipson recorded in his autobiography a fine accounting of how a firm anti-Zionist like himself could be so excited by Palestine. He could maintain a philanthropic - as opposed to political -

interest in the land and its Jews. He was nearly bordering on a Brandeisian philosophy. Philipson wrote:

It goes without saying that I sympathize fully and am vitally interested in the upbuilding of Palestine. I am happy to assist in that laudable undertaking as far as in my power and influence lie. I believe that I am justified in saying that this reflects the feeling of most non-Zionists. They are willing to help by contributions and otherwise in that upbuilding, so long as it is not understood to endorse the political program of Zionism. The superb agricultural and industrial achievements of Zionists in Palestine are gladly recognized, but non-Zionists continue to assert that our distinctiveness lies in our religion and not in our nationality.<sup>40</sup>

Philipson certainly evinced a softened tone, and one cannot be sure that his use of the term "non-Zionist" was deliberate, or merely equivalent to "anti-Zionist" in his present thinking. Interestingly, Philipson did address himself and his like-minded colleagues as "non-Zionists" in his keynote address to the embryonic American Council for Judaism (1942): "We non-Zionist members of the Conference are meeting here today..."<sup>41</sup> Again, the use of "non-Zionist" is suggestive. It is possible that Philipson purposely used that term so as to lure non-Zionists who were in attendance to Philipson's message, and not to repel them on account of the undercurrent of extremism at the gathering. One year later, motivated by the dreadful plight of Jewish refugees in Europe, Philipson actually contributed one hundred dollars for the acquisition of land in



Palestine, with the proviso that the money not be channeled through the offices of the Jewish National Fund.<sup>42</sup>

One could ask, would Philipson have been as generous in his thoughts and praises for the Zionist achievements, as well as in his donation, had the Jewish settlement effort been undertaken elsewhere, in Uganda, for instance? Or, was the tender memory of Palestine, in its modern reflowering, affecting the aging Rabbi's sympathies? Ideologically, one can safely speculate that there would have been no difference; any free land could be a homeland for Jews, Philipson often maintained. In matters basar v'dam, however, Philipson does appear vivified by the achievements in Palestine. How much of this was due to the particularity of Palestine, and how much was due to progress qua progress in Palestine, one can barely guess. It rests as an interesting question.

The source of Philipson's anti-Zionist ideology clearly was his indoctrination at Hebrew Union College. Isaac M. Wise felt that it was his purpose to train his young scholars in the tenets of Reform Judaism, one of which being Jewish universalism and its corollary, anti-nationalism. Wise loved America and its ideals even before he arrived there. "It was impossible for him to declare that America was Exile and thus he could never be a Political Zionist."<sup>43</sup> Philipson likewise received anti-Zionist teachings from Max Lilienthal.<sup>44</sup> The young Philipson accepted these doctrines

and made them his life principles. They became further strengthened when Philipson read Einhorn's works, and when he studied the history of Reform Judaism and became more familiar with the thoughts of Holdheim and Geiger. Additionally, the Reform Jewish milieu in which Philipson conducted his early rabbinate - in Baltimore and in Cincinnati - may have reinforced his views. Overall, it is clear that David Philipson formulated his anti-nationalist ideas early, and maintained them for the duration of his life.

#### An Anti-Zionist Career

During his career David Philipson always was an anti-Zionist. His levels of activity and speaking varied at times, however. Following the Pittsburgh Platform in winter, 1886, and at the first C.C.A.R. conventions in 1890 and 1891, Philipson stepped into the fray. Yet, until 1897 and the beginning of Herzl's organized Zionist movement, there was no identifiable, organized Zionist institution of any real significance with which Philipson and his colleagues could contend. Until the World Zionist Organization and the Zionist Congress became concretized in the summer of 1897, the contestation was entirely in the realm of idea versus idea. In fact, Philipson recognized that year as his turning point:

Ever since the first Basle in 1897 I have been on the front line. It began at the meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at Richmond in December 1898 when the famous resolution of the Union in uncompromising opposition to Zionism was adopted.... I practically wrote the resolution.<sup>45</sup>

Philipson's position was set.

The years from the turn of the century to the Great War were a period of ideological swordplay.<sup>46</sup> In 1902 when Max Heller "defected" to the Zionist side, Philipson wrote him a pleasant note and hoped they would remain friendly despite sitting on opposite sides of the fence.<sup>47</sup> The friendship did not endure. Philipson was elected C.C.A.R. President in 1907, and Heller became his vice president; the two had conflicting agendas which sometimes blossomed into open controversy.<sup>48</sup> Philipson also used his C.C.A.R. presidency as a platform for his anti-Zionist philosophy, and even tried to turn the 1909 convention into a showcase for what he considered to be the authentic Reform Jewish position.<sup>49</sup> Earlier, in 1907, Philipson joined with Kohler to help insure the removal by resignation of the three avowedly Zionist H.U.C. professors. Philipson recorded that "The position had become so intolerable that either the president or the professors had to go, and the president was sustained."<sup>50</sup> The anti-Zionists - Kohler and Philipson - won a tense, public battle, and their credentials, at least on this issue, were secure. Some years later when the secular Zionist, Horace Kallen, was invited by the student

body to speak in the College chapel, Kohler rescinded the invitation. Philipson, the ideologue, wrote: "...the Hebrew Union College had a definite theological standpoint and was therefore not to be compared with a secular university in the matter of academic freedom."<sup>51</sup> The year 1909 saw Philipson publish his tract, "The Jew in America," as a public relations piece to advertise the idea of American Jewish patriotism. That same year Philipson opposed the organization of the New York City Kehilla on grounds that it fostered the idea of American Jewish separatism.<sup>52</sup>

The Great War changed matters considerably. The Fall of 1914 brought a scramble for emergency relief aid, initially for the Jews of Palestine and then for general European Jewish relief. Philipson was appointed a member of Louis Marshall's Committee of One Hundred to help organize this relief effort, but he declined claiming that this, too, smacked of Jewish separatism.<sup>53</sup>

That same Fall the Zionists hoped to organized a mass rally in Cincinnati, ostensibly on behalf of Palestine relief, but with a secondary agenda (or a well-concealed primary agenda) of presenting the Zionist cause. The Zionists hoped to defeat the anti-Zionists (Philipson, Kohler, and Cincinnati's influential Reform laity) in their own stronghold, but they were not sufficiently prepared. Philipson had agreed to co-sponsor the event and to be its chairman, and even to welcome Stephen Wise, Louis Brandeis

and Shmarya Levin, the advertized speakers, on the condition that there be absolutely no propagandizing for political Zionism at the rally. Apparently this condition had been set without consulting Brandeis, and he admitted that he could not abide by such a provision. This may have been Brandeis' graceful exit from what surely would have been an emasculating experience for him and his colleagues. They would have been hamstrung speaking neutrally in Cincinnati with David Philipson, Kaufmann Kohler, J. Walter Freiberg and Alfred M. Cohen leaning over their shoulders. Additionally, there were reports of rebellion in Bene Israel at the time. Some congregants may have been upset with Philipson's unswerving anti-Zionism, and some Cincinnati Zionists hoped to exploit this in an attempt to undermine the rabbi. Brandeis warned against it: the same upset "Zionist" congregants might come to the defense of their spiritual leader if it appeared that bigshot, New York Jews were trying to outmuscle him. In all, the Zionists had to concede Cincinnati to Philipson, at least in 1914. The Zionists strategically avoided Cincinnati for a while, preferring to isolate Philipson and his partners instead of invigorating them.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, the pot remained boiling. Philipson continued polemicizing, and some Zionists, including Judge Julian Mack and Professor Horace Kallen, engaged Philipson in dispute through the published press.<sup>55</sup> After one heated

exchange, replete with accusations of misrepresentation and misquotation, Kallen confided in Mack:

As for my own position you know what that is: I commonly(?) say that Philipson is representing himself to be a very stupid man or is being a very malicious man to put the construction which he seems to put to my articles in the Nation. I had hoped to escape (responding to him)...but it looks as if I shall have to in order to silence such anti-semitic Americans of Jewish extraction as Mr. David Philipson.<sup>56</sup>

Whereas Philipson saw himself as stubbornly righteous, at least one of his opponents saw him as stupidly malicious.<sup>57</sup> Yet, the Zionists were compelled to take David Philipson seriously. Some of them, such as Louis Brandeis, may have wished to avoid confrontations and thereby silence the opposition. Yet, as long as Philipson continued to publically denounce the Zionist movement, then the Zionists had no choice except to defend themselves, even if they did not respect the leader of the adversaries.

Philipson continued his incessant anti-Zionist polemicizing throughout the War.<sup>58</sup> Yet, the Zionists had been busy on another front during the same period. In November, 1917, the Balfour Declaration was issued, in which the British government expressed its sympathy with the Zionist objectives. When, six months later the American Jewish Committee issued a restrained endorsement of the Declaration,<sup>59</sup> Philipson and a number of his colleagues felt the time had come to concertedly plan a response. That



summer when the C.C.A.R. met in Chicago, a number of anti-Zionist rabbis, led by Philipson, met privately to contemplate an organized reaction.<sup>60</sup> Two unexpected happenings suddenly fueled Philipson's fire. First, emboldened by their recent success, the Zionists that summer circulated a questionnaire to congressmen eliciting their positions and intimating that their reelections might be in the balance. Secondly, President Wilson issued a Rosh Hashanah greeting in which he indicated his support of the Balfour Declaration. Philipson, leading a committee of anti-Zionist rabbis, was moved to action: he began soliciting support in hopes of organizing a national anti-Zionist conference. He recognized that his anti-Zionists lacked organization.

The plan was to build an organization modeled after The League of British Jews, which would present a united front in advocating Jewish universalism, anti-nationalism, and the patriotism of American Jews. Philipson was elected Chairman and Ephraim Frisch of New York's New Synagogue was elected secretary. In August, 1918, Philipson and a committee of seven began to solicit names of sympathetic rabbis and laymen to sponsor the organization, and to become delegates to a formative convention, originally planned for October 20, in New York City.<sup>61</sup>

It was not long before Philipson ran into some problems. Earlier in the summer Max Senior, Philipson's

congregant, and Henry Berkowitz, Philipson's classmate, had envisioned planning a similar conference. They wisely held off, however, ~~for~~ fear of disturbing the tenuous solidarity of the Jews at a time when the War seemed nearly over and peace was imminent. It was not the time to agitate, they felt. Additionally, Senior thought it was inadvisable to have a meeting in New York. The metropolis "...knows it all in advance and does not need your voice and second because it has no time."<sup>62</sup> New York was the home of the opposition. After advising Philipson not to go ahead with the proposed conference, Senior gave Philipson his wisest counsel: "Now, if you call the meeting, don't go to it unprepared."<sup>63</sup>

Berkowitz had other cavils. Philipson and his group lacked funds and machinery, two ingredients which every successful organization needs. Additionally, he advised, it would not be wise to ground a new organization on negating the work of another rival organization (The Federation of American Zionists); a positive platform should be established. Finally, Berkowitz suggested that a new organization was not necessary, for one already existed: "I see no reason why the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of the U.A.H.C. could not be vitalized to serve in the present emergency.... Here is one organization at hand. Why not use it? Because some men may drop out of the Union? Let them go!"<sup>64</sup>

Despite the well-thought out opposition, Philipson marched ahead with his plans and solicited supporters and delegates for the meeting. Unfortunately, Philipson's timing could not have been worse. He issued his call the last week of August.<sup>65</sup> President Wilson issued his New Year's greeting the very next week. This quelled the issue, and caused many of the sixty-one men to whom Philipson wrote to change their minds. Even Kaufmann Kohler, who on September 4 granted Philipson permission to use his name, hastily wrote on September 5:

"In view of President Wilson's New Year's Eve Message reported in to-day's Inquirer [sic] in which the Palestine movement inaugurated by Dr. Weizman [sic] is so strongly endorsed, I consider it detrimental to our cause to start an opposition during war time, as it may be looked upon as unpatriotic. I therefore withdraw my consent..."<sup>66</sup>

Others responded with similar, or harsher, warnings. Cyrus Adler declined to participate, and reminded Philipson that, like it or not, the Balfour Declaration was de facto a part of Allied politics, and that Philipson should confine himself to arguing domestic issues with the Zionists.<sup>67</sup> Mayer Sulzberger replied eloquently, and urged Philipson to take no precipitous action, for the world was "...involved in the deadliest struggle of our times."<sup>68</sup> Samuel Schulman also urged deferment. He added perspicaciously: "...as a man with practical sagacity.... How can you undertake to call a conference, when you tell me that you have received

only one affirmative reply from New York to your invitation?"<sup>69</sup> (The lone New York confirmation was from Adolph Ochs.) The list of rejections was very long. It included Max Kohler, Louis Marshall, Oscar Straus, Benjamin Cardozo, Mortimer Schiff, Henry Morgenthau, David Guggenheim, Samuel Greenbaum, Julius Mayer and even Simon Wolf.<sup>70</sup>

Possibly the most crushing rejection, however, came from Jacob Schiff, whose imprimatur could have insured the success of the enterprise. Schiff had been moving to the Zionist side ever since the Russian Revolution, and also was particularly aware of tensions in the German-American Jewish community. Up to 1914 Schiff had not yet begun to shift his stance (hence his great interest in Philipson for the Temple Emanu-El position in 1911-1912), but with the Russian Revolution in 1917 Schiff's views began to change. In May, 1917 he wrote to Philipson expressing doubts about the viability of the diaspora.<sup>71</sup> Also in that year Schiff very seriously entertained the idea of entering the Zionist Movement; he came very close to casting his lot with Julian Mack and the Chicago judge's colleagues.<sup>72</sup> By the time of Philipson's anti-Zionist call in August, 1918, Schiff had decided not to join the Zionist movement, but had developed a much broader viewpoint and remained quite in sympathy with Zionist goals.<sup>73</sup> He felt duty-bound not only to reject

Philipson, but to suggest that his plan was indeed harmful for American Israel:

Your proposition, in the nature of things as these have developed, cannot be successful and will only bring forth bitterness, recrimination and marked division among the Jewish people of this country, which I am sure, is greatly to be deprecated.... you are about to place yourself at the head of a movement which is certain to fail, as it should fail, and bring moreover, hurt to the Cause which you represent in your Ministry and to which, as you know, I feel personally much attached.<sup>74</sup>

In addition to encountering rejection, Philipson's organization also suffered another major setback in mid-September. Over-zealously and without authorization, Ephraim Frisch sent a telegram to President Wilson urging him to reconsider his Rosh Hashanah endorsement of the Balfour Declaration. Moreover, Frisch ambiguously signed the telegram with the names of the new organization's executive committee. This caused a furor and claims of misrepresentation, and effectively destroyed the group's credibility before it even got started. There was squabbling and indecision among its executive committee, and it ultimately fizzled. The October 20th conference was cancelled, and the group settled for a board meeting on September 30 in Cincinnati in order to plot its uncertain future. To top it off, after the group tentatively planned for an October conference in Cincinnati, an influenza epidemic overtook the city, thereby eliminating that last

ditch effort! After the September 30 executive session, the organization effectively dissolved for lack of unity and purpose.<sup>75</sup>

What caused the failure of Philipson's short-lived anti-Zionist league? Surely the lack of support was critical. Had the conference been assembled it would have severely embarrassed Philipson and all those who attended. Additionally, the bad fortune of the endeavor cannot be overlooked. Philipson's timing - to no fault of his own - practically doomed the enterprise before it was launched. Of course he could not have guessed that President Wilson would send a shanah tovah greeting to Stephen Wise with a pro-Zionist acknowledgement the very next week. Frisch's faux-pas also was unfortunate, and the flu epidemic iced the cake. Yet, there were other considerations as well. Philipson was forced to attempt to build an anti-Zionist organization from scratch. He could not use an already existing outfit. The C.C.A.R., although professing the mainstream anti-nationalist Reform philosophy, included some Zionists within its ranks and could not risk greater internal strife.<sup>76</sup> The U.A.H.C., likewise, included a mixed constituency despite its 1898 anti-Herzlian resolution which had not been superseded.<sup>77</sup> The American Jewish Committee obviously could not take up the anti-Zionist cudgel; it included many prominent Zionists among its leadership, and besides, it endorsed the Balfour Declaration in April, 1918.



Philipson and the anti-Zionists were left with an organizational vacuum. If there was to be such an organization it would have to be created ex nihilo. That proved to be an impossible task in 1918 (and would remain so for a quarter century), especially once the New Yorkers, Schiff, Marshall, Morgenthau, Straus and others, would not go along.

This episode also indicated the depth of the schisms in American Reform Jewry. A cursory examination of those who sided with Philipson and those who did not reveals that the rabbis and the laity may have had differing views on the issue. Likewise, although there were exceptions, proportionately more Midwesterners than Easterners were willing to support Philipson. This crusade therefore belonged to the idealists (rabbis) over the realists (laymen), and the Cincinnati-influenced provincial reformers over the East Coast cosmopolitans. In a letter to Louis Marshall in October, 1918, Schiff characterized Philipson and his partners as "a small Cincinnati rabbinical clique."<sup>78</sup> He may have been expressing some anti-clericalism, as well. Clearly the ideological distance between the different "constituencies" is striking. The men who attended Philipson's September 30th executive meeting in the Rockdale Avenue Temple Trustees Room, Philipson, William Rosenau, Leo Franklin, Louis Grossmann, Samuel Goldenson, Henry Cohen, Ephraim Frisch, Louis Wolsey, J. Walter

Freiberg and Harry Hoffheimer, were not small-minded men, but neither were they as broad-minded and far-seeing as many who rejected the "league." They were proponents of a philosophy which was on the wane, and they mistakenly believed that a majority of the nation's Reform Jewish congregants agreed with them in their stance. In this episode the gap between the seeming leaders and followers was pronounced.

An additional cause for the failure of the anti-Zionist conference was that Philipson failed to heed Max Senior's advice. Philipson was not sufficiently prepared for what would transpire, nor did he sufficiently evaluate the situation. The Schiff rejection is a good example. Over a year and a half earlier Schiff had indicated to Philipson that his views were changing. Schiff's views were not a secret; he also was in touch with Samuel Schulman and Hyman Enelow on the matter, and it would be hard to imagine either Schulman or Enelow not confiding in Philipson.<sup>79</sup>

Unfortunately, Philipson failed to heed the signals. Had he done so he might have realized that he could not count on the New Yorkers. Then, he might have either abandoned the large scale movement, ~~toning~~ <sup>toning</sup> it down to either a purely rabbinic organization or a regional conference, or patiently built a more congenial base of support. Yet, this was not in David Philipson's temperament. He went blindly forward, almost with a sense of omnipotence and an inordinate portion

of self-righteousness. Also, Philipson failed to calculate what impact the end of the War would have. Many people warned him not to initiate a polemical movement at that time. It was bad for the Jews, who hoped that the outcome of the War would bring good tidings, and wanted no harmful distractions. Such a sentiment prevented many people from joining Philipson's group. Overall, David Philipson only heard the beat of his own anti-nationalist, Classical Reform Jewish drum. He hoped to be the founder of a new national organization. Basically, Philipson acted out of desperation. He could not do nothing and let the emboldened Zionists carry on unchallenged. Philipson badly needed an organization, but the plan failed. It cost him a failed organization, disappointment, some embarrassment (somehow, probably from Jacob Schiff, himself, a portion of Schiff's letter to Philipson was leaked by the Federation of American Zionists to the New York Times!),<sup>80</sup> loss of credibility, and even a death threat from an angered Zionist!<sup>81</sup> It was a humbling failure.

In the months following his aborted anti-Zionist conference attempt, Philipson continued to plow ahead in anti-Zionist activity. When Max Senior tried to pick up the pieces and build a League of American Jews in October and November, 1918, Philipson pledged his full support.<sup>82</sup> Senior was unable to build the organization, either. Next, Philipson and Rabbi Eli Mayer of Albany sponsored a drive to

have individual congregations pass anti-Zionist resolutions. By early Spring, 1919, this campaign also succumbed to lack of support.<sup>83</sup> That spring, Philipson considered pushing for a new anti-Zionist resolution to be presented at the U.A.H.C. meeting in Boston, but that plan was called off because the timing and support also were poor.<sup>84</sup> At the same time two other nationally-scoped projects were also underway. Isaac Landman, an industrious Reform rabbi in New York, learned of the possibility of buying the American Hebrew. The only "national" reform Jewish weekly newspaper at that time was Cincinnati's American Israelite, so Landman thought this offered a golden opportunity to establish a Reform, anti-Zionist tabloid in New York City. Landman needed money, and through the help of many people nationwide, including David Philipson who pledged Landman \$5000 from Cincinnati's Jews, he successfully launched his venture after many months of stumping and fund-raising.<sup>85</sup> The winter of 1919 also saw Philipson and his colleagues hastily prepare an anti-Zionist statement which they hoped to deliver to President Wilson and those convened at the Paris Peace Conference. Philipson informally chaired the effort to write the message and collect signatures. It was another "emergency procedure," but with the help of Congressman Julius Kahn of California, the statement was delivered to Wilson just as he sailed for Europe. The "Statement to the Peace Conference" apparently had little impact on the Paris deliberations, but

at least it was successfully brought to fruition by Philipson, who needed some sense of achievement.<sup>86</sup>

In April, 1922, Philipson made his journey to the nation's capital to testify before the House Foreign Relations Committee. Although he was very hopeful that the resolutions supporting the Balfour Declaration would be killed in committee, Philipson still pushed his friends to oppose the bills. Philipson again misunderstood the tenor of the times, however, and despite his own lengthy testimony and that of others, a joint resolution was unanimously passed and signed by President Harding in September, 1922. Philipson did not realize how successfully the Zionists had garnered support among elected officials, who may have felt guilty about passing immigration quota legislation the year before. Philipson's patriotic testimony was appreciated, but could not sway the politicians into rejecting the resolutions. Whether he admitted it or not, Philipson had to swallow another defeat.<sup>87</sup>

Throughout the 1920's Philipson did not relent in delivering his anti-Zionist messages. He did refuse to engage the Zionists in open debate, and he even refused to welcome visiting Jewish dignitaries to Cincinnati if they were Zionists.<sup>88</sup> Philipson contributed anti-Zionist articles to newspapers nationwide, and generally supported his anti-Zionist colleagues, especially Louis Wolsey of Philadelphia who stepped into a breach and began to lead the

anti-Zionists.<sup>89</sup> In the mid 1920's when Louis Marshall and Chaim Weizmann hammered out an agreement for a non-partisan, revised Jewish Agency interested in the development of Palestine, Philipson gave them his blessing. He even attended a meeting of the Agency in New York in 1928. Yet, he had his reservations about the success of the Agency; he thought it may be an unholy alliance of too many organizations with conflicting agendas. By 1929 Philipson was fully dissatisfied with the Jewish Agency. He felt that the Zionists had co-opted the non-Zionists and he withdrew his support.<sup>90</sup> Overall, the 1920's were a period of retrenchment for David Philipson. They had begun with a series of political defeats for him, and they continued to be difficult years.

Philipson's final anti-Zionist battles were to be within the Central Conference, where they began so many years earlier. In 1930 the conference was about to reissue its Union Hymnal, and a controversy developed over whether or not to include Hatikvah in the book. After two votes, the first in 1930 and another the following year, the song eventually was included by a close count.<sup>91</sup> Apparently, a number of non-Zionist rabbis voted to include the song out of sympathy with their Zionist colleagues, and over growing feelings for Jewish peoplehood.<sup>92</sup> Philipson could see no middle ground on the issue, and although he did not seriously enter the fray, he wrote: "Had anyone told me



twenty years ago that nationalism would make such inroads as to succeed in having the Zionist national hymn 'Hatikvah' incorporated into the hymnal published by the conference, I would have thought him ready for the lunatic asylum."<sup>93</sup>

Philipson responded not only with incredulity, but also with resolve to fight back. His ideology and the Conference meant too much to him to passively allow the Zionists to run freely. Additionally, he fiercely disliked a good number of the Zionists as well as their tactics, and he was invigorated by the fight. By this time, Louis Wolsey had become the firebrand leader of the anti-Zionists. Yet, the two worked well together: Wolsey aggressively urged the crew onwards, while Philipson lent stability to the S.S. Anti-Zionism. Philipson recorded in his diary in the Summer of 1930: "I will require strength to hold the rudder true in the ship of universalistic Judaism which is now riding in very troubled waters."<sup>94</sup> Wolsey and Philipson complemented each other: Philipson's senior statesmanship supported Wolsey and gave him credentials, and Wolsey's energy and drive supported Philipson's falling spirits and loneliness.

Initially the two, among others, considered boycotting the next C.C.A.R. convention as a rejoinder, but then Wolsey planned a counter offensive. He organized an anti-Zionist propaganda campaign. Wolsey planned a series of articles from various rabbis on Reform Judaism to be published weekly in a number of Jewish newspapers and periodicals.

Deferentially, he wrote to Philipson in August, 1930: "If you approve of the idea, I would be glad to organize it." Philipson not only approved, but he provided an article and lobbied his friends on Wolsey's behalf.<sup>95</sup> Additionally, Wolsey and Philipson tried to influence the C.C.A.R. to have the next convention somewhere in the Midwest, preferably in Cincinnati. Thus, they would be far from the JIR/Zionist/Stephen Wise sphere of influence, and nearer to the anti-Zionist home base.<sup>96</sup> They ended up in Indiana.

Despite the Hatikvah vote, in the Summer of 1931 Philipson believed that political Zionism was practically a dead issue. The dissension and disunity of the recent Zionist conference in Basle, the assertion of the Shaw Commission of the British Mandatory government that the rights of the Arabs were no less inviolable than were those of the Jews, and the 1930 Passfield White Paper prohibiting Jews from purchasing more land in Palestine all signalled to David Philipson that his side had prevailed.<sup>97</sup> He lamented that "the only place where it (Zionism) is still seriously debated is in the C.C.A.R. where some die hard Zionist rabbis can not credit the fact that their cause is...defeated."<sup>98</sup> Philipson could not have foreseen the political reaction to Lord Passfield's anti-Yishuv restrictions, or that the world was on the brink of Hitlerism. The pendulum swung the other way, and soon Whitehall loosened the noose and allowed the Zionists almost

a free reign. It turned out that the first half of the 1930's - until 1936 - would be a very prosperous time for the Yishuv.<sup>99</sup>

The same growing outlook which the Yishuv enjoyed in the early mid-thirties was felt by the American Zionists in the C.C.A.R. The Conference partially degenerated into a feud between the more universalistic, Classical Reform H.U.C.-trained rabbis and the Stephen Wise-trained JIR graduates. There was competition for ideological control as well as for jobs (due to the Depression), and this troubled Philipson. He hoped for a rapprochement between the College and Wise's Institute, as did Wise. That year Philipson was invited to give the ordination address at the JIR, and he hoped that his New York City presence would help make a little peace between the conflicting factions.<sup>100</sup> A little peace between the institutions may have evolved, but not between the Zionists and the anti-Zionists.

The Winter of 1935 was one of great agitation by Zionist rabbis. They were preparing for the 1935 C.C.A.R. convention. That year saw the C.C.A.R. officially change its position regarding Zionism from anti-Zionism to neutrality on the issue. Philipson and the anti-Zionists were losing ground. In a controversial vote, it was decided that "...acceptance or rejection of the Zionist program should be left to the individual member."<sup>101</sup> Philipson argued vehemently against even the ethicality of the

resolution. In defeat he admitted: "But all to no avail; the Zionist politicians had the votes."<sup>102</sup> At this conference, Philipson's ideology was outnumbered, out-politicked, and soon to be officially outdated. Two years later the Conference accepted the "Columbus Platform," thereby superceding the universalism of the Pittsburgh Platform.

Philipson was disheartened. He continued to believe in the Classical Reform Jewish values, but he felt alone. He was the diehard: "I take my stand on this universalistic platform and there I shall abide as long as I have the breath to speak and the power to think."<sup>103</sup> Philipson contemplated resigning from the Conference; he no longer felt that it was his rabbinic body. But that would have made him still lonelier, so he remained a member.<sup>104</sup>

In the late 1930's, spurred on by the progress of the Yishuv as well as the horrors of Nazism, Philipson evinced a greater interest in the welfare of Palestine. In 1937 he worked with Abba Hillel Silver in order to help rewrite the United Palestine Appeal letter so as to make it acceptable to non-Zionists, as well. He was concerned with helping Eastern European refugees in Palestine, and with helping to establish a Reform Jewish congregation in Jerusalem. He opposed the 1937 partition plan for Palestine, and later in 1946 when the leaders of the Yishuv were arrested, Philipson led an outraged C.C.A.R. in its protestations. Yet,

Philipson never changed his ideological stance. Despite his concerns for Palestine and her Jewish citizens, Philipson remained staunchly the anti-Zionist standardbearer. In 1944 he urged Congressman Sol Bloom to oppose bills endorsing a Jewish state in Palestine, but he encouraged him to support resolutions aimed at lifting immigration restrictions into the territory.<sup>105</sup> His pro-Palestine sentiments were humanitarian. How could he be otherwise in the face of current events? Yet, his ideology remained his identity.

David Philipson was to enjoy one last anti-nationalist groundswell, which was the product of a whole new coterie of anti-Zionist rabbis and laymen. The anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism was founded largely by East Coast rabbis in 1942 as a response to a C.C.A.R. resolution supporting a Jewish army in Palestine. (Philipson did not attend the 1942 C.C.A.R. Convention even though it was in Cincinnati. It was a Zionist showcase for Philipson's arch-opponent, James G. Heller, who was then C.C.A.R. President.<sup>106</sup>) The Jewish Army resolution violated the Neutrality resolution of 1935, the anti-Zionists claimed, and they were resolved to establish their own voice. Philipson was invited by Louis Wolsey, the force behind the Council, to keynote their organizational conference in June, 1942. Philipson was overjoyed to receive the invitation, and he responded to Wolsey: "Few communications which I have received have given me greater joy than your letter of the 10th instant which

arrived this morning. Thank God that I have lived to see this day when my colleagues have taken this remarkable step of fealty to the principles of Reform Judaism."<sup>107</sup>

Undoubtedly, this proposal conjured up for Philipson recollections of his aborted anti-Zionist conference attempt of 1918. Although he was nearly eighty years old, Philipson pledged his support to his protege, Wolsey, and his new movement.<sup>108</sup>

Philipson was not destined to play a major part in the American Council for Judaism. He helped launch it, advised Wolsey to an extent, and served minorly in its Cincinnati chapter, which at first he was called upon to lead. Yet, why was Philipson invited to keynote this new episode? He was aged and battleworn, and there were others who possibly could have done a better job. The answer probably lies in a number of causes. Philipson was passionately committed to the idea, and he could be expected to fire up the troops. Also, Wolsey had to be deferential to the elder statesman of his movement. He could not call such a conference without offering a prominent role to Philipson, who had preached this message for over half a century. Most importantly, however, was Philipson's symbolic presence. Wolsey undoubtedly wanted to substantially tie his new movement and its legions to the earlier, venerated anti-Zionists, and thereby launch it with greater credibility. Philipson, who was proud of his "first class (of H.U.C.) status", as well



as his participation in the Pittsburgh Platform, his founding of the C.C.A.R., and his personal connections with the patriarch, Isaac Mayer Wise, offered the necessary legitimacy. Thus, Philipson's role in the Council primarily was symbolic.

In the Council Philipson basically served three functions. First, he was once again a standardbearer of the anti-nationalists. No one spoke more strongly or knowingly on behalf of anti-Zionism than he did. Rejuvenated, he preached and spoke on behalf of the Council in a number of cities.<sup>109</sup> Secondly, Philipson was the Cincinnati connection for the council. From the start he was charged with organizing a Cincinnati chapter of the organization. He found this difficult, however, because he had less energy and influence than he once could claim, and because of the significant presence of James Heller in Cincinnati. Wolsey sorely needed a Cincinnati chapter to gain the influence and support of the College and its students. By May, 1945, a local chapter was established and active, but Philipson was no longer closely associated with it.<sup>110</sup> Philipson's third role was as a politician. He knew nearly everybody in the C.C.A.R., as well as the significant anti-Zionist laity. Philipson could mediate issues and advise Wolsey without getting too deeply into the middle of matters.<sup>111</sup>

For Philipson, the American Council for Judaism was a pleasing acknowledgement late in his career of all that he

had stood for. He would die knowing that there still were a few Jewish universalists around, even if the State of Israel also had been established. Philipson wrote in 1946: "...I have been greatly interested in the work of the Council from the very start. My feeling is that it was organized a half century too late."<sup>112</sup>

David Philipson was an intricate, complex human being with many concerns, interests and agendas. Yet, throughout his long career one pattern remained unchanged in the matrix that was his life: his abiding belief in the universal nature of Judaism in nineteenth and twentieth century America. Despite the growth of a new Jewish world around him which did not know of universalism, and which more than any other factor made America into the world Jewish hegemony it became, Philipson never ceased to advocate his breed of Judaism. Just as the American Council for Judaism may have come a half century too late, so too it may be said of Philipson: He did not live before his time, rather he lived after his time. Philipson's universalist philosophy of Judaism was unchangingly that of his teachers, Wise and Lilienthal, from the mid-nineteenth century. Despite changes which came with the twentieth century and which fostered the development of nationalism among peoples from every corner of the globe, Philipson spent his career devotedly preaching his anti-nationalist message. In the

end, one can say that his devotion, courage and consistency were - if not vogue - quite remarkable.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## DAVID PHILIPSON, INSTITUTIONAL MAN

When David Philipson returned to Cincinnati from Baltimore in 1888, he returned to the city which boasted of being the institutional hub of American Judaism. Cincinnati was home to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College. Shortly, it would claim the headquarters of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, as well. Philipson returned to Cincinnati, in part, to be close to the action of these powerful organizations and to participate in their affairs. He was ambitious. He would be at the core of Reform Judaism's operations, and he would remain there all his days. Although he belonged to dozens of other Jewish and civil organizations during his lengthy career, the three Cincinnati-based central institutions of Reform Judaism remained David Philipson's most involved and important affiliations for over sixty years. In many ways he may be called an "institutional man." His bases of power and authenticity were rooted in these institutions, and they were the stages on which he acted out most of his dramas. Philipson's institutional roles, relationships, influences and functions were a significant element of his life.

In the U.A.H.C.

Cincinnati's maiden organization was the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the lay-dominated federation of Reform Jewish congregations founded in 1873 by Isaac Wise and his influential laity. Because the U.A.H.C. was Hebrew Union College's patron, and because its Cincinnati-based leaders were very involved in running the school, Philipson undoubtedly learned very early of the Union's significance.<sup>1</sup> It provided the funds to operate the College, and later, to direct most of the programming of Reform Judaism. Shortly after he was ordained in 1883 Philipson began participating in Union affairs. He quickly became a regular delegate to the U.A.H.C. biennial conventions, and as early as 1887 he was serving on its Committee on Sabbath Schools.<sup>2</sup> Eventually, this committee grew into the Sabbath School Union and then the Commission on Jewish Education, both of which Philipson chaired for many decades.<sup>2a</sup>

Because the U.A.H.C. was predominantly controlled by laymen Philipson's role was relatively limited. He served on committees where rabbinic expertise was required. Thus, he worked for many years in the Union's educational arm, as well as on the Committee on Civil and Religious Rights and as the Chairman of the Union's Board of Editors, which also produced educational materials. Furthermore, Philipson was a public figure in the Union throughout the periodic addresses he delivered and the resolutions he sponsored. In 1898 he presented the anti-Zionist declaration to the

U.A.H.C. biennial, and in 1903 he called for the Union to organize an American Jewish Congress.<sup>3</sup> In the workings of the Union, Philipson was a regular, if not substantial presence, mostly on the strength of his directing the educational affairs of the organization.

Although Philipson apparently was not a major operator in the workings of the U.A.H.C., by being in Cincinnati and being the rabbi to so many U.A.H.C. officers and board members, his undocumented influence was far greater than the records indicate. He came into almost daily contact with leaders of the Union, and when they had questions or concerns which needed rabbinic counsel, David Philipson was right there. When they needed support in the C.C.A.R. or at the College, in other organizations or with other rabbis, Philipson could apply his influence. Just as David Philipson was the acknowledged public spokesman who spoke for Cincinnati's Reform Jews and who was outspokenly influential, so too he was a behind-the-scenes power who had the ear of the Cincinnati Jewish leadership. In such a way, Philipson and the Union shared common aims for their constituencies, and worked harmoniously.

#### In the H.U.C.

The Hebrew Union College was the second major organization in Cincinnati. To it Philipson owed his greatest loyalty and in its affairs he was most intimately



involved. From his student days until his death the College commanded a special corner of his heart. It was the source of his education, self-image and self-esteem, and to lead it was the fantasy of his dreams. The young men whom he taught and influenced in his sixty years as a professor and instructor at the College were his pride, and at times, his power base in the C.C.A.R. Philipson once admitted to Alfred Cohen: "Barring my congregation, there is no institution in all the world so dear to me as the College."<sup>4</sup> Hebrew Union College was his makor chaim, the fountain of his life.

In Philipson's seven and a half decades of association with H.U.C. he had many functions. At first he was a student and one of the College's earliest alumni. Out of this unique relationship a lasting connection was made which spirited Philipson in all his subsequent roles. When he returned to Cincinnati in 1888 he began teaching Semitic languages at H.U.C., and soon added Bible and homiletics to his course load.<sup>5</sup> Five years later in 1893 Philipson was first appointed to the College Board of Governors, then elected to the Board. He remained an active member until 1946 when his last term expired and he was made an honorary College Board member.<sup>6</sup> He also was a confidant of the College's presidents until the succession of Julian Morgenstern to that post, and as such he was privy to the executive impulses of the institution. In all, as an

alumnus, a faculty member, a board member, and associate of the president, Philipson truly was the College's "most powerful influence" for many years, as the historian of the College suggested.<sup>7</sup> David Philipson's power during the Kohler years was in fact so great that once some nonresident members of the Board of Governors complained about the Cincinnati oligarchy. Another time a formal, executive communication was delivered to the College addressed to: "Dr. K. Kohler, Pres. H.U.C., Mr. B. Bettmann, Pres. Board of Governors, and Dr. David Philipson, Prof. of Homiletics."<sup>7a</sup>

Philipson's influence mostly was in matters concerning students and faculty. Although he did some fundraising, and he gave the first graduation address at the new Clifton Avenue campus of the College,<sup>8</sup> he was not significantly involved either in the College's finances or facilities. Those matters were in the laps of the laymen. Academic and personnel matters were more interesting and more compatible to Philipson. They also accorded him greater power. Through teaching the important subject of homiletics, and then lecturing on the Reform Movement, itself, Philipson had the students' attention. Also, for a number of years students were required to deliver student sermons at one of the two Cincinnati temples, and many would therefore come before Philipson's careful eye. David Philipson also offered a regular, informal study seminar in Wissenschaft

des Judentums at the Temple, and thereby played a host scholar in the community. Finally, when it came to placing the graduates in jobs, Philipson's role was not insignificant.<sup>9</sup> Overall, for the students at the College, Philipson was the dominant rabbinic personality in town. He worked hard and successfully at molding them in a Philipson-ian, universalistic Jewish image.

Philipson's influence over the students actually began prior to their arrival at H.U.C.: he chaired the Board of Governors' Committee on Applications and he would sit on the entrance committees. Philipson served in this role for decades, and therefore was in a position to encourage or discourage applicants from pursuing entrance to the College, as well as to rule over their candidacies for admission.<sup>10</sup> In such a manner, Philipson could partially shape the nature of the student body. When he suggested to a New York rabbi in 1918 that he should not encourage boys from New York's East Side to come to the College, or when he intimidatingly asked in an entrance interview: "Are Zionism and Reform Judaism compatible?" he was clearly being very selective in his admissions decisions and policies.<sup>11</sup>

Philipson also could impact on the students in other ways. He was the custodian of an assistance fund with which he could help financially-needy students, and he was a member of the board's Committee on Salaries and Scholarships. Thus, Philipson was in a position to aid - or

decline aid - to students (and sometimes the faculty) in a very fundamental way. Likewise, he regularly employed students to teach in his Religious School.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, it was not beyond Philipson to police the students in matters of ethics, especially during the years of Kaufmann Kohler's presidency.<sup>13</sup> Thus, from the students' point of view, Philipson was a force at the College. Even in his later days when his universalistic philosophy of Judaism had some detractors, Philipson remained an influence on the students.

In addition to the Committees on Admissions and Salaries and Scholarships, Philipson also served on many other H.U.C. Board of Governors committees. In fact, it was Philipson's role on the Board which was most responsible for his vast power at the College. In his committee work, however, he did not influence matters of budget or buildings, rather he influenced the affairs of people: the students and faculty. In addition to the aforementioned, his committee involvements included serving on the Committees on Course of Study, on Alumni Professorships, on Recasting the Curriculum, on Summer School for H.U.C. Alumni, on Granting Degrees Honoris Causa, and numerous ad hoc rules, investigation and special committees as they were needed.<sup>14</sup> His most important committee functions, however, were in chairing the Board of Editors of the Annual, and in

chairing the important Committee on Filling Vacancies in the Faculty.

David Philipson had been appointed Chairman of the College's Board of Editors in 1911, and was not unfamiliar with the world of scholarly publishing.<sup>15</sup> In 1919, David Neumark, the College's Professor of Philosophy, launched his ill-fated Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy, which only survived one year of publication. When Neumark's Journal failed, he prevailed upon Philipson to persuade the College to take it over. Although he opposed Neumark's spirited cultural Zionism, Philipson did agree to sponsor the journal idea. The College Board likewise agreed, but decided instead to publish an annual. Philipson probably consented to Neumark's request for several reasons. Although he could fault Neumark for his Zionism, Philipson could not contend with him regarding his unwavering devotion to Reform Judaism. Moreover, Philipson probably agreed with Neumark that a Reform-sponsored Jewish scholarly journal was needed, and he hoped to be instrumental in creating it. He was. In 1921 Philipson was elected chairman of its Board of Editors.<sup>16</sup> From the Annual's first volume in 1924 onwards, Philipson chaired its Board of Editors, and worked diligently soliciting, accepting and rejecting articles for its pages. He also oversaw finding printers, seeing to publicity, and directing distribution.<sup>17</sup> The Hebrew Union

College Annual became one of David Philipson's pet projects, and one to which he devoted a great amount of time.

Philipson's position as chairman of the Board of Governors' Committee on Filling Vacancies in the Faculty also cast him in a very influential role, especially during Kaufmann Kohler's presidency. When the three controversial Zionist professors, Henry Malter, Max Schloessinger, and Max Margolis, resigned amidst a storm in 1907, Philipson supported Kohler in steadfastly accepting their resignations.<sup>18</sup> He also helped Kohler rebuild the faculty in a basic Reform Jewish mold, and mostly with H.U.C.-trained professors. Philipson helped arrange that Julian Morgenstern, Henry Englander, and Jacob R. Marcus, all H.U.C. graduates, be appointed to the faculty. Additionally, Philipson and Kohler teamed to bring Jacob Z. Lauterbach, although not an H.U.C. alumnus, to the College.<sup>19</sup> Aside from the 1907 resignations and the wartime conduct of Gotthard Deutsch (see above), the appointments and affairs of the faculty were generally calm during Kohler's presidency, and Philipson was unchallenged in his position.

This changed when Julian Morgenstern became acting president in 1921. Morgenstern also had to add many new faculty members during the early years of his presidency. In fact, he made five appointments while still only acting president - before his own position was finally affirmed.<sup>20</sup>



Yet, these appointments were not made with Philipson's controlling input, although he still chaired the Faculty Vacancies Committee. In March, 1922, Philipson wrote to his friend and colleague on the committee, William Rosenau, that he was pleased to learn of Henry Slonimsky's candidacy for a position, and he hoped that Jacob Mann also would be hired.<sup>21</sup> Apparently, Philipson and his committee had been bypassed by Morgenstern in his process of hiring. The new chief executive had his own agenda for shaping the faculty, and he deftly attempted to avoid submitting his plans to the scrutiny of his newly established enemy, David Philipson.

After Morgenstern's initial flurry of appointments to the College faculty in 1921 and 1922, two clashes of wills between Philipson and Morgenstern surfaced in the middle years of the decade. Following Kohler's retirement, the College lacked a professor of theology. Philipson recommended and strongly urged the appointment of his close friend and brilliant scholar, Hyman Enelow. Morgenstern equally strongly opposed Enelow in favor of Samuel Cohon, and the President managed to persuade the Board to his side. Philipson had believed that Enelow's appointment, by virtue of Enelow's far greater scholarship, established credentials in Reform Judaism, and his own recommendations, would be a mere formality.<sup>22</sup> He was wrong. Enelow and Cohon actually were only pawns in the power struggle between Philipson and Morgenstern. Enelow, due to his own preeminence as a

scholar and leader, threatened Morgenstern. Even more, however, the President was certainly intimidated by the thought of Enelow allied with Philipson in Cincinnati: it would make Morgenstern the odd man out. Enelow died in 1934, Philipson remembered in his journal: "The president who can not endure a great personality on his faculty held out against his appointment with might and main(?). HE urged all sorts of specious reasons."<sup>23</sup>

In 1926 there was another clash, and the net result of the two controversies was that Philipson partially conceded to Morgenstern in the president's handling of the faculty. 1926 saw the return from Europe of two junior faculty members, Sheldon Blank and Jacob R. Marcus. Their returns prompted Philipson and his committee to present a report to the Board of Governors establishing their positions at the College. This they did, but they also included in the report an outline of the proposed hierarchy of the history department, as well as what subjects should be taught by whom.<sup>24</sup> The president responded that the committee had over-stepped its bounds, and the power struggle was renewed. Each side solicited supporters to its position.<sup>25</sup> Actually, the argumentation was moot; the president would do as he wished regardless of the committee's recommendations. All that could be sought was a lessening of tension and a modus vivendi. As it happened, Philipson and the Committee on Filling Vacancies in the Faculty by and large wound up

following Morgenstern's recommendations, and lost much of their independent power.<sup>26</sup>

Philipson's relationships at the College were indeed sometimes rocky. The Wise years saw their personal tensions; the Kohler years were by far the brightest for Philipson, despite his twice-tendered resignation from the faculty; the Morgenstern years were nothing less than upsetting. Julian Morgenstern and David Philipson wasted no opportunity to combat one another. In fact, Philipson planned to undermine Morgenstern within months of the latter's election as acting president, and he had to be restrained by his more far-seeing and detached friend, Samuel Schulman.<sup>27</sup> The tension was indeed "a cloud over Morgenstern's administration of the school,"<sup>28</sup> as well as over Philipson's dignified and gentlemanly career. Philipson stooped to describing Morgenstern's presidency as a "reign of terror," and claimed that "something is rotten in Denmark."<sup>29</sup> He allowed himself a last comeuppance when he was officially retired as an active member of the Board of Governors and was made an Honorary Member. He reminded the likewise aging Morgenstern in 1946, "Soon you also will be on the shelf..."<sup>30</sup>

Before he retired, however, Philipson was involved in some other major issues involving H.U.C. and the larger world. In 1922, after Stephen Wise organized his rival rabbinic school in New York City, the Cincinnatians felt

pressed to strengthen their presence in the metropolis. On the urging of Philipson's colleague, Samuel Schulman, a plan was presented to establish a Teacher's Institute in New York. It was a good idea to gain a better foothold in that city, and Schulman only needed Cincinnati's approval and resources. He lobbied Philipson, who pledged his support. Late in 1922 the Board of Governors approved the project and made Philipson chairman of the committee to oversee its fruition. On this issue, as in so many others, Philipson and Morgenstern again clashed. The president did not wish to concede too much authority to a Philipson-Schulman alliance. Nevertheless, by 1923 the Institute was established with Schulman chairing its controlling body. David Philipson effectively bowed out of the picture at that point.<sup>31</sup>

In retrospect, Philipson's role in forming the School for Teachers was significant. As a rabbi with an educational and religious point of view, he pushed harder for such an institute than might have a layman. Additionally, he was fully cognizant of the rabbinic politics which lurked under the table, with Schulman, Wise, Morgenstern and himself each a player. The project was important to Philipson, and he was quite likely the only Cincinnati member of the Board of Governors who could jockey the issue and bring it to fulfillment.

The 1930's brought other matters to the forefront. A move was afoot in 1934 to consider an H.U.C.-J.I.R. rapprochement, and possibly a merger. The financial crisis of the Depression threatened the institutions, especially Wise's school. They might survive if they combined, some thought. Philipson did not agree. He favored relieving the tensions and building relations, but he opposed a merger. When he was in New York to deliver the J.I.R. graduation address that year, he discussed the idea with some New Yorkers, including Julian Mack, but nothing came of the matter.<sup>32</sup> The 1930's also saw Nazism and its destruction of the Jewish academies of Europe. As early as 1934 Philipson acknowledged that "... emergencies require daring measures,"<sup>33</sup> and he joined the H.U.C. Board in its decision to sponsor refugee scholars. Throughout the thirties, Philipson's committee on faculty vacancies tried desperately to aid a number of such scholars, including Julius Lewy, Franz Oppenheimer, Adolph Kober, Eric Werner and Alexander Guttmann.<sup>34</sup>

In all, Philipson's Hebrew Union College career was a long and starry one. He served the institution in every role save its presidency, and it is fair to say that for a number of decades he was as intimately involved with the school as any man. He was unquestionably devoted to the College, and he felt responsible for its mission. At the same time that H.U.C. was the source of Philipson's greatest

successes, it also was related to his most disappointing failures. That he never became the College President was undoubtedly David Philipson's most blighted hope. His bitterness with Morgenstern only made the last decades unfortunately uncomfortable, as well. Philipson had a passionate connection with H.U.C.: the College had nurtured him; some of its boys became his disciples. If David Philipson was an institutional man, he was above all a College man.

In the C.C.A.R.

From when he helped found the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1889, to his death while attending the C.C.A.R. convention in 1949, David Philipson actively participated in the first sixty years of the Conference's existence. Few other men were as intimate with the Conference's affairs as was David Philipson. He was in many ways a "rabbi's rabbi." Through his positions at Hebrew Union College and in the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Philipson both helped to train rabbis as well as to provide resources for them. Within the forum of American rabbis, itself, however, Philipson was an equally active and significant personage. This provided him his most important power base: Philipson's standing among his peers was a great source of influence. He was part of an inner circle of powerful Classical Reform-minded, mostly midwestern rabbis who were the leaders of America's reform



rabbis. Within this "club" Philipson was very powerful, and had a hand in directing the C.C.A.R. for decades.

Philipson's insider role in the Conference began at the association's birth. Isaac Wise used Philipson as his agent in calling the conference together in Detroit in 1889.<sup>35</sup> At that gathering Philipson was elected the Conference's first Corresponding Secretary, and in fulfilling the duties of that office he stayed in busy communication with his colleagues. He also edited the Conference's first yearbooks.<sup>36</sup> Philipson's early years in the C.C.A.R. saw him serve on a number of committees and deliver numerous addresses; and by 1892 he was a member of the Conference's Executive Committee. In 1894 he was part of a committee of three which compiled the Union Prayer Book II, and within a few more years he was involved in producing the Conference's educational materials, as well. In 1897 he was reelected to the C.C.A.R. Executive Committee.<sup>37</sup> In all, the 1890's were a period of maturation and development among his colleagues for David Philipson. Because of his proximity to the C.C.A.R.'s president, Isaac M. Wise, and because of the trust between the two men (despite their tensions), Philipson's position in the Conference was somewhat catapulted above that of other, more experienced colleagues. As long as Isaac Wise remained alive and the president of the rabbinical body, Philipson's role as his aide and periodic spokesman afforded him practical experience and

knowledge of the Conference's affairs. It also cast him in a leadership role vis-a-vis his peers, and brought him into the C.C.A.R.'s inner circle.

When Isaac Wise died in 1900 and the C.C.A.R. began to be lead by others, Philipson emerged as one of the Conference's most powerful figures. As an Executive Committee member and one who was fluent in the operations of Reform Judaism's other major organizations, Philipson was especially significant in a management role in the Conference. Its procedures were known to him, and as chairman of numerous committees he often was directing the Conference's business. At conventions he was busy making motions and amendments, asking questions and suggesting matters be sent to committees. He was a dignified floor general, and he made his voice heard publically on the floor as well as privately in the back room.<sup>38</sup> Along with a few others, David Philipson stepped into the void left by Isaac Wise's death and energetically took command of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

One matter Philipson especially took charge of in the first decade of the twentieth century was the idea of forming a representative national Jewish organization. Following the Russian pogroms of 1903, Philipson wasted no time in calling for an American Jewish Congress which would speak unitedly for American Jewry on behalf of other, troubled Jewries. He made his call twice in 1903: at the

U.A.H.C. meeting in St. Louis, and at the C.C.A.R. convention in Detroit.<sup>39</sup> Philipson believed such an organization was necessary, and he chaired the Conference's Committee on Synod which was charged with considering and planning the matter. The idea was fairly well-received in the C.C.A.R.; the following year in his Message of the President, Joseph Krauskopf concurred and "strongly recommended the formation of a synod."<sup>40</sup>

Philipson's conception of such a national body was that it should be convened and lead by the powerful lay and rabbinic leaders of Reform Judaism. It should reflect a Reform Jewish - or American Jewish - creed. He urged cooperation with other national organizations towards organizing such a congress, yet he narrowly saw only the U.A.H.C. and H.U.C. as the other, worthy, major institutions to be consulted. Of course, from his viewpoint these were the most solid, established organizations, but they did not at all represent all of American Jewry. Philipson neglected to consider involving the East Coast Jewish establishment, leaders of Orthodox or the still amorphous Conservative Jewry, or the Eastern European constituency which was massing in New York. Instead, his vision was to try to further enfranchise Reform Jewry as the dominant American Jewry and as the American Jewish voice, as well as to save off the growing influence of the other constituencies in American Jewish life. His movement was destined to fail due

to its narrow base of support. In this episode, Philipson revealed his relatively provincial Reform Jewish position. Although his idea did garner some support in the Conference for a few years, the synod movement disintegrated, only to be revived by others in 1906 with the calling of the American Jewish Committee. Philipson's failure was not due to a lack of vision, but due to too narrow a vision and too limited a constituency of support.<sup>41</sup>

As his influence and C.C.A.R. prominence grew, David Philipson was elected Conference Vice President in 1905 at the age of 42. This meant that following his two year term in that office, he would nearly automatically be elected the Conference's next president. At the C.C.A.R.'s 1907 convention in Frankfurt, Michigan, Philipson was elected the C.C.A.R.'s fifth president. Philipson's Zionistic antagonist, Max Heller, was elected vice president, but only after Moses Gries, the chairman of the Nominations Committee and Philipson's close friend, received the president-elect's approval and assurance of good relations.<sup>42</sup>

Philipson's two-year term as C.C.A.R. president was replete with controversy and creativity. In many ways during his presidency, the Conference reflected Philipson's own personality and agendas: publishing, ideological polemics, Jewish universalism, and involvement in national affairs all characterized the C.C.A.R. from 1907 to 1909.

More than anything else, Philipson's first year as president was highlighted by an emphasis on publishing. In addition to escalated sales of its already available publications, the Union Prayerbook, Hagadah, Hymnal, and special service books, the Conference also produced and disseminated reprints of Conference papers and a pamphlet, "The Bible in the Public Schools," and planned to extensively enter the tract-writing business.<sup>43</sup>

The Conference's first tract had been written that year. Philipson hoped to use it and a second tract which he would write the following year, as a springboard for launching the Conference into the regular production of tracts. He claimed it once had been Isaac Wise's hope that the C.C.A.R. produce educational tracts as a propagandizing tool, and that the time had come to follow through on Wise's aspiration. After a lengthy convention-floor discussion - highlighted by fireworks between Heller and Philipson, who each tried to maneuver the issue to gain advantage for their respective Zionist or anti-Zionist positions - the Conference did commit itself to producing tracts under its own name. The C.C.A.R. would not openly censure or delimit any writer's opinions, instead, that would be done in the private, back room.<sup>44</sup> For Philipson, the entrance of the Conference into the tract-publishing arena gave him another outlet for his views, and also another literary enterprise to superintend. To a degree, this would be his "baby"; the

following year after he circumvented the Committee on Tracts so as to hastily publish his own tract, "The Jew in America," he smugly bore the wrath of an angry Heller who charged Philipson with subverting due process and misusing executive power.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, the tract project was born, and Philipson kept a hand in it for years thereafter. He later called initiating the tract program one of the most important achievements of his presidency.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to tract-writing, Philipson also hoped to launch the C.C.A.R. into two additional literary ventures. He proposed in his Message of the President that the Conference undertake the production of a literary annual which would include Conference papers and other scholarly works. He hoped to enter the realm which would be vacated when the Jewish Quarterly Review ceased publication, as it announced it would shortly do. Unfortunately, Philipson failed to sufficiently prepare either a prospectus or support, and the idea did not materialize.<sup>47</sup> Philipson's other publishing project did succeed, however.

Disturbed by the absence of a Jewish English translation of the Hebrew Bible, one year earlier the Conference had begun negotiations with Oxford University Press to produce a special volume of the Revised Version of the Bible. Although the Jewish Publication Society had been "working" on a new Bible translation for some fifteen years, its method was cumbersome and naught but a translation of



the Psalms had been produced.<sup>48</sup> The Oxford Press volume would include emendations and an appendix to make the text more agreeable to Jewish readers.<sup>49</sup> Late in 1907, however, Philipson received a letter from Mayer Sulzberger, Chairman of the Jewish Publication Society's Publication Committee, suggesting that the J.P.S. join the C.C.A.R. in the latter's project. The J.P.S. saw a fruitful opportunity, and Philipson wasted no time in agreeing to consider the matter.<sup>50</sup>

It was not long before the project changed shape. Sulzberger thought it would be better to attempt a thoroughly Jewish Bible translation, and he and Cyrus Adler began drawing up plans. By early February, 1908, Adler had a fairly comprehensive scheme put together; the C.C.A.R. only had to suspend its negotiations with the Oxford Press. Adler felt that should the C.C.A.R. singularly direct the project, the translation might end up too parochial and not be satisfactory to all Jews. The Conference, on the other hand, believed that the endeavor should be undertaken by a rabbinical body.<sup>51</sup> A compromise between the Publication Society and the Conference loomed attractive: the Society had access to money, a publishing apparatus intact, and a fairly wide base of support; the Conference could insure wider distribution of the work through the congregations and rabbis it influenced, it could raise money and support, and

it gave a quasi-imprimatur to the task. In mid February, 1908, Philipson and Adler met to consider a joint project.

In their deliberations, David Philipson and Cyrus Adler considered particulars of the plan. The matters which they addressed included who would use the new version, who would prepare it, and when it would be completed. They agreed on a joint committee of five men, later increased to seven - three from each body and one additional person - to do the work. The additional person would be the editor-in-chief. Apparently, Cyrus Adler had predetermined that the seventh man should be Max Margolis, the unquestioned luminary in Biblical exegesis who had had his difficulties at H.U.C. just a year earlier. Although Philipson later took credit for magnanimously suggesting Margolis for the job, the records indicate a different scenario. This was Adler's doing. Two weeks earlier in his proposal to the J.P.S. Publication Committee, Adler had proposed Margolis; now he had to sell Philipson, and therefore, the Conference, on the man.<sup>52</sup> At their session, Adler asked Philipson "whether Professor Margolis was satisfactory to his body as the person to do the principal work and be chief editor."<sup>53</sup> Philipson was somewhat trapped. Clearly Adler was in the catbird seat: the project as designed was mostly to be carried out under J.P.S. auspices; the Conference had more to gain from cooperation than did the Publication Society. Philipson could see that Adler had conceived the plan well.

All Philipson could do was attest to Margolis' scholarly credentials, comment on the difficulty there might be in working with him, and promise to consider the matter. For a gentleman like Philipson, that was nearly tantamount to agreement. Although he solicited his Executive Board for advice, he would not let Margolis become the monkey wrench in what promised to be a glorious project. He would overcome the challenge and demonstrate laudable magnanimity in his handling of the matter, even if he had to blow his own horn. A quarter century later, he skewed the history and took credit for suggesting Margolis!<sup>54</sup>

That winter, Philipson lobbied the C.C.A.R. Executive Committee and gained support for the joint program. It had become - on the C.C.A.R. side - Philipson's pet project.<sup>55</sup> By July 1, 1908, when he delivered his Message of the President, Philipson could claim nearly the unanimous support of the Executive Committee. He recommended that the Conference endorse the cooperative project, which it did.<sup>56</sup> Philipson then appointed himself as one of the Conference's three representatives to the Board of Editors (along with Kaufmann Kohler and Samuel Schulman), and devotedly participated in the project through its completion. It would be one of his claims to fame, and made him a contributor to a very unique and significant project in the history of American Jewry. Although he did very little, if any creative work (this was mostly Margolis' province),

Philipson still prided himself for initiating, administering, and supporting the project.

What was David Philipson's role in producing the J.P.S. English Bible translation after all? Although he considered it the singularly most outstanding event of his C.C.A.R. presidency,<sup>57</sup> it really only came into Philipson's lap by way of coincidence. Philipson was fortunate to be in the right place at the right time. The Conference had begun planning the Oxford University collaboration the year before Philipson assumed the presidency, and he had not been made a member of that negotiation committee. That charge belonged to Rabbis Gries, Schulman, Franklin and Enelow, all friends of Philipson.<sup>58</sup> Philipson only became directly involved in the matter once Sulzberger and Adler broached their cooperative venture with him. Aside from the element of coincidence, surely Philipson's familiarity with and devotion to Jewish scholarly publication was helpful, but not crucial. He was not irreplaceable in the enterprise; any other man who might coincidentally have been C.C.A.R. president when such an offer was made would surely have jumped at the offer. The irreplaceable men were Adler, Sulzberger, Margolis and Jacob Schiff, who provided the funds. C.C.A.R. presidents come and go. Philipson did contribute enthusiasm and ambition, however. The project accorded with his own self-interest and his goals for the Conference, and he therefore pushed it. He wanted it to be

a success, so he mollified the tensions on the Board, and he helped keep the project rolling through fundraising and lobbying until it was completed. Yet, overall, Philipson made the best out of a coincidental opportunity. It gave his presidency a signal achievement.

An additional significant achievement of Philipson's first year as C.C.A.R. president was his focussing the Conference on aiding the Falashas of Ethiopia. In his presidential message of 1908, Philipson recommended that the Conference express its sympathies for efforts to rejudaize the relatively recently rediscovered Ethiopian Jews.<sup>59</sup> He claimed that it was a religious task and that the Conference ought to be on record supporting efforts to aid these fellow Jews. Years later when assistance for Falashas became a matter of emergency, support committees could look back and see that Philipson had publically supported the Beta Yisrael even before the issue had become substantial.<sup>60</sup>

Philipson's second year as C.C.A.R. president involved more controversy than did his first year. Matters came to a head surrounding the planning for the 1909 convention. Philipson planned to make that meeting a showcase for Universalistic Judaism, and under the pretext of celebrating the centennial of David Einhorn's birth, Philipson proposed to hold the conference in November in New York City. Philipson would take his show right to his adversaries' stronghold. Judah Magnes was the rabbi at New York's Temple

Emanu-El and a Zionist, as well. He feared Philipson's anti-Zionist invasion. Magnes tried to block Philipson's plan on grounds that a November meeting would unconstitutionally stretch the duration of Philipson's presidency to more than two years, because Philipson had assumed the post in July, 1907. In checking the C.C.A.R. constitution, Philipson discovered that the rules forbade anyone from holding the position for more than two terms - not two years - and he silenced the angered Magnes. He then proceeded to bring the C.C.A.R. to New York City for what he called "an anti-Zionist Conference."<sup>61</sup>

Aside from its location and planning, the 1909 C.C.A.R. convention included some other exciting elements. First of all, Philipson was very proud that the gathering boasted the largest attendance of any convention then to date.<sup>62</sup> Of course, this was largely due to its being held in New York, but the large crowd certainly contributed to the energy and enthusiasm of the metropolis meeting. Aside from the attention to Einhorn's centennial, Philipson addressed controversial issues immediately in his presidential address. He unwaveringly declared the meeting to be a presentation of Reform Judaism and gave notice to those outside of the Classical Reform stance: "No sentimental romanticism, no hazy obscurantism, no artificial medievalism can prevent the eventual triumph of the liberal movement,



however much they may seem to retard it momentarily."<sup>63</sup> He continued, and confronted the Zionists head-on:

...in these days of ours there are individuals posing as Jewish leaders, and many of their followers who would reduce the religious element to the vanishing point and make of Judaism a policy of statecraft, a racial aggregate, a charity organization society, or what not. We here in this convention assembled, however else we may interpret the side issues that combine in making up the Jewish composite agree in the religious connotation of the terms Jew and Judaism. This meeting is a demonstration of that supreme fact.<sup>64</sup>

Philipson whipped up his opposition. Max Heller wasted no time attacking him in an angry editorial for the Israelite, entitled "Partisanship in Office." Philipson then retorted, equally vehemently.<sup>65</sup> In all, Philipson's anti-Zionist fireworks in New York City probably benefitted nobody. Both sides were well-represented, and nothing novel was presented.

Philipson did reveal another matter which was new and controversial in his presidential address, and which reached a far larger audience than he would have expected. Just before the convention, news was released about Jewish involvement in white slave traffic. Philipson used his address to urge the Conference to publically condemn Jewish participation in vice,<sup>66</sup> but he was startled when the Committee on President's Message decided to ignore the recommendation. The committee preferred to follow the

rabbinic dictum, shev v'al ta'aseh, sit tight and do not make an issue. Philipson was aggravated because other Jewish ~~organizations~~ were decrying the evil, but the rabbis feared exposing to the public the villainous side of some immoral Jews. They had a reason to fear, to a degree: the convention was covered by the press. As it was, despite the committee's unwillingness to support a public declaration, an Associated Press reporter who had attended Philipson's address reported on the president's words. Thus, the Conference unwittingly was on record chastising Jewish white slave panderers.<sup>67</sup>

It also was at the 1909 convention that the C.C.A.R. passed its resolution declaring that mixed marriages (interfaith marriages) are contrary to the tradition of Judaism and ought to be discouraged. Reflecting on the deliberations surrounding that resolution, Philipson recalled some twenty years later, "I have attended all the meetings of the Conference barring three, and I recall no discussion more interesting or more excited than the debate which ensued..."<sup>68</sup> Philipson did not take a central position in the discussion, rather, he chaired the sessions and used the powers of his presidency and personality to maintain order. It was not easy. The debate ~~was~~ long, and at times, bitter. A strongly worded resolution presented by the powerful Rabbis Samuel Schulman and William Rosenau, declaring that rabbis ought not to officiate at a marriage

with mixed partners, was rejected for the more openly phrased proclamation. The transcribed discussions occupy fifteen pages in the C.C.A.R. Yearbook. The debates needed firm control, and Philipson provided it.<sup>69</sup> He was gratified by the outcome for he personally opposed mixed marriages. He felt that one of two things transpired in homes of mixed marriages: there either was indifference to religion or dissension. "Neither of these I can countenance," he wrote.<sup>70</sup> Nearly four decades later at the 1947 C.C.A.R. convention in Montreal when the Conference was considering rewording its resolution, replacing "discouraged" with "forbid", Philipson rose and defended the 1909 formulation. After so much effort had gone into forging the earlier document, he was unwilling to let it be hastily remade. After the new motion was defeated and the 1909 resolution unanimously reaffirmed, Philipson certainly must have felt greatly validated.<sup>71</sup>

Following his terms as C.C.A.R. president, Philipson continued to be a very powerful and significant figure in the Conference. In fact, the next two decades were Philipson's most powerful period in the C.C.A.R. Excepting C.C.A.R. presidents Max Heller (1909-1911) and Louis Grossman (1917-1919), neither of whom Philipson was very friendly with, nine of the next twelve Conference presidents appointed David Philipson to chair the important Committee on President's Message for at least one of their two

conventions. For Samuel Schulman, Philipson chaired it twice, in 1912 and 1913.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, when he was not chairing the committee he often was a member. Philipson was solidly within the Conference's inner circle. In many ways, he was a confidant, counselor and supporter of the heads of the organization.

Up to and through the period of the Great War, Philipson not only was powerful and respected by his colleagues, but his demeanor was more friendly and collegial. Often he demonstrated concern for his fellow C.C.A.R. members. Once he argued on the floor of the convention against referring a committee's report to a special committee for fear it would insult the original committee. Other times he helped colleagues through personal crises.<sup>73</sup> He was a rabbi's rabbi, at least through the War. Following the War things changed. The table-turning Balfour Declaration, Morgenstern's climb to H.U.C. power, the establishment of Stephen Wise's Jewish Institute of Religion and the unrelenting efforts of the Zionists brought change, and the American rabbinate reflected it and Philipson began experiencing symptoms of disassociation. In 1922 Joseph Stolz wrote to Philipson regarding that year's C.C.A.R. convention: "I missed you very much at the Conference and I am very sorry that you did not come.... Henry Cohen, Frisch...and I remained as a saving remnant."<sup>74</sup> With aging and slipping out of the mainstream currents,

Philipson became bitter and less collegial, although he always remained courteous, professional and respected.

Philipson remained powerful as well. During the years of World War I he chaired the C.C.A.R. Committee on Church and State, and under his leadership he built it into a more vigorous committee than it ever had been. He organized the members into geographic regions to keep a vigil for infractions of separation of church and state, and when that proved insufficient to meet the task, Philipson organized state representatives to watch over their territories. He also actively corresponded with Louis Marshall of the American Jewish Committee and Adolf Kraus of the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League to cooperate with their efforts.<sup>75</sup>

At the same time, C.C.A.R. President Moses Gries appointed Philipson to take over the chairmanship of the Committee on Prayer Book Revision. This committee had been established in 1908 with Max Heller as chairman, but by 1913 when Gries appointed Philipson nearly nothing had been accomplished.<sup>76</sup> Philipson was the likely choice to head this important committee. At the first C.C.A.R. convention in 1890 he was appointed to the original Union Prayer Book Committee, and from then until 1913 he was involved in the compilation, editing and revision of the U.P.B.<sup>77</sup> He had much publishing and scholarly experience. Additionally, Philipson was very aware of the significance of the prayer

book: not only was it a necessary unifying agent for the Conference and the Reform Movement, but it was a major source of revenue for the C.C.A.R.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, Philipson's directing the project would unseat a Zionist in favor of an anti-Zionist, which certainly pleased some in the Conference.

Philipson successfully directed the task to completion, although he was not without his setbacks and detractors, also. In 1916 he had a run-in with the C.C.A.R. president, William Rosenau, who contended that Philipson and his committee were spending too much money. Philipson would not conduct the committee affairs by correspondence, but wanted meetings. A compromise was forged.<sup>78a</sup> In 1918 the first volume was completed, and upon inspection, Rosenau, who was no longer C.C.A.R. president, found a good number of errors. The more traditionally-minded Rosenau especially found fault with the Hebrew typesetting, and expected "an avalanche of derision" on account of the mistakes and the pall they would cast on the Conference's credibility.<sup>79</sup> A mix-up in checking the proofs had caused the problem, and Philipson had it promptly corrected, but not before he responded angrily to Rosenau:

I do not want either myself or the members of my Committee to be lectured by the officers of the Conference for carelessness.  
I very much feel like resigning the chairmanship of the Committee and asking all the members of the Committee also to



resign. I am having this under serious advisement.<sup>80</sup>

Despite feeling embarrassed and victimized by the printer, Philipson rectified matters with Rosenau and continued in the task.<sup>81</sup> A couple years later, after Volume I was corrected and the committee was nearly finished with Volume II, there was another imbroglio and Philipson again nearly resigned. At the 1920 convention a number of more radically-minded members protested the work of Philipson and his committee, and tied up the floor in a tense discussion. Eventually, C.C.A.R. President Leo Franklin agreed to appoint a number of the militants to the committee as a means of silencing them. Once on the committee and under Philipson's control, the men calmed and the job was finished.<sup>82</sup> The last conflict was in Spring, 1922, regarding whether to include the full u'netaneh tokef or an abridged version in the Union Prayer Book II. Philipson diplomatically weathered the storm by surveying the Committee and then adding the shortened version.<sup>83</sup> Shortly thereafter the revision committee was discharged having completed its assignment, and Philipson was made chairman of an almost identically-manned Committee on Liturgical Literature.<sup>84</sup> Overall, Philipson found this work tiring, rather thankless, yet necessary. Despite the rigors, he enjoyed being in the middle of the action. After eight years of leading the Revision Committee, Philipson had produced two updated prayerbooks.

When, in 1928 and 1929 there again arose agitation for another revision - only a decade on the heels of the last - Philipson would not concede to participate. This renewed movement was led largely by some younger, Zionist members of the conference, and Philipson actively tried to dissuade his colleagues from agreeing to another revision episode.<sup>85</sup> Yet, after again circulating a questionnaire to try and elicit the accurate sentiments of the rabbis, and even after consulting and meeting with lay leaders from the Union, Philipson was not able to forge a counter movement to deter a new revision. There were some who argued that the U.P.B. expressed antiquated religious ideas; others claimed it spoke in general terms and complained that it failed to respond to each whim of the worshippers' hearts.<sup>86</sup> This time Philipson took the critiques personally, and after registering his dissatisfactions and objections, he tendered his resignation as committee chairman.<sup>87</sup> Philipson would not lead the committee and the Conference through another prayerbook revision, and consequently, through another liturgical self-evaluation. Although he did not wish to concede to his adversaries, lead by the irrepressible James Heller, by resigning his post, he did resign the position, but remained active in other spheres of activity.

One such area of activity was the Commission on Jewish Education, which David Philipson chaired for decades. For years he had chaired the independent Hebrew Sabbath-School

Union of America, which upon his bidding, merged with the U.A.H.C. Committee on Sabbath Schools in 1903, and later with the C.C.A.R.'s Religious Education Committee to eventually become the Joint Commission on Jewish Education of the C.C.A.R. and the U.A.H.C. The Commission, like the committees which preceded it, produced courses of instruction for religious schools, published textbooks, and helped to train teachers.<sup>88</sup> Philipson was the most natural person to head this organization: he was on the U.A.H.C. and C.C.A.R.'s educational committees, his own congregation was a member of the Hebrew Sabbath-School Union, and he was in Cincinnati where he could actively chair the joint organization.

Philipson's role was as an overseer and a liaison. He directed the overall thrusts of the organization through contacts with its day-to-day operators, George Zepin and Emanuel Gamoran. Philipson set larger policies with his committee, and seldom interfered in Zepin or Gamoran's work. He did step in to censure Gamoran when he introduced Jewish nationalism in his affairs, however.<sup>89</sup> More importantly, Philipson carefully engineered support for his Commission. Once, by rearranging the Commission's Winter, 1931, meeting to coincide with the National Federation of Temple Sisterhood Executive Board Meeting in St. Louis, Philipson allied himself with the women and walked away with a \$15,000 appropriation, even though the Depression had brought in a

period of financial constraint.<sup>90</sup> He regularly read his lengthy reports of the Commission's achievements (probably written by Zepin) to both the Union and the C.C.A.R., and his public role was rarely controversial. The Commission was prodigious in its efforts; in 1935 Philipson reported to the C.C.A.R.: "...this brings our total list of published current items to 72, also 44 plays and 14 mimeographed pamphlets."<sup>91</sup> The only tensions were with the staff and other personnel.

Gamoran was always a headache to Philipson. The rabbi was on the constant alert lest "Jewish politics" creep into their transactions. Philipson appreciated the fine work done by Gamoran, yet he also wished he could release the man on account of his nationalism. Gamoran had secured the support of Zionist members of the Commission, however, and Philipson had to endure him.<sup>92</sup> He also had to weather embarrassment. To Philipson's great surprise, in 1930 Gamoran sneaked an educational manuscript written by Mrs. Lee Levinger, a Zionist, past Philipson and the Commission's readers and had it published, completed with veiled Zionist intimations. The book was dedicated to David Philipson!<sup>93</sup> Overall, Philipson and his rabbinic colleagues on the Commission were attentive to produce what they considered to be good, Reform Jewish educational material. Yet, they were handcuffed; Reform Judaism had no educational experts who could equal Gamoran. All the other experts were coming from

the Zionist hotbed, New York's East Side (i.e. from Samson Benderly), so Philipson believed.<sup>94</sup>

Another tension came from within the rabbinic ranks of the Commission. Samuel Schulman, who was powerful and not an easy man to work with, chaired the Commission's Committee on Youth Education. In 1934 Schulman pushed to organize a national Reform Jewish youth organization, but Philipson opposed him. Philipson argued that the local organizations were not yet sufficiently organized to support a national federation.<sup>95</sup> Their disagreement escalated and Philipson considered replacing Schulman. Better counsel prevailed, and Philipson agreed to compromise and seek a Youth Director to try to organize a more vital youth program. He placated Schulman, and saved the Commission from engaging in a messy feud.<sup>96</sup> Although the problem of providing Jewish opportunities for the youth troubled Philipson, it was not one of his major focusses in directing the Commission. Philipson chaired the Commission on Jewish Education until February, 1942, when he was designated honorary Chairman for life.<sup>97</sup>

Throughout the 1920's and later Philipson was involved to various degrees in many efforts of the C.C.A.R. He chaired its Arbitration Committee and helped mediate issues between rabbis and their congregations, he helped the Conference in its efforts to purge the movie industry of anti-Semitic imagery, and he continued to serve on the

Executive Committee.<sup>98</sup> Matters remained fairly calm for Philipson until the end of the decade. At the same time that the move for a new U.P.B. revision was underfoot, Philipson was nominated and elected Honorary President of the C.C.A.R. Also at that time, the Conference was embroiled in its debate over including "Hatikvah" in the hymnal.

In 1929 David Philipson was elected Honorary President of the Conference.<sup>99</sup> Although he was just shy of his 67th birthday, he had been a member of the C.C.A.R. for forty years. Yet, the Conference had changed in those years, and the following year, Philipson's antagonists, led again by James Heller, tried to block his reelection to the honorary post. Heller and his colleagues had a number of reasons for their opposition: they wanted to prevent Philipson's presence on the Executive Committee (he had not been reelected to that committee in 1928<sup>100</sup>) even if he would not have a vote, they wanted to remove the honorific acknowledgement of Philipson's anti-Zionism, and for Joseph Silverman, it was a personal issue. He was jealous of Philipson's stature and he wanted to likewise be an Honorary President. After all, it was he who succeeded Isaac Wise as the Conference's second president. However, Silverman died before the C.C.A.R. could or would honor him. Heller's efforts failed. Philipson "called in his chips" and beat



his rival at his own game, and won the reelection to the honorary presidency. He gloated about it privately.<sup>101</sup>

As pleasing as this "victory" was for Philipson, it would be among his last in the Conference. The years 1930 and 1931 saw the "Hatikvah" votes, and by 1935 the rabbis were in the process of preparing their new guiding principles. In 1935 the Conference passed its neutrality resolution on Zionism, and very clearly Philipson stood among the old-timers. Although he did engage in some counter-polemics and was appointed to the Commission on Reevaluation of Reform Judaism, Philipson's involvement in the C.C.A.R. and its rabbinic/Zionist debates had become disquieting for him. Despite the Zionism vote, the 1935 Convention also saw David Philipson elected Honorary Life Member, give an address on the Pittsburgh Conference, and again chair the Committee on President's Message (a subtle ploy: The Message included a carefully-worded call to reevaluate the position of Reform Judaism and set in motion the apparatus to supercede the Pittsburgh Platform; Philipson was co-opted<sup>102</sup>). Despite the honors, he could not help but write in his journal: "Were it not that I place the cause above my personal dislike I would resign my membership in the Conference. If things go very badly I may still do so."<sup>103</sup>

Nevertheless, Philipson continued to be a member of the Conference until his death. To leave it would have meant

exile and loneliness. At least the argumentation gave him a platform, and he was honored as the senior man. The discouragement was balanced by the honors, he even admitted to himself,<sup>104</sup> and Philipson was a man who coveted honors. He remained loyal to the organization which he had helped found; his identity was tied up in it. In response to a proposal in 1940 to join with the Conservative Rabbinical Assembly in supporting wartime conscientious objecting, Philipson argued against participating on grounds of American patriotism. When the C.C.A.R. nevertheless voted to join the R.A., Philipson immediately arose and supported his colleagues, declaring that wartime was not a time for disagreement among rabbis.<sup>105</sup> At the 1946 convention when the assembled rabbis learned that the British Mandatory Government in Palestine had arrested the leaders of the Yishuv, Philipson led his colleagues in protest.<sup>106</sup>

Philipson even died while attending a C.C.A.R. convention. This symbolized his lifetime career. David Philipson was who he was by virtue of his calling as a rabbi. His relatively high standing in the Jewish world was resultant of his place among his peers. Although he was respected and honored by his own laity, and to a certain extent, by the larger Reform Jewish laity which he encountered through U.A.H.C. work, Philipson's position was significant because the rabbis treated him specially and responded to him as a leader. Although all rabbis, by

nature, are autonomous in their own realms, within the body of Reform rabbis they acknowledge their chiefs. David Philipson was one of them. Philipson recognized his unique place among his colleagues and developed it. The honorific title, "Dean of American (Reform) Rabbis" was not a misnomer.

CHAPTER FIVE  
DAVID PHILIPSON AND GENTILE RELATIONS

Halo av echad l'chulanu... Have we not all one father?

(Mal 2:10)

The prophet's words directed David Philipson's career with reference to interfaith relations. They epitomized the core of religious universalism. Philipson, himself, repeated Malachi's words time after time: "Have we not all one father? Did not one God create us? Why do we break faith with one another, profaning the covenant of our fathers?" (Mal 2:10)<sup>1</sup> Philipson worked diligently throughout his career on behalf of good relations with his gentile neighbors, and he had a clear set of principles on the matter.

Philipson undoubtedly learned much regarding interfaith work from his earliest mentor, Max Lilienthal. Philipson wrote in his biography of his teacher, "If, as is frequently asserted, the Cincinnati community is marked by a more cordial spirit of fellowship between Jews and non-Jews than is the case in many other communities, this is largely due without any doubt to the work of Dr. Max Lilienthal."<sup>2</sup> As a student, Philipson saw the honors which Lilienthal received for his work, and he saw the high spirit of Cincinnati's community. He saw that Lilienthal "practiced what he preached," and that religious universalism can be achieved,

especially when the rabbi reaches out to his neighbors and conducts himself well.<sup>3</sup> David Philipson continued Lilienthal's teachings and efforts in his own career.

Philipson's fundamental ethic was a belief in the American principle of separation of church and state. For Philipson this American, constitutional tenet "was the magic touch that made this land unique."<sup>4</sup> He called it the greatest achievement of the founders of the government, and the brightest jewel in Columbia's diadem. When local or national issues would arise which threatened to breach this principle, Philipson would resort to unrestrained polemics on its behalf. As an amateur American Jewish historian and a student of Medieval Jewish history, he understood that the religious liberties insured to Americans made America the safe home it was for Jews. It also ignited the spark of Jewish universalism: without a state-controlled religion, any and all religions could prosper along side one another.<sup>5</sup>

The promise of religious freedom in America was important to David Philipson for another reason. Philipson believed that the source of anti-Semitism lay in frictions owing to the New Testament account of the crucifixion of Jesus. He had learned this view from Isaac Wise as a student, and he believed it throughout his career.<sup>6</sup> He did acknowledge economic and social bases for anti-Semitism, but only as secondary and tertiary causes. Within the rubric of social causes Philipson would place racial anti-Semitism,

the newer breed of hate which developed later in Philipson's lifetime. Concerning that issue, Philipson was stymied as to how it could be ameliorated. He hoped that education and the goodwill movement, which fostered interaction between religions, could dissolve some of the tensions.<sup>7</sup> Yet, again he blamed all prejudice on the fundamental Christian teachings: "It is amazing that any goodwill towards the Jew exists at all in Christian circles. This New Testament account is the greatest handicap that the apostles of goodwill between Christians and Jews have to overcome."<sup>8</sup> America's promise of religious freedom allowed the possibility of melioration.

Philipson found in the idea of the goodwill movement the natural expression of basic American values. He believed that "the real American idea" was that people of different creeds could and should live together in peace and harmony, and insofar as the goodwill movement engendered that result, it reflected real Americanism.<sup>9</sup> He wrote in the early 1920's:

Men can believe firmly in the teachings of their particular faith and yet be ready and willing to grant the same right to men of other faiths, to meet with them on an equal footing and view them as fellow men like unto them in the right to be even unlike. This is The Traditional American viewpoint.<sup>10</sup>

Philipson was thoroughly a religious liberal and genuinely maintained an open mind and heart regarding freedom of religious expression.



David Philipson did maintain some private views of Christianity, however. Although he unqualifiedly advanced the value of the different religions, and he had some very good Christian friends, he sometimes wondered about the sincerity of some Christians. After sitting through a viewing of the movie version of Jesus' death, "The King of Kings," replete with its miracles and legends, and following a Christian memorial service with a congregational recitation of the irrational Apostles' Creed, Philipson could not help but wonder how intelligent people could believe Christian doctrine.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Christianity's historic position towards Jews and Judaism did not enamor Philipson of that religion. Additionally, the devotee of goodwill observed Christmas celebrations in 1931, then recorded in his journal: "The great Christian festival of peace and good will. Measured by the present state of the world what a failure organized Christianity has been."<sup>12</sup> Of Jesus, the man, Philipson only had the highest to say. He touted him as "a mighty spirit and preacher of magnificent force; a prophet dwelling on the heights."<sup>13</sup> When called upon in 1901 to give a statement describing the Jewish opinion of Jesus, Philipson responded denying Jesus' divinity and place in Jewish theology, but praising his moral teachings.<sup>14</sup> In fact, in 1916 when an inscription that was selected to be placed over the new courthouse carried a highly sectarian tone, Philipson objected: "If you

7 had selected a purely ethical text that has no possible connection with any specific dogma, the objection urged would not hold."<sup>15</sup>

Throughout his career Philipson made a point of engaging in goodwill activity. Early in his Baltimore tenure Philipson spoke openly and without invitation against religious prejudices, as young rabbis are wont to do. As early as 1889 he was elected a Director of Cincinnati's nonsectarian Associated Charities. He actively involved himself in the general community, but in doing so as a rabbi he served to promote interreligious goodwill.<sup>16</sup> In 1892 he was elected a member of the Literary Club of Cincinnati where men of all faiths shared opinions, and he remained a member all his life.<sup>17</sup> The highlight of Philipson's early interfaith work undoubtedly came at the World's Parliament of Religions at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. There he spoke on "Judaism and the Modern State." For the young (30 year old) rabbi this was quite an honor, and one to which he referred time and again. He even made a minor sensation in Chicago when he rose to defend the native American rabbinate against charges that it was academically inferior to the European rabbinate. In 1894 Philipson opened "a miniature Parliament of Religions in Cincinnati at the Unity Club with his address, "Why I am a Jew." He had carved a niche for himself in Cincinnati's liberal religious community, and he maintained that position all his remaining days.<sup>18</sup>

Philipson's activities in Jewish-Christian relations were wide and varied. He was always on the watch for trespasses of good relations. In 1898 he used his connections with then Judge William Howard Taft to move an initiation meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society from the anti-Semitic Avondale Athletic Club to a neutral location. Two H.U.C. students were to be initiated and would have been unable to attend. In 1906 while planning that year's Union Thanksgiving Service which was to be held at the brand new Rockdale Avenue Temple, Philipson openly supported his men's club in petitioning the school superintendent to prevent sectarian hymns from being sung in public school pageants. The resultant publicity upset a local Christian clergyman who led a number of Protestant pastors in withdrawing from the "Jewish" Thanksgiving Service. The following year Philipson continued the crusade to remove Christmas songs from the public schools.<sup>19</sup> In 1915, when he was chairman of the C.C.A.R. Committee on Church and State, Philipson and his rabbinic colleague, Joseph Kornfeld of Columbus, Ohio, teamed to oppose an Ohio legislative action which would have provided for Bible reading in the public schools. Philipson opposed the bill for fear that it would lead to sectarianizing the schools. Although he, Kornfeld and others watched as the measure failed in 1915, Philipson had to repeatedly keep his guard up, and made similar protestations to Bible-in-school bills in 1922 and 1925.<sup>20</sup>

Philipson remained on a constant watch to safeguard his precious principle of separation of church and state, and, to protect against outward anti-Semitism. His watch included defending Judaism from charges of being sympathetic to Communism, striking at the Christian Science movement for its denigration of the Jews, monitoring and working with executives of the movie industry to protect against anti-Semitism in films, working with the Cincinnati Public Library to keep the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and the Dearborn Independent off the shelves, and joining an interfaith condemnation of tasteless filmmakers - including Jewish producers - so as to prevent outcries that Jews are immoral.<sup>21</sup> Philipson took this burden upon himself, and worked sometimes tirelessly on behalf of Jewish welfare and better relations. He was following in Lilienthal's footsteps.

The mid to late 1920's were a period of heightened activity for David Philipson in positive aspects of interfaith efforts. In many ways this work was a knee-jerk reaction to religious prejudices earlier in the decade. The middle of the Twenties saw the development of the American Association on Religion in Universities and Colleges. It was Philipson's and others' belief that education was the tool for eradicating prejudice. Therefore, this organization which was aimed at teaching young people about religion seemed an answer to the need. Philipson labored

hard for the Association with the hope of establishing nonsectarian schools of religion at major universities to teach about religion, per se, and the various denomination, as well. Philipson was gratified when the pilot project fared well at Iowa City. When the Association's energetic director took ill around 1930, the program disintegrated, however.<sup>22</sup>

In 1929 Philipson became involved in the young National Conference of Jews and Christians. The Conference was organizing interfaith roundtables and seminars and Philipson was busier than ever attending the events. He was the principle Jewish speaker at the Conference's first three-day seminar in New York City in 1929.<sup>23</sup> He said in a sermon in 1932:

Never before as in this day did men and women of various religious beliefs meet so frequently in conference and discussion as in this day of ours. These meetings for the enhancement of goodwill and the encouragement of better understanding constitute the finest agency imaginable for the lessening of religious prejudices and the removal of religious bigotries.<sup>24</sup>

Actively, Philipson served as a liaison between Reverend Everett R. Clinchy, the Conference's secretary and moving spirit, and Alfred M. Cohen, the Bene Israel officer and president of the B'nai B'rith. In 1929 when the jury was still out on the National Conference, Philipson advised Cohen to maintain B'nai B'rith support of it and its goodwill efforts. "The light will spread gradually," he

said. The B'nai B'rith did continue to work with Clinchy, and Philipson remained an intermediary.<sup>25</sup> Philipson and Clinchy developed a respectful, appreciative collegueship after years of working with and supporting one another. At Philipson's retirement dinner, Reverend Clinchy delivered one of the two main testimonial addresses.<sup>26</sup>

Philipson's effectiveness in interfaith work was augmented because, like Lilienthal, he had cultivated contacts in the gentile community during the length of his career. Philipson especially had a fine relationship with his fellow liberal clergymen in Cincinnati. Reverend George A. Thayer of the Unitarian Church was perhaps the closest of Philipson's gentile clergy friends. Their theologies and world views were fairly similar, and they worked together on numerous boards and projects for decades. Additionally, William Howard Taft was a Unitarian, and through their connections and mutual respect, Philipson was invited by Taft to address the American Unitarian Association's 1919 convention in Boston. Philipson called it a "high spot in his career."<sup>27</sup>

Philipson's relations with Catholics were not as warm, but were equally respectful and efficacious. He was respected by Cincinnati's Catholic hierarchy, and was one of the few, if not the singular, non-Catholic clergyman in town with whom Archbishop McNicholas would assent to cooperate. There were times when interfaith programs were being planned



and the Catholic representative would be prevented from attending the event. David Philipson was sent to see the primate. In 1932 when the best-selling author, Abbe Dunnet, was to speak at the Wise-Rockdale Open Forum, it was suddenly learned that Dunnet was forbidden to speak. Philipson met with McNicholas and in two hours the decision was reversed. Likewise, in 1933, for the anti-Nazi rally in Cincinnati at which a Protestant minister was to be the chairman, the Archdiocese again balked on granting permission for a Catholic representative to attend. After a meeting with Philipson, the Archbishop, known as a "narrow churchman," again changed his mind.<sup>28</sup>

Philipson's success is probably attributable to a number of causes. First of all, he carefully presented himself as a gentleman. He was not known as a hothead, but as a dignified, courteous man. He would not be offensive or intimidating in manner. He was an "uptown Jew," and he was cultured. Thus, he was able to cultivate good relations with the Catholic leaders and be a trusted neighbor. He worked hard to build these bridges, for he recognized the possible good - for both sides - that would come. In 1919 he spoke at a Cincinnati dinner tendered to Cardinal Désiré Joseph Mercier of Belgium, and delivered an eloquent address. A decade later at an interfaith dinner a guest said to Philipson, "...we Catholics can never forget your remarkable address at the dinner in honor of Cardinal

Mercier..."<sup>29</sup> As Philipson learned from the diplomat, Max Lilienthal, it pays to develop friendly relations with one's neighbors. Additionally, the Catholics may have believed that Philipson wielded more power than he actually did. He was very public in Cincinnati, and it was known that he had national contacts. To a non-Jew who operates out of a hierarchical religious system and who may not be intimate with the autonomous structures within American Jewry, Philipson may have appeared more influential and powerful than he was.

Philipson did have some failures with the Catholics, especially in the late 1930's in regard to responses to Hitler. He worked hard calling on rabbis and other clergy to be outspoken in protest to Nazism, yet he encountered some closed doors with the Catholics. When a Catholic churchman replied in 1934 "that the Jews had not ever helped Catholics, why should the latter help the Jews," Philipson wrote and published a brief catalogue of Jewish assistance to persecuted Catholics.<sup>30</sup> By 1937 Philipson was frustrated with the Catholics on a new front: he wrote in his diary, "It is notorious that the Catholic Church is in sympathy with the fascist powers."<sup>31</sup> The Spanish Civil War in 1938 did not help matters, either. That year Philipson had to educate Cardinal McNicholas to the truth that not all Jews were communists, and that Judaism is not a communistic, anti-democratic religion.<sup>32</sup>

Although he maintained a positive outward demeanor towards his gentile neighbors, Philipson did privately harbor some reservations. Besides being bothered by the intrinsic religious anti-Semitism of the New Testament, Philipson had other concerns, as well. In 1928, in the middle of active goodwill campaigning, Philipson lamented to his friend, Alfred M. Cohen:

Of course anything that can be done toward furthering good will should be done, but personally I do not believe that in their hearts all of these Christian ministers are willing to acknowledge the absolute equality of Christians and Jews as men. When all is said they look upon Judaism as an inferior religion and that the Jews must become converted to Christianity in order to fulfill what they call the prophecies.<sup>33</sup>

That same year he recorded in his journal:

I have come to the reluctant conclusion that all these interreligious movements, while being magnificent gestures of fellowship, are not really effective. The Protestants consider this a Protestant country and proceed on that assumption.<sup>34</sup>

Philipson strove for decades on behalf of interreligious goodwill out of a nearly messianic conviction that this was the task of the day. He did not desire to change the religious views of his neighbors, rather he labored to build a community of tolerance, respect and harmony. He felt that education was the instrument of amelioration. Prejudice was the result of ignorance of one's neighbors, he believed. Therefore, interfaith

interaction also was critical. National movements such as the American Association on Religion in Universities and Colleges, as well as Clinchy's organization, buoyed Philipson and provided him with needed compatriots in the struggle. It was not a struggle which could be won in any one generation, however. It is ongoing; although in his own day and in his own geographic region, David Philipson did labor greatly and with a measure of success to improve the religious relations in his community. With no pretense to modesty, in 1937 Philipson reflected on his own career in interfaith work:

I have aimed constantly to bring about an entente cordiale between Jews and non-Jews in this city. And in this, I feel, I have rendered good service. It is generally acknowledged that the fine spirit among the different elements of Cincinnati's population is largely due to my influence. If that is really true, I cannot but be happy and grateful. And that I am. God be praised for this privilege that has been mine.<sup>35</sup>

CHAPTER SIX  
DAVID PHILIPSON AND SCHOLARSHIP

David Philipson was scholarly, but not a scholar. At Hebrew Union College he taught Semitics, but was not a Semitist. He wrote a number of histories, but was not an historian. Although meticulous in preparation and an untiring researcher in his scholarly work, Philipson was untrained as a biblical scholar or an historian; he was a very good amateur when measured against the trained professionals in the field. He was a scholarly rabbi who actively and devotedly pursued his own research, especially in historical studies, and who produced a number of books, of which several were significant. David Philipson's scholarly development, involvements and achievement were a major part of his rabbinic career.

Philipson believed that it was incumbent upon the rabbi to pursue continued study. His "first concern should be continuing study and scholarship," Philipson told the 1934 graduates of the JIR in his ordination address. "Unless he builds upon this as a foundation, he builds upon sand."<sup>1</sup> Philipson, himself, followed his own exhortations. From his earliest days in Baltimore, Philipson maintained the dream of being a scholar - of being the revered expert in his field. In Baltimore, and throughout his career, he devoted his mornings to study.<sup>2</sup> This rigid discipline allowed

Philipson to be prolific in his own writings. In addition to all his other rabbinic work, he wrote or edited ten books, some of which saw more than one edition, and he produced numerous articles and essays.<sup>3</sup> If the measure of Philipson's studious labors were the volume of his publications, he did achieve much in his career.

In the realm of quality, all of Philipson's writings generally were carefully prepared and met his own high standard of accuracy. Certainly, his Reform Movement in Judaism was the standard in the field, and acclaimed as an important text.<sup>4</sup> Yet, it suffered from a lack of criticalness and contained some errors. Although it was an important and needed work, it is not at all a classic, analytical historical study. The same critique holds true for much of Philipson's historical writing. His histories of H.U.C. and of the C.C.A.R., his biography of Lilienthal and his shorter history of Bene Israel, and his biographies of Isaac Wise and others are all well-detailed chronicles, yet lack critical evaluations. It has been said of Philipson's work:

...he had a passion for the facts. Possibly this is one of his weaknesses, for, frequently, he neglected to present ideas and motivations as he soberly collected the naked facts. None of his writing was "brilliant." He did not dig deep for underlying causes. But his methodology was sound. This spiritual child of German Gründlichkeit was careful and accurate; he knew the meaning of intellectual integrity.<sup>5</sup>



Philipson wasted little time in producing publications. As he aspired to produce books and be scholarly, he kept himself up-to-date in the latest English, French and German scholarship and literature. He was sufficiently skilled in the latter two languages to stay abreast of European work.<sup>6</sup> Philipson's first publication sprang from his interest in literature. In the winter of 1887-1888, Philipson delivered a series of lectures at Har Sinai on the Jews in English fiction. Two years later Philipson's first book, The Jew in English Fiction, was published. Although it is actually but a collection of Philipson's eight addresses reviewing seven authors and the characters they presented, and is not at all a scientific piece of literary criticism, it did see two editions and five printings. Most importantly, it launched David Philipson's literary career. After seeing the laudatory reviews of the work, Philipson reflected, "It appeared that I had struck it rich."<sup>7</sup>

'Nothing succeeds like success', the unattributed maxim teaches. Philipson certainly enjoyed his success; he began writing articles for Jewish periodicals,<sup>8</sup> and in a few years published two more books. In 1894 he published a history of Bene Israel Congregation (to help celebrate the congregation's 70th anniversary), which is actually only a monograph, and a larger work on the European ghetto, Old European Jewries. Neither work amounted to more than a chronicle of the relevant data, with only a smattering of

interpretive analysis. Philipson did sermonize in Old European Jewries, however, and urged that the "last visible vestiges of Ghetto existence must be wiped out"<sup>9</sup>; he used his book to argue for American acculturation.

After writing Old European Jewries, Philipson's area of interest began to shift towards American Jewry. He did study elements of European Jewry for The Reform Movement in Judaism, which was first published in 1907 and reissued in 1931. Philipson's Reform Movement was his last significant work in the history of Europe's Jews; nearly all his remaining scholarship concerned American Jews and Jewry. When the American Jewish Historical Society was established in 1892, Philipson was among its first members, and later would become its vice president.<sup>10</sup> As one who was intimate with a number of American Jewry's seminal figures, Philipson was quite self-conscious of his role in transmitting the masorah of New World Judaism. Philipson's student, Jacob R. Marcus, wrote of his mentor: "He never studied American Jewish history. He lived it - and survived it. His knowledge of the life of his people in this land - and it was an extensive knowledge.... was a process of 'recalling.'"<sup>11</sup>

When Isaac Wise died in 1900, Philipson quickly arranged for two memorial volumes of Wise's writings to be published. Philipson edited his teacher's autobiographical writings, entitled Reminiscences, which originally were

published in Die Deborah and later in the Israelite. Reminiscences appeared in 1901; a year earlier, Philipson and his Cincinnati colleague, Louis Grossman, collaborated to edit and produce Selected Writings of Isaac Mayer Wise. Philipson felt obliged to publish the works of his mentor as well as his own knowledge of Wise. He therefore included in Selected Writings a short biographical essay, and in Reminiscences an adulatory account of Isaac Wise's last hours. Philipson later wrote a number of other essays and addresses concerning his relationship with Wise.<sup>12</sup> These works were entirely uncritical.

In 1915, Philipson commemorated the centennial of Max Lilienthal's birthday by publishing a biography and selection of Lilienthal's writings. Philipson acknowledges in the preface to Max Lilienthal, American Rabbi, that the volume was intended as a tribute to his beloved teacher.<sup>13</sup> This work, like his studies of Isaac Wise, was not only uncritical, but celebratory. It accorded with David Philipson's "Great Man" philosophy of history not to besmirch the biographies of figures by evaluating their weaknesses or failures.<sup>14</sup> Philipson's biographical writings (as well as autobiographical), therefore, are of value only in chronicling details of careers and relationships, as well as describing Philipson's accounts of his own interactions with the men under discussion.

Another limitation of David Philipson's scholarship was in his Hebrew skills; he was not an Hebraist. From his H.U.C. days onward, Philipson's writings periodically contained errors in Hebrew. His H.U.C. graduation address had a Hebrew misspelling; so did the title page to Selected Writings of Isaac Mayer Wise (in the latter case it may have been a printer's error).<sup>15</sup> Other sermons, diary entries, and a reference in his autobiography, My Life as an American Jew, include errors in Hebrew or transliteration.<sup>16</sup> Also, Philipson made little reference to Hebrew sources when researching his history of Reform Judaism. Clearly, David Philipson never became greatly proficient in the ancient language. His knowledge was adequate for his regular tasks, however.

Philipson's pivotal claim to fame in the scholarly publishing world came when his Reform Movement in Judaism was published in 1907. Philipson began researching his Reform Movement in the 1890's, and he spent time with Isaac Wise so as to gain first-hand knowledge of much that transpired. Indeed, Philipson's unique relationship with Wise established him as a likely person to write such a history. Sometimes it is the disciple's task to perpetuate his master's teachings. Philipson continued researching this work after Wise's death in 1900, and into the next decade. His journal reveals numerous occasions in 1905 and 1906 when he reiterated or reevaluated thoughts for the

book. The work also was rehearsed in scores of sermons over the years, as Philipson apparently refined his views and his language.<sup>18</sup>

Philipson admitted to a limited scope of investigation in his preface to The Reform Movement in Judaism. He indicated that the book was "not a history of the literary output, but of the practical achievements of reform."<sup>19</sup> He was not interested in evaluating causality or considering effects; he confessed that he was too near the players in the drama to offer a proper critique. Moreover, however, it was not within Philipson's ken to do so. He was not a trained historian. As the movement's standardbearer, he chronicled its achievements; he did not evaluate them. He preferred to accurately arrange and display the facts and allow them "to speak for themselves."<sup>20</sup> This he did, and as a result he weathered some criticisms. The Jewish Publication Society, which had published his Old European Jewries about a decade earlier, refused to publish The Reform Movement in Judaism, claiming it appeared propagandistic for Reform Judaism, and therefore, could not be distributed under its imprint. The book would be published by MacMillan. Sixty years later the book would still be criticized for its lack of insight and depth, but praised for its chronicling of the facts.<sup>21</sup>

The Reform Movement in Judaism remained the only English language history of liberal Judaism for many

years.<sup>22</sup> By the late 1920's after it had been out of print for some time, Philipson planned to produce a revised edition. He imposed upon his rabbinic colleagues, especially those in Europe, to supply him with current data. Philipson's summer, 1928, trip to Europe was partially devoted to researching the field.<sup>23</sup> The new edition appeared in 1931, and in addition to correcting a few errors of the earlier edition, it included updates on the American and European Reform Movements. In February, 1931, the new edition was chosen as The Jewish Book of the Month Club's February Selection, and Philipson was delighted.<sup>24</sup> The success of this book meant a lot to David Philipson. In fact, he was somewhat "wrapped up in it":

This book it appears will form a monument more enduring than bronze. I am identified with it by the scholarly and religious world more than with anything else I have done.... The designation 'Historian of Reform Judaism' is more precious to me than all the honorary degrees that have been bestowed on me by colleagues.<sup>25</sup>

With The Reform Movement in Judaism, Philipson carved for himself an incontestable niche in Jewish history and a lasting memorial. During his lifetime he was acknowledged as the historian of Reform Judaism. After his death when he was superceded by trained scholars, he would be "a pioneer historian" of the Movement.<sup>26</sup>

In the years between editions of The Reform Movement in Judaism, Philipson was busy with many other literary



projects which were nearly exclusively focussed on American Jewry or connected to his institutional work. He directed the C.C.A.R.'s prayer book revision efforts, and initiated its collaboration with the J.P.S. on the Bible translation. Miscellaneous articles on Ohio Valley Jewish history flowed from his pen in these years; many were printed in the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.<sup>27</sup>

Philipson also was busy as a eulogist. His memorials of Edward L. Heinsheimer, Hyman Enelow, J. Walter Freiberg, Julius Freiberg, Kaufmann Kohler, Louis S. Levi, Moses J. Gries, Solomon Fox, Moses Ezekiel, and others, all were published in national journals.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, Philipson was involved with the maverick, Isidor Singer, and the rabbi-publisher, Isaac Landman, and their respective encyclopedia projects. He wrote articles and assisted in fundraising and general support.<sup>29</sup>

Philipson's involvement with the Jewish Publication Society increased once the Bible translation efforts were underway. Although his own scholarly input to the translation project was minimal, he did attend the meetings of the Board of Editors with a devoted regularity until its completion in 1915.<sup>30</sup> Philipson also chaired the C.C.A.R. Committee on Bible Fund which helped raise money to support the project, and he assisted Cyrus Adler in mediating controversial issues attendant to completing the project.<sup>31</sup> Once the translation was finished, Philipson donated to

H.U.C. the honorarium tendered him by Jacob Schiff in order to establish the Ella H. Philipson Prize for the best essay on a biblical subject.<sup>32</sup> He later changed the fund and its purpose to support American Jewish historical research and publishing efforts.

David Philipson's association with the Jewish Publication Society dated from the J.P.S.' first meeting in May, 1888, which he attended. Although they were not very friendly, Philipson was invited by Joseph Krauskopf, the Society's initial moving force, to be one of its earliest participants and organizers.<sup>33</sup> Krauskopf needed the Baltimore, and later, Cincinnati, connections. In addition to participating in its founding and his role in the Bible translation, Philipson enjoyed a lengthy career of service with the J.P.S., especially on its Publication Committee. He worked on a number of its subcommittees over the years, but was especially involved in its Committees on Jewish Classics, on Biography, and on Historical Jewish Communities; Philipson was chairman of the latter two.

The Classics series of the J.P.S. was a bold plan to publish in English a broad spectrum of Jewish classic texts other than the Bible. The idea for the plan developed in 1914 about the time that the Bible translation was nearing completion, and after some negotiations, Jacob Schiff again provided the project's funding. Philipson was privy to the planning from the outset, and, with Cyrus Adler, he helped

arrange an overall structure which allowed for equal representation of H.U.C., J.T.S. and Dropsie College personnel in overseeing the Series. Adler depended on Philipson considerably when it came to influencing the Cincinnati men. Their relationship dated to Johns Hopkins days, and Adler could trust Philipson to be gentlemanly and industrious. When the project was finally set in motion, Philipson sat on three committees, History, Homiletics, and Apocrypha, and chaired the Committee on Fables and Folklore. One item eventually was produced under the auspices of Philipson and his committee: the Ma'aseh Book, by Moses Gaster, in 1934.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps David Philipson's greatest fulfillment in J.P.S. work, after the Bible translation, came from directing the Historical Jewish Communities Series. For about a decade, from the late Twenties through the late Thirties, he directed the J.P.S. project to produce studies of various communities and their Jewries. In this capacity, Philipson was pivotal in selecting authors, assigning communities to be studied, and reading the texts. Among the works written under his care were Cecil Roth's volume on Venice, Elkan Adler's on London, Fritz Baer's on Spain, and Adolph Kober's on Cologne.<sup>35</sup> Philipson proved himself to be a compassionate administrator, and at times, a careful reader and advisor. He learned the hard way: the first books in the Series received at best mixed reviews. Later,

they improved. Criticisms were received that one volume was too general; another complaint had it that the Series lacked standards and direction. After some years, however, the partial Philipson could reflect: "This series on Jewish communities is one of the best that the Publication Society has issued."<sup>36</sup>

At the same time that he was directing these projects of the J.P.S., Philipson continued to coordinate publishing programs for the C.C.A.R./U.A.H.C. Commission on Jewish Education, and the Hebrew Union College Annual. He also chaired the C.C.A.R.'s prayer book revision committee, and participated in the Conference's tract-writing operations. Additionally, he remained a vice president of the American Jewish Historical Society which issued its Publications. David Philipson had a hand in many publishing or scholarly ventures, and made this work among his busiest and his most fulfilling.<sup>37</sup>

Philipson's two final literary ventures were to edit a collection of the letters of Rebecca Gratz, and to write his own autobiography. Philipson always admired the character of Rebecca in Ivanhoe.<sup>38</sup> Thus, it was only fitting that when he fortuitously was invited in 1923 to peruse a vast, private collection of letters of Rebecca Gratz, who was popularly credited with having inspired Sir Walter Scott's fictional Rebecca, Philipson anxiously arranged to borrow and study the correspondence. The collection numbered in

the hundreds of letters, and Philipson was amazed at the breadth and value of his sudden discovery. He made plans to study and publish selections from the collection.<sup>39</sup> After years of further research into the Gratz family, as well as negotiations with the J.P.S. over publishing the work, Philipson's book was published in 1929. The costs of producing the book were partially absorbed by the Congregation Bene Israel Sisterhood in honor of Philipson's fortieth anniversary of service to the Congregation.<sup>40</sup> It was a wonderful gift: it made it possible for the Publication Society to produce the book, and Philipson greatly wanted the Society's prestigious imprint on the volume. Philipson's book, Letters of Rebecca Gratz, was very well received and inspired other research into Gratz.<sup>41</sup>

David Philipson's final literary venture followed a decade after the publication of Rebecca Gratz. He began compiling his autobiography after he retired from the active rabbinate, and when his wife was ill during 1939 and 1940, he worked on his memoirs.<sup>42</sup> Philipson used the journals which he sporadically kept during his lifetime as the basis for his life story. As was his pattern, and as would be especially expected in this case, Philipson was not self-critical in My Life as an American Jew. He was at his celebratory best. The autobiography, therefore, is actually more of a lengthy set of reminiscences than a self study. A careful comparison of the book and his diaries reveals that

Philipson reviewed his diaries and marked each paragraph "in" or "out," depending on whether or not he desired to include it in his published accounts. Therefore, the most interesting source documents for studying Philipson's life were the sections designated "out". These revealed the deeper, intriguing sides of the man.<sup>43</sup>

My Life as an American Jew probably served a number of purposes for Philipson. He acknowledged that his friends urged him to write his life story, probably because they realized that Philipson's life bridged two Jewish Americas and included innumerable important events.<sup>44</sup> His biography would be useful, they probably thought. Yet, for Philipson, an analytical work was out of the question. He preferred to write his memoirs more to leave a parting memorial, and possibly to acknowledge the people to whom he was indebted and for whom he cared. Throughout the volume he interwove short chronicles and praises of colleagues and friends, acknowledging their relationships and often celebrating their achievements. For David Philipson, the writing of an autobiography probably capped a signal career, and indicated to himself how unique and privileged his life had been. It also gave him one final, everlasting opportunity to forever preach his principles, opinions and evaluations, and to give to his ideas, as well, a lasting memorial.

David Philipson, therefore, despite producing numerous books and articles, was not a scholar, but a scholarly



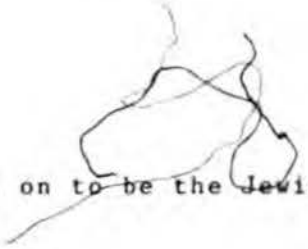
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writer. His work was not outstanding, but it was solid. When some friends considered organizing a festschrift for Philipson in 1931 they could not find anyone to undertake overseeing the project. Perhaps this was due to the Depression or due to Philipson's personal orneriness which did not endear him to many people, but most probably it reflected the fact that Philipson's scholarship did not excite the scholarly community to action.<sup>45</sup> In his scholarly life David Philipson underwent a personal transformation of focus from studying European Jewry to studying his own Jewry.<sup>46</sup> This development paralleled the shift of World Jewish hegemony from Europe to America, which took place during Philipson's lifetime. As a student of American Jewry he was a pioneer. The field was very new; given the disclaimer, Philipson's scholarship was much more credible and significant than first realized. His scholarship may lack insightful evaluation and investigation, but its very existence is important. David Philipson was correct when he logged into his diary: "The books I have written constitute my permanent memorial."<sup>47</sup>

## SUMMARY CONCLUSION

From humble beginnings, the Dean of American (Reform) Rabbis went on to enjoy a full and rich career, and leave a lasting memorial after him. He was a standardbearer for universalistic Reform Judaism, and a spokesman for the movement's mission. This was his chief claim to fame and his major function. Identified with Isaac Mayer Wise in the popular eye, and identified with Max Lillienthal in his own mind, David Philipson staged a forceful career as the junior member of Cincinnati's triad of great Reform rabbis.

After his brief, but significant sojourn in Baltimore - which provided him with needed sophistication, a broader world view, East coast connections, a relationship with Kaufmann Kohler, and a cultured, commanding spouse - Philipson continued his career in the institutional capital of Reform Judaism. In Cincinnati Philipson's ambitions would be challenged. He followed in Max Lillienthal's path, and developed Congregation Bene Israel into a more robust institution at the same time that he developed himself into a civic personage. Philipson associated and worked with Jews and gentiles, and made the city of Cincinnati into his "extended congregation." It was not long before he had become one of the two rabbis of the City, and once Isaac Wise died, Philipson stood alone as Cincinnati's leading rabbi. Although challenged, he never relinquished this



role, and went on to be the Jewish senior statesman of Cincinnati.

Also, in Cincinnati Philipson's influence extended into the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College. He was the powerful rabbi allied with the Union's powerful laity, and he helped steer the U.A.H.C. for decades. Yet, the College was the apple of Philipson's eye. As one of its bikkurim, he was the symbol of its achievement and its mission. He also was indebted to H.U.C. for providing him the opportunity to become somebody. Philipson maintained a very close relationship with the College. As an instructor and Board Member, he knew the College's inner life intimately. He knew its personalities and machinery, and for many years was very probably the supreme force behind the College. Unfortunately for David Philipson, the prize of which he dreamed - the College Presidency - twice eluded him. Had he succeeded in securing the post, which he thought he deserved, he surely would have directed the College in strict ideological adherence to the tenets of Universalistic Judaism, and would have shaped it as best he could in his own image. Sadly, after he lost his quiet "bid" for the presidency in 1921-1922, he was bitter, and he and Julian Morgenstern respectively embittered one another for almost three decades.

David Philipson was best known for championing the cause of Universalistic Judaism, and its corollary, anti-

Nationalism. Fearful of any aspersions on the loyalty of Jews to their host country, the United States of America, David Philipson compensated, as did those of his generation and point-of-view, with an unrelenting American patriotism and firm anti-Zionism. Philipson led the pack, and made this issue chief among his concerns. Because he was a student of Medieval Jewish history with its annals of persecution, Philipson especially knew how privileged and enfranchised the Jews were in America. He made it his personal crusade to protect the position of the Jew in America. If something seemingly threatened the image of the cultured, integrated, religious, "uptown" (German) Jew, he combatted it with pen and from pulpit, whether it be the poison of Henry Ford, or the apparently lowbrow and impoverished Eastern European Jewish newcomers who flooded American Jewry during Philipson's lifetime. Thus, Philipson acquired a fairly-deserved reputation for being elitest and "aristocratic." Yet, Philipson was not a malevolent man; his demeanor and style reflected his tenuous position as a rabbi to machers, and as one whose cultured status was not from birth, but gained through marriage, hard work, and weathering disappointments.

Within the circle of his colleagues, David Philipson was a force. He was part of the inner circle of rabbis who controlled the C.C.A.R., and he kept his hand in its affairs for sixty years. Philipson's lengthy career also accorded

him status: as the "first disciple" of Isaac Wise, he bridged two American Jewries. He began his rabbinate at the end of the German Jewish period in American Jewish life, and concluded it after the Eastern European migration had achieved hegemony in America. Philipson, therefore, was somewhat atavistic, and was the living symbol of an earlier age. He saw himself as the guardian of "legitimate" American Reform Judaism before it underwent change, and as such, he demanded and received the respect and deference of his rabbinic colleagues. Through serving as the Conference president, on its Executive Committee, and as chairman of numerous committees over six decades, Philipson was a power in the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Although he prided himself on his literary works, David Philipson was not a brilliant scholar. He did produce some important scholarship, however. These works are significant not for Philipson's analyses or evaluations, but because he carefully marshalled the facts and recorded his own recollections. He was a link between the builders of American Jewry of the nineteenth century, and the scholarly historians of American Jewry of the twentieth century. It was not entirely an unwitting role: Philipson wasted few opportunities to herald his associations with the nineteenth century luminaries, and he published a number of biographical studies of them, as well. To Philipson, the title, "Historian of Reform Judaism," meant a great deal.

David Philipson, who had no children, considered the books which he wrote to be his lasting memorials. To later generations, however, the image of Philipson and his symbolic essence is more his memorial. It is not what he gave to the world which brought him fame and a place in American Jewish history, but what he represented for American Reform Jewry and the way he championed it which are Philipson's laurels and memorials. That is the substance behind being designated "Dean of American (Reform) Rabbis."



1. David Philipson, My Life as an American Jew (Cincinnati: John G. Kidd and Sons, Inc., 1941), 191 (hereafter cited as Philipson, MLAJ).
2. Philipson, MLAJ, 1-2, 44.
3. Diary entry, July 24, 1927, David Philipson Papers, MS Collection #35, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, box 3 (hereafter cited as DPP with box and folder numbers given, when applicable, as a fraction).
4. Marc Lee Raphael, Jews and Judaism in a Midwestern Community: Columbus, Ohio, 1840-1975 (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1979), 64 (hereafter cited as Raphael, Columbus); Philipson, MLAJ, 1-2.
5. Solomon B. Freehof, "Introduction," in David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism, rev. ed. (N.Y.: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1967), xi (hereafter cited as Freehof, "Introduction"); Philipson, MLAJ, 1.
6. Michael A. Meyer, "A Centennial History," in Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion: At One Hundred Years, ed. Samuel E. Karff (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1976), 8, 18 ff., 37 (hereafter cited as Meyer, "Centennial History"); Daily Record Book, entry Oct. 4, 1875, Hebrew Union College Records, MS Collection #5, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, B-1/1 (hereafter cited as HUCR with box and folder numbers given as a fraction); Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations), 826 (hereafter cited as PUAHC).
7. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Sept. 15, 1932, HUCR D-17/2.
8. Freehof, "Introduction," xi.
9. Philipson, MLAJ, 3 ff.
10. Daily Record Book, entry Feb. 11, 1878, HUCR B-1/1.
11. Daily Record Book, entry Feb. 29, 1880, HUCR B-1/2.

12. Jacob Rader Marcus, "Dr. David Philipson's Place in American Jewish Historiography," American Jewish Archives, 3 (no.2):28 (hereafter cited as Marcus, "Philipson Historiography"); Philipson lesson books, DPP box 8.
13. Private communication, Madeline Hillman Krauskopf to Doug Kohn, Phila., July 20, 1984.
14. Nathan Cohn, Nashville, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 31, 1928, DPP 10/2.
15. Untitled eulogy of Frederick Hecht, n.d. (Spring, 1883), DPP box 7.
16. Philipson read lech lesholem (Ashkenazic pronunciation), writing it: לשולם, which follows a phonetic intonation. It is properly spelled: לשולם, DPP box 6.
17. Philipson, MLAJ, 23-24; PUAHC, 1370.
18. Philipson wrote in his diary: "...it was my first rabbinical experience..." He was offered a permanent position in Dallas, but he declined. Diary entry, Oct. 6, 1932, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 25-27.
19. Philipson, MLAJ, 4.
20. Statistics of the Jews of the United States (Cincinnati: Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1880), 30-31 (hereafter cited as BDAI & UAHC, Statistics); Raphael, Columbus, 138; Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, Nov. 13, 1877, pp.734-35.
21. Meyer, "Centennial History," 7-8; Philipson, MLAJ, 5-7.
22. Diary entry, Feb. 5, 1932, DPP box 3.
23. Address: "My First Glimpse of Dr. Wise," n.d., DPP 5/1.
24. David Philipson, "A Reformer of a Century Ago," American Jewish Archives Nearprint File: "Philipson, David" (hereafter cited as Philipson, "A Reformer").

25. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Jonah B. Wise, N.Y., Nov. 7, 1928, Congregation Bene Israel Records, MS Collection #24, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, 4/8 (hereafter cited as CBIR with box and folder numbers given as a fraction).
26. Memorial: "Joseph Krauskopf, Friend and Classmate," n.d., DPP 4/10.
27. Diary entry, Mar. 29, 1934, DPP box 3.
28. David Philipson, "History of the Hebrew Union College," in Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1925), 36 ff. (hereafter cited as Philipson, "History of HUC"); Philipson, MLAJ, Index sub "Wise, Isaac M."; David Philipson, Centenary Papers and Others (Cincinnati: Ark Publishing Co., 1919), Preface, 46 ff., 58 ff. (hereafter cited as Philipson, Centenary Papers).
29. Diary entry, Aug. 24, 1933, DPP box 3.
30. Diary entry, Feb. 22, 1937, DPP box 3.
31. Diary entry, Dec. 28, 1936, DPP box 3.
32. Joseph Rauch, "A Testimonial of Appreciation for Dr. David Philipson, etc.," n.d., HUCR D-19/4 (hereafter cited as Rauch, "Testimonial").
33. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Dena Wilansky, Cincinnati, Apr. 19, 1928, DPP 2/4; diary entry, Mar. 29, 1934, DPP box 3.
34. Diary entry, Sept. 11, 1890, DPP box 3; Stanley F. Chyet, "Isaac Mayer Wise: Portraits by David Philipson," in A Bicentennial Festschrift for Jacob Rader Marcus, ed. Bertram Wallace Korn (Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society, and N.Y.: Ktav Publishing House, 1976), 77 (hereafter cited as Chyet in Festschrift).
35. Chyet in Festschrift, 77.
36. Philipson, Centenary Papers, 17, 49 ff.; Isaac M. Wise, Reminiscences, ed. David Philipson (Cincinnati: Leo Wise & Co., 1901), 331-32 (hereafter cited as Wise, Reminiscences); Jacob Rader Marcus, "The Americanization of Isaac Mayer Wise" (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1969) 7-11; Philipson, "A Reformer."

37. Meyer, "Centennial History," 43-44; Sheldon H. Blank, "Bible," in Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion: At One Hundred Years, ed. Samuel E. Karff (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1976), 287-290.
38. Address: "Personal Contacts with the Founder," Mar. 24, 1934, DPP 5/4.
39. Address: "The Fundamentalist Controversy," n.d., DPP 4/6.
40. Cf. Rauch, "Testimonial," in which it is written of Wise and Philipson: "They saw eye to eye on every important issue touching our faith and our people."
41. Diary entry, Mar. 30, 1932, DPP box 3.
- 41a. In his diary entry, Nov. 3, 1891 (DPP box 3), Philipson did complain that Bene Israel's leaders were too bureaucratic and he attributed it to Lilienthal's heavy political consciousness.
42. David Philipson, Max Lilienthal, American Rabbi (N.Y.: Bloch Publishing Co., 1915) 7-59 (hereafter cited as Philipson, Lilienthal); Philipson, Centenary Papers, 149-169.
43. Philipson, Lilienthal, 59.
44. Philipson, Lilienthal, vi.
45. Diary entry, Apr. 5, 1932, DPP box 3.
46. Services at the Installation of Rev. Dr. David Philipson as Rabbi of Congregation B'ne Israel, Cincinnati, Ohio, November 3, 1888 (Cincinnati, 1888), 2 (hereafter cited as Installation of Philipson); Philipson, MLAJ, 8-9, 57.
47. Philipson, Lilienthal, 76 ff.; I have found no evidence that Wise ever enjoyed widespread affection in the Cincinnati community in the way that Lilienthal did.
48. Private communication, Dr. Jacob Rader Marcus to Doug Kohn, Cincinnati, Sept. 25, 1986.

49. Philipson was not a scientific scholar (see Marcus, "Philipson Historiography"; cf. chapter six). He allowed his opinions to color his works, as is very evident in Philipson, Lilienthal.
50. Philipson, Lilienthal, 101-2.
51. See chapter five.
52. Philipson, Centenary Papers, 167-68; Philipson, Lilienthal, 53.
53. Philipson Centenary Papers, 185.
54. Philipson, Lilienthal, 64.
55. Philipson, Centenary Papers, 179.
56. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Lessing J. Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pa., Dec. 26, 1947, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Edward W. Schleisner, Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 14, 1946, CBIR 9/4.
57. See chapter two.
58. Philipson, Lilienthal, 125.
59. See Rauch, "Testimonial." Also: Victor E. Reichert, "Tribute to David Philipson," July 1, 1949, DPP 9/3: "He was the visible symbol of the continuity of Reform Judaism in America - the first bold disciple of Isaac M. Wise..."
60. Philipson, MLAJ, 31.
61. Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, 6:144 (hereafter cited as PAJHS); Isaac Fein, The Making of an American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920 (Phila.: Jewish Publication Society, 1971), 81 (hereafter cited as Fein, Baltimore); BDAI & UAHC, Statistics, 19.
62. Fein, Baltimore, 113-19.
63. "Szold, Benjamin," The Jewish Encyclopedia, The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia; Fein, Baltimore, 182-84; Isidor Blum, The Jews of Baltimore (Baltimore: Historical Review Publishing Company, 1910), 15 (hereafter cited as Blum, Baltimore).

64. Moshe Davis, The Emergence of Conservative Judaism: The Historical School in 19th Century America (Phila.: Jewish Publication Society, 1963), 360-62 (hereafter cited as Davis, Emergence).
65. Meyer, "Centennial History," 38-39.
66. Philipson, MLAJ, 34-35.
67. Philipson, MLAJ, 33-34.
68. Fein, Baltimore, 121-133; Blum, Baltimore, 16-20.
69. Fein, Baltimore, 133-137; Blum, Baltimore, 27-28.
70. Fein, Baltimore, 101.
71. Fein, Baltimore, 101-137.
72. Diary entry, Sept. 11, 1890, DPP box 3; Fein, Baltimore, 125.
73. Blum, Baltimore, 11; David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism, rev. ed. (N.Y.: MacMillan Company, 1931), 335 (hereafter cited as Philipson RMIJ); Fein, Baltimore, 62-63; Charles Rubenstein, History of the Har Sinai Congregation of the City of Baltimore (Baltimore: Press of Kohn & Pollock, Inc., 1918), 1, 2, 4 ff. (hereafter cited as Rubenstein, Har Sinai).
74. Philipson, MLAJ, 32-33; Fein, Baltimore, 180.
75. Rubenstein, Har Sinai, 40-55; Philipson, MLAJ, 28.
76. Fein, Baltimore, 62-65, 133 ff., 214-16; Philipson, MLAJ, 32.
77. Fein, Baltimore, 107, 111, 135; Philipson, MLAJ, 28, 31-32.
78. Philipson, MLAJ, 28.
79. "Inaugural Sermon, Jan. 5, 1884," untitled sermon (German) Jan. 12, 1884, DPP box 6; Philipson, MLAJ, 31-32.
80. David Philipson, Baltimore, to Israel Aaron, Fort Wayne, Jan. 8, 1884, DPP 1/1; Philipson, MLAJ, 31 ff., 41.



81. The Independent, St. Petersburg, Fla., Mar. 5, 1949, Amerian Jewish Archives Nearprint File: "Philipson, David".
82. Address: "Joseph Krauskopf, Friend and Classmate," n.d., DPP 4/10.
83. Fein, Baltimore, 179; Philipson, MLAJ, 29.
84. David Philipson, Baltimore to Max Heller, Cincinnati, Mar. 29, 1884, Maximilian H. Heller Papers, MS Collection #33, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, 4/18 (hereafter cited as MHHP with box and folder numbers given as a fraction).
85. Diary entries, Jan. 1, 1934, April 2, 1935, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 38, 41.
86. DPP boxes 7 and 8 include hundreds of Philipson's sermons, many of which are dated and untitled. The latest date found for a German sermon was June 7, 1884 (box 6).
87. A cursory survey of the sermons in DPP boxes 4-7 will reveal this.
88. Untitled sermon, n.d., DPP box 7.
89. Untitled sermon, Jan. 3, 1885, DPP box 6.
90. Untitled sermon, n.d., DPP box 7.
91. Ibid.
92. Diary entry, Jan. 15, 1888, DPP box 3.
93. Philipson, MLAJ, 45.
94. Mother, Columbus, Ohio, to David Philipson, May 13, 1884, DPP 1/16; diary entries, May 8, Oct. 15, 1934, Oct. 1, 1937, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 1-2, 30, 43-45.
95. Diary entry, Jan. 15, 1888, DPP box 3.
96. Diary entry, Jan. 25, 1888, DPP box 3; cf. also diary entry Jan. 4, 1888, DPP box 3: "Sometimes it seems as if we must despair of the progress of man."
97. Philipson, MLAJ, 32, 39.

98. Philipson, MLAJ, 49-53; Philipson called Ella his "gauge," and relied on her judgement: diary entry, Jan. 9, 1888, DPP box 3.
99. See letterpress book, 1887-1888, DPP 1/17; Philipson, MLAJ, 54-55.
100. JPS: "Opening Address at Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Jewish Publication Society of America," Dec. 11, 1938, DPP 5/3; Philipson, MLAJ, 56; Levy: David Philipson, Baltimore, to Clifton Levy, Cincinnati, Feb. 2, 1888, DPP 1/17.
101. David Philipson, Baltimore, to Isaac Mayer Wise, Cincinnati, Mar. 5, 1888, DPP 1/17.
102. Diary entries, Jan. 10, 25, 1888, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 48-49.
103. Diary entries, Jan. 2, 10, 1888, DPP box 3.
104. Gustav Gottheil, N.Y., to David Philipson, Baltimore, Dec. 29, 1884, DPP 1/6; Philipson, MLAJ, 47.
105. Philipson, MLAJ, 47-48; diary entry, Mar. 14, 1932, DPP box 3.
106. Kaufmann Kohler, N.Y., to David Philipson, Baltimore, June 15, 1885, DPP 1/10; cf. same to same, Mar. 17, 1885, DPP 1/10.
107. Same to same, July 3, 1885, DPP 1/10.
- 107a. Ibid.
108. Same to same, Sept. 21, 1885, DPP 1/10.
109. Ibid; also same to same, Sept. 28, 1885, DPP 1/10.
110. Same to same, July 3, Sept. 21, 28, 1885, DPP 1/10.
111. Same to same, Oct. 19, 1885, DPP 1/10.
112. Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook, 36:171, 45:197 (hereafter cited as CCARY). This letter is not found in DPP. The only references to Kohler's note are from Philipson's own published accounts.

113. "Authentic Report of the Proceedings of the Rabbinical Conference Held at Pittsburg, Nov. 16, 17, 18, 1885," in Walter Jacob, ed., The Changing World of Reform Judaism: The Pittsburgh Platform in Retrospect (Pittsburgh: Rodef Shalom Congregation, 1985), 91-123 passim (hereafter cited as "Authentic Report").
114. CCARY, 36:171 ff., 45:197.
115. "Authentic Report," 91-123, passim.
116. Sermons: DPP boxes 6 and 7; Robert Ross very superficially analyzed Philipson's sermons in his article, "The Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, One Hundred Years Old," in Walter Jacob, ed., The Changing World of Reform Judaism: The Pittsburgh Platform in Retrospect (Pittsburgh: Rodef Shalom Congregation, 1985); CCARY, 45:200; diary entry, Aug. 23, 1935, DPP box 3; Davis, Emergence, 228.
117. CCARY, 45:134, 205-6, 47:112-13.
118. New York: Philipson, MLAJ, 47-48, 57. Philadelphia: Philipson, MLAJ, 57. St. Louis: David Philipson, Baltimore, to Augustus Binswanger, St. Louis, Oct. 29, 1886, DPP 1/1; Philipson, MLAJ, 52-53, 57; diary entries, Jan. 11, 1934, July 27, 1936, DPP box 3. Chicago: M.M. Gerstley, Chicago, to David Philipson, Baltimore, Jan. 9, 1888, DPP 1/6; Lazarus Silverman, Chicago, to David Philipson, Baltimore, Feb. 2, 1888, DPP 1/19; David Philipson, Baltimore, to Lazarus Silverman, Chicago, Feb. 6, 1888, DPP 1/17.
119. Diary entry, Jan. 28, 1888. DPP box 3.
120. Isaac M. Wise, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Baltimore, Dec. 13, 1887, DPP 2/5.
121. David Philipson, Baltimore, to Bettmann, Cincinnati, Jan. 28, 1888, DPP 1/17.
122. Letter not sent: David Philipson, Baltimore, to "Henny," n.p., June 21, 1888, DPP 1/17; David Philipson, Baltimore, to Isaac Lipman, Cincinnati, June 23, 1888, DPP 1/17.
123. David Philipson, Baltimore, to Bettmann, Cincinnati, Apr. 10, 1888, DPP 1/17; David Philipson, Baltimore, to Julius Freiberg, Cincinnati, June 9, 23, July 1, 1888, DPP 1/17.

124. David Philipson, Baltimore, to Isaac Mayer Wise, Cincinnati, July 2, 1888, DPP 1/17; David Philipson, Baltimore, to Isidor Rayner, Baltimore, July 24, 1888, DPP 1/17.
125. David Philipson, Baltimore, to Julius Freiberg, Cincinnati, Nov. 15, 1888, DPP 1/5.
126. See DPP 1/17 for letters between Philipson and Schanfarber, especially David Philipson, Baltimore, to Tobias Schanfarber, Ft. Wayne, Oct. 16, 1888.
127. Diary entry, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Baltimore, to Bettmann, Cincinnati, Jan. 28, Apr. 10, 1888, DPP 1/17.
128. David Philipson, Baltimore, to Bettmann, Cincinnati, Jan. 28, Apr. 10, 1888, DPP 1/17.
129. Isaac Mayer Wise, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Baltimore, Oct. 16, 1888, DPP 2/5.
130. Installation of Philipson, 6-7.
131. Philipson, MLAJ, 57.
132. Untitled farewell sermon, n.d. (Oct. 1888), DPP box 7.
133. Diary entry, Nov. 3, 1936, DPP box 3; re Benjamin's supporters: David Philipson, Baltimore, to Bettmann, Cincinnati, Oct. 21, 1888, DPP 1/17; see also Installation of Philipson, 6, for Philipson's consoling words to the opposition.
134. Diary entry, Nov. 3, 1936, DPP box 3 ; Philipson, MLAJ, 66.
135. Alfred M. Cohen, address: "Dr. David Philipson's Fortieth Anniversary," DPP 9/4.
136. Sermon, untitled, n.d., DPP box 6.
137. Installation of Philipson, 2, 6-7, 8-9.
138. Diary entry, Sept. 16, 1890, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 61.
139. Diary entry, Oct. 5, 1890, DPP box 3.
140. Ibid.

141. Philipson, MLAJ, 62; diary entries, Sept. 28, 1890, Oct. 21, 1891, DPP box 3.
142. Diary entry, Nov. 3, 1891, DPP box 3.
143. Diary entry, Sept. 11, 1890, DPP box 3; C.P. Bollman, New York, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Nov. 7, 1890, DPP 1/1.
144. David Philipson, The Oldest Jewish Congregation in the West. (B'ne Israel, Cincinnati.) (Cincinnati: C.J. Krebhiel & Co., 1894), 70 (hereafter cited as Philipson, Oldest Congregation).
145. Diary entries, Sept. 17, 1890, Nov. 26, 1934, Feb. 28, June 3, 1935, DPP box 3.
146. Charles T. Ogden, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Feb. 20, 1929, CBIR 5/1; diary entry, Sept. 29-Oct. 4, 1890, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 71.
147. Diary entry, Sept. 29-Oct. 4, 1890, DPP box 3; The Holy Scriptures (Phila.: Jewish Publication Society, 1955), vi (hereafter cited as Holy Scriptures); David Philipson, Old European Jewries (Phila.: Jewish Publication Society, 1894) (hereafter cited as Philipson, OEJ).
148. Diary entry, Oct. 21, 1933, also see Philipson's 1934 HUC Founder's Day Address, as printed in The American Israelite, Mar. 29, 1934, in diary entry, Mar. 29, 1934, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 69-70; Philipson, Centenary Papers, 200-201.
149. 1934 Founder's Day Address, as printed in The American Israelite, Mar. 29, 1934, in diary entry, Mar. 29, 1934, DPP box 3.
150. Philipson, MLAJ, 70; diary entry, Oct. 21, 1933, DPP box 3; CCARY 1:6; miscellaneous correspondence of Philipson, CCAR Corresponding Secretary, is found in DPP 1/17.
151. Diary entries, Nov. 2, 3, 1936, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 65-66.
152. Philipson, MLAJ, 87-88; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Morris Jastrow, Philadelphia, Nov. 26, 1890, DPP 1/17.

153. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to A. Pollack, Amsterdam, N.Y., Jan. 28, 1891, DPP 1/17.
154. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to President and Board of Trustees, K.K.B.I., Cincinnati, Oct. 15, 1890, DPP 1/17.
155. Diary entries, Sept. 11, 16, 27, 1890, DPP box 3.
156. "Authentic Report," 117.
157. Diary entry, Oct. 29, 1891, DPP box 3.
158. Diary entry, Nov. 3, 1891, DPP box 3.
159. Ibid.
160. Barnett R. Brickner, "The Jewish Community of Cincinnati, Historical and Descriptive, 1817-1935" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Cincinnati, 1935), 78.
161. Diary entries, Sept. 16, 1890, Nov. 3, 1891, DPP box 3.
162. Not surprisingly, Philipson made no mention of these matters in his history of the congregation (Philipson, Oldest Congregation). Diary entry, Nov. 3, 1891, DPP box 3, does relate correspondence and telephoning by the leadership in which they pragmatically directed affairs and got their way.
163. Meyer, "Centennial History," 35.
164. DPP 1/17 contains at least six letters of Philipson to Bettmann.
165. Diary entry, Sept. 11, 1890, DPP box 3.
166. Ibid.
167. David Philipson, Baltimore, to Julius Freiberg, Cincinnati, June 23, 1888, DPP 1/17.
168. David Philipson, Baltimore, to Julius Freiberg, Cincinnati, Sept. 16, 1888, DPP 1/17.
169. Diary entry, Sept. 11, 1890, DPP box 3.
170. Diary entry, Sept. 16, 1890, DPP box 3.
171. Diary entries, Sept. 11, 16, 27, Oct. 4, 1890, Oct. 29, Nov. 1, 3, 1891, DPP box 3.



172. Diary entry, Nov. 1, 1891, DPP box 3.
173. The American Israelite, Oct. 1928, DPP 9/4.
174. Diary entries, Sept. 11, 1890, Oct. 29, 1891, DPP box 3; Chyet in Festschrift, 86.
175. Diary entry, Sept. 11, 1890, DPP box 3; Chyet in Festschrift, 86-87, 90-91 nn. 14-15.
176. Diary entries, Sept. 16, 1890, Nov. 3, 1891, DPP box 3.
177. Diary entry, Sept. 11, 1890, DPP box 3; Chyet in Festschrift, 87.
178. Diary entry, Dec. 28, 1936, DPP box 3.
179. Philipson, MLAJ, 95, 183-85; untitled sermons, Nov. 7, 1896, Nov. 5, 1898, DPP box 6.
180. Diary entry, Aug. 9, 1931, DPP box 3; Murray Seangood, "Address," in Addresses and Testimonials Delivered on the Occasion of Rev. Dr. David Philipson's Fortieth Anniversary with Congregation Bene Israel (Cincinnati, 1928), 41; Philipson, MLAJ, 66 ff.; several untitled, undated sermons, DPP box 7.
181. Sermon: "The New and True Charity," Oct. 16, 1897, DPP box 6; diary entry, May 17, 1935, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 121.
182. Diary entry, Mar. 29, 1934, DPP box 3; Hebrew Union College Annual, 2:419 (hereafter cited as HUCA).
183. See bibliography; Philipson, MLAJ, 93 ff., 99-120.
184. Diary entry, Sept. 7, 1933, DPP box 3.
185. Diary entry, Sept. 15, 1890, DPP box 3.
186. Evyatar Friesel, "The Age of Optimism in American Judaism," in A Bicentennial Festschrift for Jacob Rader Marcus, ed. Bertram Wallace Korn (Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society, and N.Y.: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1976), 148-49 (hereafter cited as Friesel in Festschrift); Philipson, OEJ, 217-19.

187. For Frey and his American Society, see Joseph L. Blau and Salo W. Baron (eds.), The Jews of the United States, 1790-1840; a Documentary History (3 vols., N.Y.: Columbia University Press, and Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1963), Index sub "American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews," and "Frey, Joseph Samuel C.F."; diary entry, Nov. 7, 1891, DPP box 3.
188. Diary entries, Sept. 11, 1890, Nov. 1, 7, 1891, DPP box 3.
189. Diary entry, Nov. 1, 1891, DPP box 3.
190. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Wolsey, Philadelphia, Oct. 28, 1930, CBIR 6/4; diary entries, Jan. 17, Dec. 12, 1934, Nov. 5, 1935, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 159-61; Every Friday, n.d., DPP 9/4; Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Apr. 12, 1902, DPP 1/19; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Max Heller, New Orleans, 1899 misc. corr., MHHP 4/18.
191. Diary entries, Sept. 11, 29, 1890, Sept. 27, 1927, Apr. 7, Aug. 9, 1931, DPP box 3.
192. Meyer, "Centennial History," 47 ff.
193. "Concensus of Opinion of the Alumni of the Hebrew Union College on the Election of a President to Succeed Dr. Isaac M. Wise," 1901, HUCR D-2/5 (hereafter cited as "Concensus," HUCR D/2-5).
194. Meyer, "Centennial History," 47-52.
195. Max Heller, New Orleans, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Jan. 7, 1901, DPP 1/7; Adolph Moses, Louisville, to Isaac Bloom, Cincinnati, June 12, 1901, HUCR D-2/5.
196. Henry M. Leipziger, N.Y., to B. Bettmann, Cincinnati, June 12, 1901, HUCR D-2/5.
197. "Concensus," HUCR D-2/5.
198. Diary entry, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3.
199. B. Bettmann, Cincinnati, to J. Leonard Levy, Pittsburgh, Nov. 29, 1902, HUCR D-2/8.
200. J. Leonard Levy, Pittsburgh, to B. Bettmann, Cincinnati, Dec. 9, 1902, HUCR D-2/8.

201. Diary entry, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3.
202. Meyer, "Centennial History," 82; diary entry, Mar. 14, 1932, DPP box 3.
203. Diary entry, Mar. 14, 1932, DPP box 3.
204. Meyer, "Centennial History," 55-58.
205. CCARY, 36:172-73; diary entry, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3.
206. HUC Board of Governors minutes, Mar. 31, 1914, HUCR D-8/2; Philipson, MLAJ, 179.
207. Reports of Kaufmann Kohler, June 5, 1904, Mar. 1, 1910, HUCR D-5/5; Henry Englander, Providence, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Feb. 4, 1910, DPP 1/4; diary entry, Apr. 13, 1932, DPP box 3; Kaufmann Kohler, Cincinnati, to Jacob Schiff, N.Y., Jan. 14, 1914, HUCR D-8/3; HUC Board of Governors Minutes, June 23, 1914, 1917, Feb. 26, 1918, HUCR D-8/2, D-10/13, D-11/13; Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, to HUC Board of Governors, Cincinnati, Dec. 17, 1919, HUCR D-12/9; Stanley F. Chyet, "Jacob R. Marcus - A Biographical Sketch," in Essays in American Jewish History (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1958), 9.
208. Philipson, MLAJ, 190.
209. Ibid.; diary entry, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3.
210. HUCR D-2/15.
211. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to President and Members of the Board of Governors, HUC, Cincinnati, Oct. 29, 1906, DPP 1/10.
212. Diary entry, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 190; Meyer, "Centennial History," 68; PUAHC, 5947-48.

213. Diary entry, Apr. 13, 1932, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 156-57; Meyer, "Centennial History," 63-67; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Nathan A. Perilman, N.Y., Feb. 21, 1939, CBIR 8/5; Philipson, "History of HUC," 44; Robert Gordis, "The Life of Professor Max Leopold Margolis: An Appreciation," in Max Leopold Margolis, Scholar and Teacher (Phila.: Alumni Association, Dropsie College, 1952), 6-8; Herbert Parzen, "The Purge of the Dissidents, Hebrew Union College and Zionism, 1903-1907," Jewish Social Studies, 37:291-322, passim.
214. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Martin A. Meyer, San Francisco, Mar. 26, 1914, DPP 1/13; Philip D. Bookstaber, Atlantic City, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 2, 1919, CBIR, 2/9; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Wm. C. Pepper, N.Y., May 6, 1915, DPP 1/14; Meyer, "Centennial History," 88-89; Philipson, MLAJ, 479; Stanley F. Chyet, "Jacob R. Marcus - A Biographical Sketch," in Essays in American Jewish History (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1958), 9.
215. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Pizer Jacobs, Jacksonville, Fla., May 13, 1909, DPP 1/7; Moses J. S. Abels, Altoona, Pa., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Feb. 10, 1916, CBIR 2/4; see also chapter two.
216. Philipson, MLAJ, 163-64, 182-83; Cyrus Adler (ed.), The Voice of America on Kishineff (Phila.: Jewish Publication Society, 1904); diary entries, Jan. 4, Feb. 22, 1906, DPP box 3; Address: "The Kishineff Horror," n.d., DPP 4/11; PUAHC, 4808.
217. Naomi W. Cohen, Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee, 1906-1966 (Phila.: Jewish Publication Society, 1972), 3, 10; Philipson, MLAJ, 182-83; diary entries, Jan. 4, Feb. 22, 1906, DPP box 3.
218. American Jewish Yearbook, 5669 (1908-1909), 238.
219. CCARY, 92:283.
220. A review of CCARY in these years will reveal Philipson's significant presence in conducting the Conference's affairs. He was a fixture on the Executive Committee, and served on a host of committees. In 1914-1915, alone, Philipson was a member of thirteen C.C.A.R. committees (CCARY, 25, passim).
221. CCARY, 18, 19, passim; Philipson, MLAJ, 192-214.

222. Diary entry, Nov. 22, 1927, DPP box 3.
223. Meyer, "Rapprochement"; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Editor, Jewish Comment, Baltimore, Jan. 26, 1909, DPP 2/12; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Editor of the Israelite, "Partisanship in Office," Nov. 28, 1909, DPP 5/4.
224. Max Heller, New Orleans, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 13, 1909, DPP 1/7; Philipson to Heller, Apr. 15, 1909, DPP 2/12; diary entries, July 6, 28, 1930, DPP box 3. Regarding the bitter 1930 C.C.A.R. convention, Philipson wrote: "Every member of the Liturgical Committee was satisfied to sign (the report) except JGH (James G. Heller) my Cincinnati bete noir. The young man has inherited his father's hostility to me and lets no occasion pass to show it!" (diary entry, July 6, 1930, DPP box 3).
225. CCARY, 22:163-64.
226. Freehof, "Introduction," x.
227. Diary entry, Dec. 22, 1931, DPP box 3; Jewish Publication Society Publication Committee Minutes, Jan. 3, Feb. 9, 1913, DPP 2/15; see also chapter six.
228. Charles W. Wendt, Newton, Mass., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Feb. 5, 1919, same to same, Feb. 7, 1919, Philipson to Wendt, Feb. 12, 1919, CBIR 2/8; memorabilia, DPP 9/4; Adolf Kraus, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 19, 1913, DPP 2/10; address: "Woman and the Congregation," n.d. (1913), DPP 5/9.
229. William Rosenau, Baltimore, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 1, 1907, DPP 1/18; cf. Bernard J. Bamberger, "Philipson's History of Reform Judaism," CCAR Journal, 15:4.
230. Marcus, "Philipson Historiography"; Jacob R. Marcus (ed.), An Index to Scientific Articles on American Jewish History (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, and N.Y.: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1971), sub "Philipson, David"; Isaac Goldberg, "A Selected Bibliography of the Writings of David Philipson," PAJHS, 39:445; Wise, Reminiscences, Introduction; Philipson, Centenary Papers; David Philipson and Louis Grossman (eds.), Selected Writings of Isaac Mayer Wise (Cincinnati: R. Clarke Co., 1900).

231. Samuel Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910 (N.Y.: Columbia University, 1914), 172.
232. Diary entry, Nov. 1, 1891, DPP box 3.
233. Untitled sermon, Rosh Hashanah, 1910, DPP box 6.
234. Diary entry, July 21, 1905, DPP box 3.
235. Friesel in Festschrift.
236. Philipson, Centenary Papers, 264-65.
237. Diary entries, July 21, 1905, Sept. 7, 1933, DPP box 3; Address: "Shall Jews Organize?" Cincinnati, Nov. 3, 1908, DPP 5/6.
238. John G. Olmsted, Cincinnati, to Victor E. Reichart, Cincinnati, July 11, 1949, DPP 9/3; diary entries, Feb. 22, 1906, Dec. 3, 1937, Apr. 21, 1938, DPP box 3; Alfred G. Allen, Washington, D.C., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 11, 1911, DPP 1/1; Nicholas Longworth, Washington, D.C., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Dec. 4, 1911, DPP 1/11; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Joseph Silverman, N.Y., Dec. 9, 1918, CBIR 2/7.
239. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Joseph Silverman, N.Y., Dec. 9, 1918, CBIR 2/7.
240. Friesel in Festschrift, 135.
241. In his diary entry of Dec. 3, 1937, Philipson wrote that he was amazed to learn of the number of foreign born, unnaturalized citizens calling Cincinnati home. Despite working with the Citizenship Council, he had been unaware of the scope of Cincinnati's immigrant and alien population. DPP box 3.
242. Louis Marshall, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 5, 1904, DPP 1/13.
243. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Marshall, N.Y., May 9, 1904, DPP 1/13.
244. Diary entry, July 28, 1930, DPP box 3.
245. Philipson, Lilienthal, 64.



246. Diary entries, July 23, 28, 1930, Aug. 31, 1932, July 16, 1933, DPP box 3; Jacob Schiff, N.Y., to Jacob Hollander, Baltimore, Jan. 29, 1911, Schiff, Washington, D.C., to Hollander, Baltimore, Feb. 6, 1911, Schiff, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., to Hollander, Baltimore, Feb. 17, 1911, DPP 1/19; Adolph S. Ochs, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Dec. 27, 1911, telegram, Ochs to Philipson, Jan. 12, 1912, Philipson to Ochs, Jan. 16, 1912, same to same, Jan. 18, 1912, DPP 1/14; Jack Hollander, Baltimore, to Doctor (Philipson), Jan. 30, 1912, Philipson to Jack (Hollander), n.p. (Baltimore), n.d., DPP 2/6.
247. Jacob Schiff, N.Y., to Jacob Hollander, Baltimore, Jan. 29, 1911, DPP 1/19.
248. Diary entries, Apr. 9, 1935, Dec. 29, 1938, DPP box 3; Jacob Hollander, Baltimore, to Doctor (Philipson), Cincinnati, Jan. 30, 1912, Philipson to Jack (Hollander), n.p. (Baltimore), n.d., DPP 2/6.
249. Jacob H. Schiff, N.Y., to Jacob Hollander, Baltimore, Feb. 6, 1911, DPP 1/19.
250. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Jack (Hollander), n.p. (Baltimore), n.d., DPP 2/6.
251. Diary entry, July 28, 1930, DPP box 3.
252. Diary entry, Aug. 31, 1932, DPP box 3.
253. Diary entry, Jan. 10, 1906, DPP box 3.
254. Ibid.
255. Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Nov. 6, 1908, CBIR 1/3.
256. Diary entry, Jan. 30, 1934, DPP box 3.
257. CCARY, 21:230-31; Philipson, MLAJ, 284; diary entry, Apr. 3, 1931, DPP box 3.
258. Sermon: Atonement Eve, 1916, DPP 4/1; diary entry, Mar. 10, 1931, DPP box 3.
259. For example: "The World Court," Rosh Hashanah, 1925, DPP 5/9; "Looking Backward and Forward," ca. Jan. 1921, DPP 4/11; untitled sermon, Oct. 29, 1904, DPP box 6.

260. See DPP boxes 4 through 7.
261. Diary entries, Jan. 1, Mar. 18, 1931, Feb. 4, 1932, Aug. 21, 1936, DPP box 3.
262. Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, May 2, 1907, CBIR 1/3.
263. Diary entry, Nov. 7, 1937, DPP box 3.
264. Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 13, 1904, Cohen to Simon Greenebaum, Cincinnati, Oct. 28, 1904, Cohen to Philipson, June 26, 1906, CBIR 1/2; Philipson, MLAJ, 178.
265. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Rebekah Kohut, N.Y., Apr. 22, 1917, DPP 1/9.
266. Sermon: "The Cry of the Children," Dec. 7, 1906, DPP 4/3.
267. Ibid.
268. Anonymous, n.p., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 15, 1915, DPP 1/14; Philipson to J.W. Stone, Columbus, Ohio, Mar. 16, 1915, DPP 1/19; Philipson to Joseph Kornfeld, Cincinnati, Ohio, Mar. 16, 1915, DPP 1/9; cf. Philipson and Kornfeld correspondence, Mar., 1915, DPP 2/2; Philipson, MLAJ, 253-55; Philipson, Cincinnati, to Randall Condon, London, Sept. 22, 1915, DPP 1/2.
269. Marc Lee Raphael, Jews and Judaism in the United States: A Documentary History (N.Y.: Behrman House, Inc., 1983), 278 ff. (hereafter cited as Raphael, Documentary History); Philipson, MLAJ, Index sub "Anti-Semitism," "Dearborn Independent, The," "Ford, Henry": David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Chief Justice White, Washington, D.C., Oct. 19, 1914, DPP 2/4; Philipson, Cincinnati, to Simon Wolf, Washington, D.C., Sept. 2, 1920, DPP 2/4; John Uri Lloyd, Cincinnati, to Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 31, 1910, Philipson to Lloyd, n.d. (prob. Oct. or Nov., 1910), DPP 1/11.
270. Untitled sermon, Oct. 29, 1904, DPP box 6; diary entry, Nov. 8, 1927, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 66-68, 388.
271. Isaac Landman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Nov. 11, 1918, Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., Nov. 12, 1918, CBIR 2/7.

272. Tyler Field, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, July 21, 25, 1921, CBIR 3/3; same to same, Jan. 28, 1922, CBIR 3/4.
273. Address: "Reform Judaism and Zionism," n.d., DPP 5/5.
274. Diary entry, May 26, 1933, DPP box 3; Address: "Are the Germans the Chosen People?" Jan. 28, 1918, DPP 9/2; Meyer, "Centennial History," 78-81; G.A. Dobbert, "The Ordeal of Gotthard Deutsch," in Critical Studies in American Jewish History, vol. 3 (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1971), 62.
275. Diary entries, May 26, 1933, Apr. 19, 1935, DPP box 3.
276. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Marshall, N.Y., Nov. 13, 1914, DPP 1/13.
277. Ibid.
278. Louis Marshall, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Nov. 18, 1914, DPP 1/13.
279. Diary entry, Feb. 22, 1939, DPP box 3; Henry Berkowitz, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 16, 1919, CBIR 2/11; Felix E. Held, Columbus, Oh., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 18, 1919, CBIR 2/10; address: "The League of Nations," June 15, 1919, DPP 4/11.
280. Diary entry, Feb. 11, 1939, DPP box 3.
281. Meyer, "Centennial History," 86-87.
282. Meyer, "Centennial History," 89; diary entries, Mar. 24, 29, 1931, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3; Henry Englander, Providence, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Jan. 10, Feb. 4, 1910, Philipson to Englander, Feb. 16, 1910, DPP 1/4.
283. HUC Board of Governors Meeting Minutes, Nov. 29, 1921, HUCR D-13/12; cf. Meyer, "Centennial History," 87. Dr. Meyer erroneously recorded the vote as nine to six.
284. Meyer, "Centennial History," 88.
285. Diary entries, Mar. 19, 1931, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3; Meyer, "Centennial History," 87-88.

286. Diary entry, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3.
287. Diary entry, Mar. 19, 1931, DPP box 3.
288. Dr. Meyer records that Philipson wanted to retain his K.K.B.I. pulpit, which others, especially the Bene Yeshurun Board members, would not allow. Also, Rosenau at one time was favored to Philipson. Meyer, "Centennial History," 86-87, 262 n. 3.
289. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Sept. 24, 1922, HUCR D-14/1.
290. Dictionary of American History, rev. ed. (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), "Immigration Restriction," 3:342; Melvin I. Urofsky, American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1975), 224, 227, 289-91 (hereafter cited as Urofsky, American Zionism); address: "Disarm! Disarm!," n.d., DPP 4/4; address: "The Immigrant Tide," n.d., DPP 4/9; Friesel in Festschrift, 149-52; Joseph Stolz, Cape May, N.J., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, July 9, 1922, CBIR 3/5; Meyer, "Centennial History," 142; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Abram Simon, Washington, D.C., June 9, 1924, CBIR 4/1; Raphael, Documentary History, 252-53, 278 ff.; Arthur A. Goren, The American Jews (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 69 ff.; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., June 7, 1922, CBIR 3/3.
291. Friesel in Festschrift, 152.
292. Urofsky, American Zionism, 85-89.
293. Ibid., 227 ff.
294. Diary entry, July 15, 1930, DPP box 3; telegrams: Henry Morgantown [sic], N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 18, 1922, DPP 1/13; Julius Kahn, Washington, D.C., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 19, 1922, DPP 1/9; Henry Morgenthau, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 27, 1922, DPP 1/13.

295. Stephen G. Porter, Washington, D.C., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 10, 22, 1922, DPP 1/14; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julius Kahn, Washington, D.C., June 4, 1922, CBIR 3/5; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., June 7, 1922, CBIR 3/3; Herbert Parzen, "The Lodge-Fish Resolution," in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, 60:71; Atlee Pomerene, Washington, D.C., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 6, 1922, DPP 1/14; Philipson, MLAJ, 299-304.
296. Urofsky, American Zionism, 289 ff.; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., June 7, 1922, CBIR 3/3; Philipson, MLAJ, 304-305. The HUC faculty passed a resolution effectively repudiating Philipson's position: David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Jacob Lauterbach, Cincinnati, June 4, 1922, CBIR 3/5.
297. Diary entry, Apr. 24, 1931, DPP box 3.
298. Diary entry, Sept. 23, 1932, DPP box 3.
299. Diary entries, Mar. 24, June 20, Aug. 21, 1932, DPP box 3.
300. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Abram Simon, Washington, D.C., June 9, 1924, CBIR 4/1.
301. CCARY, 34:121.
302. Diary entry, Aug. 27, 1927, DPP box 3; CCARY, 37:58 ff.
303. Diary entries, July 6, 1930, Dec. 22, 1931, DPP box 3.
304. Philipson, MLAJ, 393-95; diary entries, Dec. 6, 1927, Feb. 3, 1928, Sept. 13, Dec. 27, 1934, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Rudolph I. Coffee, Oakland, Ca., Feb. 6, 1928, Coffee to Philipson, Feb. 17, 1928, CBIR 4/5.
305. CCARY, 39:153-54; diary entries, July 6, 28, 1930, DPP box 3.
306. Diary entry, May 17, 1928, DPP box 3.
307. Diary entries, May 16, 17, 1928, July 27, 1930, Aug. 5, 1932, DPP box 3.
308. CCARY, 45:103; Philipson, MLAJ, 464-65.

309. CCARY, 45:23.
310. CCARY, 46:102-103.
311. David Polish, Renew Our Days: The Zionist Issue in Reform Judaism (Jerusalem: World Zionist Organization, 1976), 200; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Saul B. Applebaum, Bradford, Pa., June 17, 1937, CBIR 8/2.
312. Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 4, 1926, DPP 1/13.
313. Meyer, "Centennial History," 100.
314. Diary entry, Oct. 18, 1932, DPP box 3; Meyer, "Centennial History," 100.
315. Diary entries, Apr. 4, June 7, Oct. 3, Nov. 1, 8, 1933, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, Oct. 10, 1933, CBIR 7/2; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to HUC Board of Governors, Cincinnati, Oct. 10, 1933, CBIR 7/2; Philipson, MLAJ, 448-49.
316. Diary entry, May 25, 1934, DPP box 3.
317. Meyer, "Centennial History," 120.
318. Diary entry, Sept. 21, 1932, DPP box 3.
319. Meyer, "Centennial History," 120-21; diary entries, June 15, July 20, 1931, DPP box 3.
320. Richard Keith Harkavy, "Non-Zionism Within Reform Judaism: 1917-1948" (rabbinic thesis, HUC, 1984), 115-20; diary entry, Sept. 27, 1931, DPP box 3; Meyer, "Centennial History," 262, n. 3.
321. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, June 10, 1943, CBIR 9/1; Marcus, "Philipson Historiography," 31; Hiram B. Weiss, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Feb. 16, 1946, DPP 2/4; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to HUC Board of Governors, Cincinnati, May 21, 1941, HUCR A-20/14.
322. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Jacob R. Marcus, Cincinnati, June 10, 1943, CBIR 9/1; Jacob R. Marcus, Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1947), ii.



324. IOBB/ADL: diary entries, Aug. 20, 1928, July 19, 1932, May 6, 1935, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 319-20, 392, 507. WUPJ: Philipson, RMiJ, Preface to the New Edition, 428 ff.; CCARY, 37:34, 56:16; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Lily Montagu, London, Mar. 14, 1939, CBIR 8/5.
325. ORT: diary entries, Dec. 13, 1932, May 28, 1935, DPP box 3. Hebrew Univ.: David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Felix Warburg, N.Y., Aug. 23, 1925, CBIR 4/2.
326. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Courtenay Dinwiddie, N.Y., Feb. 9, 1932, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Simeon D. Pers, Washington, D.C., Mar. 28, 1932, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Robert J. Bulkley, Washington, D.C., Mar. 28, 1932, CBIR 6/9.
327. Atonement Eve Sermon, 1922, DPP 4/1.
328. Philipson, MLAJ, 320.
329. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 17, 1925, DPP 1/19; Philipson, MLAJ, 320, 328; Joseph Rauch, Louisville, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 18, 1925, DPP 1/18.
330. O.D. Foster, N.Y., to David Philipson, Dec. 3, 1925, DPP 1/5.
331. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julius Rosenwald, Chicago, Oct. 13, 1927, O.D. Foster, Los Angeles, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 30, 1927, CBIR 4/4.
332. Sermon: "Inter Religious Harmony," Mar. 5, 1932, DPP 4/9; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Charles H. Brent, Buffalo, N.Y., Oct. 4, 1928, CBIR 4/7. Much correspondence of Philipson and O.D. Foster, the director of the American Association on Religion in Universities and Colleges, is in CBIR 4/4.
333. Philipson, MLAJ, Index sub "Clinchy, Rev. Everett P.," "National Conference of Christians and Jews," esp. 418.

334. Ibid.; diary entry, Jan. 7, 1932, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Atlantic City, N.J., to Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Feb. 4, 1929, David Philipson, Atlantic City, N.J., to Everett Clinchy, N.Y., Feb. 4, 1929, DPP 1/1; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Mar. 21, 1931, CBIR 6/7.
335. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Sidney Wallach, N.Y., June 11, 1935, CBIR 7/5; Philipson, MLAJ, Index sub "Ford, Henry"; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Morris D. Waldman, N.Y., Dec. 23, 1930, CBIR 6/5; diary entries, July 11, 21, 1930, July 7, 1931, Aug. 7, 1934, July 24, 1936, DPP box 3.
336. Philipson, MLAJ, 322; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to William Rosenau, Baltimore, Dec. 13, 1920, CBIR 3/1.
337. Ralph H. Goldman, Chicago, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 27, 1930, CBIR 6/2; Philipson to Goldman, July 3, 1930, CBIR 6/3; diary entry, Aug. 3, 1930, DPP box 3; William Franklin Rosenblum, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Feb. 23, 1931, DPP box 3.
338. Diary entries, July 3, 1928, June 7, 1931, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Harry Schneiderman, n.p., Feb. 20, 1929, CBIR 5/1; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Salo Baron, N.Y., Jan. 9, 1931, CBIR 6/7; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Alexander Marx, N.Y., Jan. 11, 1922, DPP 1/13; Minutes J.P.S. Classics Committee, Apr. 26, 1916, DPP 2:15; Jacob R. Marcus, Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1947), ii.
339. Diary entry, Nov. 10, 1937, DPP box 3.
340. Diary entries, Apr. 7, 1930, Oct. 15, 1931, Jan. 23, Aug. 18, 1932, Sept. 27, 1933, Jan. 15, Apr. 4, Nov. 5, 1935, Mar. 12, Oct. 6, 11, 1937, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to John G. Olmstead, Cincinnati, Oct. 18, 1943, CBIR 9/1; William Cooper Procter, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 10, 1930, William Licht, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 8, 1930, CBIR 6/1; I.M. Rubinow, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 5, 1930, CBIR 6/2; Fred Read, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Feb. 21, 1923, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Charles Sampson, Cincinnati, July 22, 1923, CBIR 3/7.

341. Diary entry, Jan. 10, 1928, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 399; Mr. & Mrs. Harry Snyder, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Jan. 29, 1928, anonymous, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Jan. 22, 1928, CBIR 4/6.
342. Diary entry, June 3, 1935, DPP box 3.
343. Diary entry, Mar. 31, 1936, DPP box 3. There is no evidence as to how long these groups lasted.
344. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Cerf Straus, Alexandria, La., Dec. 24, 1928, CBIR, 4/8; diary entry, Oct. 14, 1935, DPP box 3.
345. Diary entries, June 15, 1930, Nov. 9, 1931, Dec. 22, 1932, Dec. 5, 1935, Mar. 3, 1936, Apr. 30, Sept. 2, 28, 1937, DPP box 3.
346. Diary entry, Sept. 2, 1931, DPP box 3.
347. Diary entry, Nov. 9, 1931, DPP box 3.
348. Diary entry, Dec. 22, 1932, DPP box 3.
349. Diary entry, June 15, 1930, DPP box 3. There were many assistants and students who served under Philipson. For the most part they had good relations with Philipson (Philip D. Bookstaber and Hyman Iola, especially). However, Philipson's last assistant rabbi and his successor Victor E. Reichert, after enjoying a fine, initial honeymoon period, suffered a period of strained relations. See diary entries, July 17, 1927, Jan. 1, May 18, Sept. 23, 1931, Apr. 11, 1932, Feb. 20, Nov. 21, 1933, Dec. 15, 1936, Feb. 2, 1937, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Atlantic City, N.J., to Victor E. Reichert, Cincinnati, July 14, 1946, DPP 1/18.
350. Private communication, Millard Mack, to Doug Kohn, Cincinnati, Oct. 1986.
351. Diary entry, Feb. 8, 1937, DPP box 3.
352. Diary entry, Sept. 12, 1927, DPP box 3.
353. Diary entries, Sept. 12, 1927, June 7, Sept. 18, 1932, DPP box 3.
354. Diary entries, Feb. 9, Mar. 9, 1934, DPP box 3.
355. Diary entry, May 27, 1934, DPP box 3.

- 356. Diary entry, Apr. 23, 1937, DPP box 3.
- 357. Diary entry, Apr. 22, 1937, DPP box 3.
- 358. Rabbi Beryl D. Cohon to Editor, National Jewish Post, July 15, 1949, American Jewish Archives Nearprint File: "Philipson, David."
- 359. Diary entries, Apr. 20, May 14, July 21, 1931, Jan. 27, June 26, Sept. 21, 1937, DPP box 3.
- 360. Diary entries, Dec. 7, 8, 1931, May 4, 1932, DPP box 3.
- 361. Diary entry, Dec. 2, 1931, DPP box 3.
- 362. Diary entries, July 20, 1932, Mar. 13, 1933, DPP box 3.
- 363. Diary entry, Oct. 5, 1931, DPP box 3.
- 364. Diary entries, Apr. 6, May 3, June 3, 1932, DPP box 3.
- 365. Diary entry, Apr. 6, 1932, DPP box 3.
- 366. Diary entries, May 3, June 3, 1932, DPP box 3.
- 367. Diary entry, Sept. 4, 1931, DPP box 3.
- 368. Diary entry, Aug. 15, 1932, DPP box 3.
- 369. Diary entries, Mar. 13, Aug. 16, 1933, DPP box 3.
- 370. Diary entry, Aug. 14-22, 1928, DPP box 3.
- 371. Diary entry, Mar. 25, 1931, DPP box 3.
- 372. Diary entry, Mar. 14, 1932, DPP box 3.
- 373. Diary entries, Aug. 2, 25, 1932, DPP box 3.
- 374. Diary entry, Jan. 30, 1933, DPP box 3.
- 375. Diary entries, Aug. 2, 1932, Apr. 12, 1933, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, Nov. 15, 1933, CBIR 7/2.

376. Diary entries, May 16, July 5, 20, 25, Aug. 4, 1933, DPP box 3; address: "The German Jewish Situation in Germany," Apr. 13, 1933, DPP 4/7; sermon: "The Burning of the Books," in diary entry, May 16, 1933, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Wolsey, Phila., Sept. 12, 1933, CBIR 7/2; Philipson, MLAJ, 446-47.
377. Philipson, MLAJ, 446-47; Cyrus Adler, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Nov. 9, 1933, Philipson to Adler, Nov. 15, 1933, CBIR 7/2; diary entries, Aug. 7, 15, 1933, DPP box 3.
378. Diary entry, Dec. 20, 1933, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Richard E. Gutstadt, Chicago, Sept. 11, 1933, CBIR 7/2.
379. Diary entry, Aug. 21, 1933, cf. entries Aug. 16, 25, Sept. 3, 1933, Jan. 22, 1934, July 30, 1935, DPP box 3.
380. Diary entries, May 30, Aug. 8, Oct. 4, 1935, Mar. 13, 1936, Mar. 21, 1937, DPP box 3; address: "The Religious Protest in Germany," n.d., DPP 5/5; address: "Jews a Religious Group, Not a Race," n.d., in diary entry, Jan. 10, 1934, DPP box; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Richard E. Gutstadt, Chicago, Jan. 5, 1934, CBIR 7/2; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Morris Waldman, N.Y., Jan. 9, 1934, CBIR 7/3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Sidney Wallach, N.Y., June 8, 1934, CBIR 7/4; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to L. Elliot Grafman, Chicago, Apr. 5, 1937, CBIR 8/1.
381. Diary entry, Mar. 15, 1938, DPP box 3.
382. Diary entries, July 26, 1938, Jan. 24, Feb. 21, 1939, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to N.R. Whitney, Baltimore, Sept. 18, 1936, CBIR 7/9; E. Taenblar (?), Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, July 27, 1942, CBIR 8/8; Michael A. Meyer, "The Refugee Scholars Project of the Hebrew Union College," in A Bicentennial Festschrift for Jacob Rader Marcus, ed. Bertram Wallace Korn (Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society, and N.Y.: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1976), 365.
383. Diary entry, Nov. 29, 1933, DPP box 3.

384. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Leo Franklin, Detroit, June 15, 1923, CBIR 3/7; diary entries, Feb. 6, 1934, Sept. 8, 19, 1937, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 449-51.
385. Private communication, Dr. Michael Meyer to Doug Kohn, Cincinnati, July 28, 1986; Joseph Stolz, Cape May, N.J., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, July 9, 1922, CBIR 3/5; diary entry, June 5, 1937, DPP box 3.
386. Regarding Philip Bookstaber, Philipson wrote: "He is most devoted to me and acts to me like a son." Diary entry, Feb. 29, 1932, DPP box 3.
387. Diary entries, July 12, Nov. 4, 7, 1927, Mar. 18, Apr. 9, 17, Nov. 18, 1931, Mar. 8, 1932, May 30, Aug. 8, 1935, DPP box 3.
388. Diary entry, Jan. 3, 1888, DPP box 3.
389. Diary entry, Oct. 24, 1934, DPP box 3.
390. Diary entry, Sept. 9, 1927, DPP box 3.
391. Ibid.
392. Diary entries, July 12, Aug. 19, 1938, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 504-5, 511-12.
393. Diary entries, July 20, Aug. 9, 1927, Aug. 8, Dec. 12, 1930, Nov. 3, 18, 1931, DPP box 3.
394. Diary entries, Sept. 14, 1931, Nov. 3, 1936, DPP box 3.
395. Henry Cohen, Galveston, Tex., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 17, 1938, CBIR 8/3.
396. The American Israelite, July 7, 1949, in American Jewish Archives Nearprint File: "Philipson, David."
397. Diary entry, Sept. 13, 1932, DPP box 3.



1. Freehof, "Introduction," x; Victor E. Reichert, "Eulogy: David Philipson," July 1, 1949, American Jewish Archives Nearprint File, "Philipson, David."
2. Philipson, RMiJ; Gunther W. Plaut (ed.), The Growth of Reform Judaism (N.Y.: World Union for Progressive Judaism, 1965); Morais, Israelites, 66-71, 92-96, 145-49, 273-77, 349-53.
3. Davis, Emergence, 224-25; "Authentic Report."
4. Installation of Philipson, 7-8; Freehof, "Introduction," xi; Philipson, Lilienthal, 62-64.
5. Philipson, MLAJ, 55.
6. Ibid.
7. Raphael, Documentary History, 202-205; "Authentic Report," 107-11.
8. "Authentic Report," 108.
9. Philipson, MLAJ, 136.
10. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Edward W. Schleisner, Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 14, 1946, CBIR 9/4.
11. Philipson, MLAJ, 191.
12. Address: "Jewish Leadership," n.d. (ca. 1917), DPP 4/10.
13. Untitled sermon, n.d., DPP box 7; Philipson, MLAJ, 72, 502; PUAHC, 6227-30.
14. Diary entry, Mar. 29, 1938, DPP box 3.
15. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Ferdinand Isserman, St. Louis, Jan. 29, 1942, CBIR 8/8; diary entries, July 5, 1931, Feb. 27, 1933, DPP box 3.
16. \* Untitled sermon, n.d. (prob. late 19th century), DPP box 6.
17. Address: "A Rabbinical Charge," n.d., DPP 5/5; "Address at Graduation Exercises of the Jewish Institute of Religion," May 27, 1934, DPP 4/6.
18. CCARY, 2:54-55.

19. David Polish ("The Changing and the Constant in the Reform Rabbinate," American Jewish Archives, 35:276) notes that the CCAR Yearbook (1890) failed to record the eventual results of the tabled motion, and that it is likely that it was defeated. Why else, Polish argued, did Philipson reiterate his call the next year without alluding to his earlier defeat? Polish is correct in surmising the failure of the 1890 resolution, but his reasoning is imprecise. If the resolution had passed in 1890, there simply would have been no need to repropose it in 1891! Hence, it failed. Of greater interest is that it was Philipson who proposed both resolutions, and established himself and his posture in the Conference. Also, Philipson was the Secretary of the C.C.A.R., and he edited the first two Yearbooks. It is possible that he took some license in editing, as well.
20. Philipson, MLAJ, 90, 136-37; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Wolsey, Philadelphia, Oct. 28, 1930, CBIR 6/4; PUAHC, 3981.
21. Philipson, RMiJ, vi.
22. Meyer, "Centennial History," 56-58, 82; diary entries, May 14, 1932, Nov. 2, 1936, DPP box 3.
23. Louis Wolsey, Philadelphia, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 10, 16, 1942, CBIR 8/8.
24. Rauch, "Testimonial."
25. Henry Englander, Providence, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 4, 1910, DPP 1/4; Martin Meyer, San Francisco, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 19, 1914, DPP 1/13; William C. Pepper, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 3, 1915, Philipson to Pepper, May 6, 1915, DPP 1/14; Joseph Krauskopf, Philadelphia, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Dec. 11, 1919, CBIR 2/11; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Edward L. Israel, Evansville, In., Apr. 4, 1923, CBIR 3/6; Salo Stein, Miami, to David Philipson, Atlantic City, July 27, 1923, CBIR 3/7; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Moses P. Jacobson, Asheville, N.C., Mar. 17, 1931, Jacobson to Philipson, May 22, 1931, CBIR 6/7.
26. George Zepin, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 23, 1933, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to J.B. Menkes, N.Y., Apr. 13, 1933, CBIR 7/1.

27. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Maurice J. Freiberg, Cincinnati, Sept. 26, 1933, CBIR 7/2; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julius Rosenwald, Chicago, Oct. 13, 1927, CBIR 4/4.
28. Diary entries, Nov. 7, 1927, Aug. 18, 1932, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 388-89; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Augustine David, Jr., Cincinnati, Apr. 15, 1929, CBIR 5/2.
29. Philipson, MLAJ, 474-75; diary entry, Oct. 27, 1936, DPP box 3; sermon: "The Jewish Vote," n.d., DPP box 6; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Alexander Lyons, N.Y., Nov. 7, 1912, DPP 1/11.
30. Philipson, MLAJ, 199, 243, 319-20, 421, 435-36; Leo M. Glassman (ed.), Biographical Encyclopaedia of American Jews (N.Y.: Maurice Jacobs & Leo M. Glassman, 1935), "Cohen, Alfred M."; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Adolph Ochs, N.Y., Dec. 13, 1911, Ochs to Philipson, Dec. 22, 1911, DPP 1/14.  
Philipson publically lauded Cohen and described their relationship as intimate and friendly. Yet, in private Philipson periodically grumbled about Cohen: "He employed demagogic tactics," "He is little more than a cheap politician." (Diary entries, Sept. 9, 1927, Feb. 12, 1937, DPP box 3) It is quite possible that Cohen "requested" Philipson to communicate with Ochs in such a manner that Philipson could not deny him.
31. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Adolph Hirsch, Hammond, Ind., Mar. 21, 1928, CBIR 4/6.
32. Adolph Hirsch, Hammond, Ind., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 28, 1928, CBIR 4/6.
33. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Daniel L. Davis, Lancaster, Pa., Apr. 17, 1928, CBIR 4/6.
34. Philipson, MLAJ, 498.
35. Philipson, MLAJ, 505-11.
36. Ibid.
37. CCARY, 45:103; diary entry, July 2, 1935, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 423, 461; Howard R. Greenstein, Turning Point: Zionism and Reform Judaism (Chico, Ca.: Scholars Press, 1981), 24-25 (hereafter cited as Greenstein, Turning Point).

38. Raphael, Documentary History, 206.
39. CCARY, 47:112-13.
40. CCARY, 47:113.
41. Ibid.
42. Address: "The Message of Reform Judaism to American Israel and World Jewry," n.d. (June 1, 1942), DPP 5/1.
43. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to B.H. Schwarz, Los Angeles, July 13, 1938, CBIR 8/4.
44. Diary entries, May 8, Oct. 15, 1934, Oct. 1, 1937, DPP box 3.
45. Private communication, Louise Reichert to Doug Kohn, Cincinnati, Dec. 22, 1986.
46. Private communication, Jacob R. Marcus to Doug Kohn, Cincinnati, Fall, 1986.
47. Jacob R. Marcus, "Eulogy," in American Israelite, July 7, 1949, American Jewish Archives Nearprint File, "Philipson, David."

1. Philipson, MLAJ, 191.
2. There are myriad examples of this in Philipson's works. Most concise is this statement, written two and a half years before he died: "As I have often said, my motto is that I am an American in nationality and a Jew in Religion." (David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Edward W. Schleisner, Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 14, 1946, CBIR 9/4) Also: "Reform Judaism and nationalism...Zionism, are incompatible and irreconcilable." (Philipson, Centenary Papers, 75; CCARY, 2:54).
3. In a statement written after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, Philipson asserted: "Others (Zionists) of them define Zionism as moral, cultural, spiritual; but surely all these elements existed in Judaism before Zionism came upon the stage. The really differentiating feature of Zionism, as such, is its political and nationalistic aspect." (Speech: "Rabbi David Philipson on Zionism," n.d., DPP 4/4) Also: "For whatever Reform Judaism may or may not be, it is not a political movement; and whatever Zionism may or may not be, it is a political movement." (Speech: "The Message of Reform Judaism to American Israel and World Jewry," n.d. (June 1, 1942), DPP 5/1).
4. See Philipson, MLAJ, Index sub "Addresses, Papers and Publications of David Philipson." See also DPP boxes 4-7 for these addresses and sermons, esp. 4/1, 4/11, and 5/9.
5. Statement: "My Creed as an American Jew," n.d., DPP 5/1.
6. Speech: "Rabbi David Philipson on Zionism," n.d., DPP 4/4.
7. Address: "Judaism and the Republican Form of Government," CCARY, 2:53.
8. Speech: "Rabbi David Philipson on Zionism," n.d., DPP 4/4.
9. Ibid.; untitled sermon, n.d. (Winter, 1886), DPP box 7.
10. Philipson, RMiJ, 5; Philipson, Centenary Papers, 74-75, 129-33.
11. CCARY, 2:54.

12. Statement: "My Creed as an American Jew," n.d., DPP 5/1.
13. "Authentic Report," 108.
14. Speech: "Rabbi David Philipson on Zionism," n.d., DPP 4/4.
15. Naomi W. Cohen, American Jews and the Zionist Idea (N.Y.: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1975), xii; Samuel Halperin, The Political World of American Zionism (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961), 56-57; Arthur Hertzberg, The Zionist Idea (N.Y.: Atheneum, 1969), 22-32 (hereafter cited as Hertzberg, Zionist Idea).
16. Philipson, OEJ, 53.
17. Philipson, OEJ, Preface, 32 ff.
18. Diary entries, Sept. 15, 1890, Sept. 7, 1933, DPP box 3; Philipson, OEJ, 217-19.
19. Diary entry, May 13, 1905, DPP box 3.
20. Diary entry, Jan. 22, 1935, DPP box 3.
21. Diary entry, Oct. 14, 1936, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Alexander Lyons, N.Y., Nov. 7, 1912, DPP 1/11.
22. Philipson, MLAJ, 75-76; C.P. Bollman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Nov. 7, 1890, DPP 1/1.
23. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Edward W. Schleisner, Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 14, 1946, CBIR 9/4.
24. Louis Wolsey, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Aug. 5, 1941, CBIR 8/7.
25. See Theodore Herzl, "The Jewish State," in Hertzberg, Zionist Idea, 204-226.
26. Untitled sermon, n.d. (prob. mid 1890's), DPP box 7; diary entry, May 10, 1935, DPP box 3; cf. John and Selma Appel, "Jews in Graphic Satire and Humor," pamphlet issued by American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, 1984, for a review of this stereotyping.
27. Philipson, MLAJ, 277.
28. Philipson, MLAJ, 479.



29. Diary entry, Jan. 10, 1934, DPP box 3.
30. Speech: "The Jewish American Reform Congregation," n.d., DPP 4/10.
31. CCARY, 18:145-46, 19:199-202.
32. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Lessing Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pa., Dec. 26, 1947, CBIR 9/4.
33. Urofsky, American Zionism, 85.
34. Sermon: "Pesach," n.d., DPP 5/4.
35. Untitled sermon (Shabbat Nachamu), n.d., DPP box 6.
36. Philipson, MLAJ, 304.
37. Speech: "The Message of Reform Judaism to American Israel and World Jewry," n.d. (June 1, 1942), DPP 5/1.
38. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to "Friend" (circular letter), Aug. 30, 1929, CBIR 5/4.
39. Philipson, MLAJ, 481-82.
40. Philipson, MLAJ, 139.
41. Speech: "The Message of Reform Judaism to American Israel and World Jewry," n.d. (June 1, 1942), DPP 5/1.
42. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to A.M. Wigser, Cincinnati, Apr. 27, 1943, CBIR 9/1.
43. Meyer, "Centennial History," 45.
44. Philipson, Lilienthal, 101-102.
45. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Wolsey, Phila., Oct. 28, 1930, CBIR 6/4; cf. PUAHC, 3981.
46. See Michael A. Meyer, "American Reform Judaism and Zionism: Early Efforts at Ideological Rapprochement," in Studies in Zionism, 7:49-64 (hereafter cited as Meyer, "Rapprochement").
47. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Max Heller, New Orleans, Mar. 28, 1902, MHHP 4/18.

48. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Editor of the Israelite, "Partisanship in Office," Nov. 28, 1909, CBIR 5/4; CCARY, 18:62 ff., 98; Max Heller, New Orleans, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 13, 1909, DPP 1/7; Philipson to Heller, Apr. 15, 1909, DPP 2/12; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Editor of Jewish Comment (Baltimore), Jan. 26, 1909, DPP 2/12; Meyer, "Rapprochement," 52-53.
49. Diary entries, Nov. 22, 1927, Apr. 7, 1931, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 205-6; CCARY, 19:1919-202.
50. Philipson, MLAJ, 157.
51. Philipson, MLAJ, 191.
52. David Philipson, "The Jew in America" (Tract #2, Cincinnati: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1909), 2; Jacob H. Schiff, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 10, 1909, DPP 1/20.
53. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Marshall, N.Y., Nov. 13, 1914, DPP 1/13.
54. Urofsky, American Zionism, 153-56; Philipson, MLAJ, 475-76; folder: "Zionism ca. 1914," DPP 2/20; Raphael W. Miller, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 13, 1914, DPP 1/13; statement: "The European War and Palestinian Institutions. Mass Meeting Under General Jewish Auspices at Emery Auditorium," n.d., DPP 4/5; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Nov. 8, 1915, DPP 1/13.
55. Jacob de Haas, Boston, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Aug. 2, 1915, DPP 1/7; Julian Mack, Chicago, to David Phillipson [sic], Cincinnati, Oct. 19, 1915, Philipson to Mack, Nov. 8, 1915, DPP 1/13.
56. Horace Kallen, Madison, Wis., to Julian W. Mack, N.Y., Nov. 12, 1915, Horace M. Kallen Papers, MS Collection #1, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, 20/10.
57. Kallen may still have been smarting from having had his invitation to speak at H.U.C. rescinded by Kohler (Urofsky, American Zionism, 155).
58. Philipson, MLAJ, 265.
59. Urofsky, American Zionism, 199-201.

60. Samuel Schulman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 26, 1918, DPP 2/1; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Henry Berkowitz, Phila., Aug. 7, 1918, CBIR 2/6. David Philipson and Ephraim Frisch, n.p., to "Friend" (circular letter), Aug. 7, 1918, DPP 1/15.
61. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Henry Berkowitz, Phila., Aug. 7, 1918, CBIR 2/6; Philipson circular letter, Aug. 22, 1918, DPP 1/15; Philipson circular letter, Aug. 1918, DPP 1/13.
62. Max Senior, Washington, D.C., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 2, 1918, CBIR 2/6.
63. Ibid.
64. Henry Berkowitz, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Aug. 13, 1918, CBIR 2/6.
65. Philipson circular letter, Aug. 30, 1918, DPP 1/13.
66. Kaufmann Kohler, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 4, 1918, same to same, Sept. 5, 1918, DPP 1/10.
67. Cyrus Adler, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Aug. 29, 1918, DPP 1/1.
68. Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 6, 1918, DPP 2/2.
69. Samuel Schulman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 26, 1918, DPP 2/1.
70. See DPP 1-2/6.
71. Jacob Schiff, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 5, 1917, Hyman G. Enelow Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, 18/6, as cited in Evyatar Friesel, "Jacob H. Schiff Becomes a Zionist: A Chapter in American-Jewish Self-Definition, 1902-1917," in Studies in Zionism, 5:68 (hereafter cited as Friesel, "Schiff").
72. Friesel, "Schiff," 55-92, esp. 90-92.
73. Ibid., 82.
74. Jacob H. Schiff, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 5, 1918, DPP 1/20.

75. The Jewish Independent, Sept. 13, 1918, Philipson circular letter, Sept. 17, 1918, minutes, "Meeting of Sept. 30, 1918, Cincinnati," statement: "Owing to the unjust and unwarranted attack made recently upon...Rabbi Ephraim Frisch," n.d., DPP 1/15; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., Sept. 18, 1918, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Henry Berkowitz, Phila., Sept. 20, 1918, Schulman to Philipson, Oct. 9, 1918, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Max Senior, Washington, D.C., Oct. 11, 1918, CBIR 2/6.
76. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., Sept. 23, 1918, CBIR 2/6.
77. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Max Senior, Washington, D.C., Sept. 23, 1918, CBIR 2/6.
78. Friesel, "Schiff," 72.
79. Ibid., 71.
80. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, Sept. 18, 1918, CBIR 2/6.
81. Anonymous, Philadelphia, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Sept. 23, 1918, DPP 1/9; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julian W. Mack, N.Y., Sept. 27, 1918, DPP 1/13.
82. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Max Senior, N.Y., Oct. 18, 1918, CBIR 2/6; Samuel Schulman, N.Y., to Max Senior, N.Y., Nov. 4, 1918, CBIR 2/7.
83. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Eli Mayer, Albany, Jan. 10, 1919, Mayer to Philipson, Feb. 18, 1919, CBIR 2/8; Philipson circular letter, Jan. 23, 1919, DPP 1/15; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Joseph Rauch, Louisville, Apr. 20, 1919, CBIR 2/9.
84. Joseph Rauch, Louisville, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 14, 1919, Philipson to Rauch, Apr. 20, 1919, Samuel Schulman, N.Y., to Henry Berkowitz, Phila., Apr. 18, 1919, Samuel H. Goldenson, Pittsburgh, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 13, 1919, Samuel Schulman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 14, 1919, CBIR 2/9.

85. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Isaac Landman, N.Y., Jan. 13, 1919, Landman to Philipson, Jan. 23, 1919, Samuel Schulman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Jan. 3, 1919, CBIR 2/8; Philipson to Landman, June 16, 1919, same to same, Jan. 10, 1921, CBIR 2/10.
86. Julius Kahn, Washington, D.C., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 1, 1918, DPP 1/9; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Simon Wolf, Washington, D.C., Jan. 7, 1918 (1919), CBIR 2/6; Philipson to Kahn, Jan. 31, 1919, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Henry Berkowitz, Phila., Feb. 10, 1919, CBIR 2/8; Abram Simon, Washington, D.C., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 4, 1918 (1919?), CBIR 2/6; Friesel, "Schiff," 82-83. See also the somewhat adulatory and sometimes inaccurate article by Irving Levitas, "Reform Jews and Zionism 1919-1921," American Jewish Archives, 14:3-19.
87. Urofsky, American Zionism, 289-91; Herbert Parzon, "The Lodge-Fish Resolution," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, 60:69-81; Philipson, MLAJ, 299-305; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julius Kahn, Washington, D.C., Apr. 24, 1922, CBIR 3/5; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., June 7, 1922, CBIR 3/3; diary entry, July 14, 1930, DPP box 3.
88. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to George P. Carrel, Cincinnati, Jan. 31, 1922, CBIR 3/4; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Jacob Kaplan, Cincinnati, Feb. 26, 1923, CBIR 3/7.
89. Louis Wolsey, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 24, 1920, CBIR 3/2; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Isaac Landman, N.Y., Feb. 20, 1921, CBIR 2/8.
90. Address: "Are American Jews Parasites?" n.d., DPP 4/1; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Marshall, N.Y., Feb. 24, 1925, CBIR 4/2; Herbert Parzen, "The Enlargement of the Jewish Agency for Palestine: 1923-1929. A Hope Hamstrung," Jewish Social Studies, 39:129-158; Lee K. Frankel, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 29, 1929, CBIR 5/3; Louis Wolsey, Chicago, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Aug. 23, 1929, CBIR 3/4; diary entries, July 18, 1927, July 27, 1931, Jan. 8, 1932, DPP box 3.
91. CCARY, 40:106, 41:102-3.
92. Greenstein, Turning Point, 24.

93. Philipson, MLAJ, 423.
94. Diary entry, Aug. 11, 1930, DPP box 3.
95. Louis Wolsey, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, July 10, same to same, Aug. 19, 1930, CBIR 6/3; same to same, Sept. 2, 5, 1930, Philipson to Wolsey, Sept. 29, 1930, CBIR 6/4.
96. Louis Wolsey, Phila., to David Philipson, Bar Harbor, Me., July 23, 1930, Wolsey, Cape May, N.J., to Philipson, n.p., Aug. 6, 1930, Philipson, n.p., to Wolsey, Phila., Aug. 13, 1930, Wolsey, Cape May, N.J., to Philipson, n.p., Aug. 19, 1930, Philipson, Cincinnati, to Wolsey, Phila., Aug. 27, 1930, CBIR 6/3.
97. Diary entry, July 25, 1931, DPP box 3; Howard Morley Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History (N.Y.: Dell Publishing Co., 1977), 386-87 (hereafter cited as Sachar, Modern Jewish History).
98. Diary entry, July 25, 1931, DPP box 3.
99. Sachar, Modern Jewish History, 386-87.
100. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis I. Newman, San Francisco, July 3, 1934, CBIR 7/4; Philipson, MLAJ, 453-54.
101. CCARY, 45:103.
102. Philipson, MLAJ, 461.
103. Diary entry, Mar. 1, 1935, DPP box 3.
104. Diary entry, July 2, 1935, DPP box 3.
105. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Abba Hillel Silver, N.Y., June 23, 1937, CBIR 8/2; Arthur J. Lelyveld, "David Philipson, Dean of the Liberal Rabbinate, to be 75 Next Tuesday," Jewish Review and Observer, Cleveland, Oh., Aug. 6, 1937, DPP 10/1; diary entry, Oct. 15, 1937, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Lily Montagu, London, Mar. 14, 1939, CBIR 8/5; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Rittenberg, N.Y., Feb. 14, 1939, CBIR 8/3; Philipson, MLAJ, 481-82; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to A.M. Wigser, Cincinnati, Apr. 27, 1943, CBIR 9/1; CCARY, 56:212-13; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Lessing J. Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pa., Dec. 26, 1947, CBIR 9/4; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Wolsey, Phila., Feb. 15, 1944, CBIR 9/2.



106. CCARY, 52 passim.
107. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Wolsey, Phila., Apr. 13, 1942, CBIR 8/8.
108. Ibid.
109. Louis Wolsey, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 26, 1943, CBIR 9/1.
110. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis Wolsey, Phila., Nov. 13, 1942, CBIR 8/8; Elmer Berger, Flint, Mich., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 29, 1943, Wolsey to Philipson, Apr. 30, 1943, Philipson to Wolsey, May 20, 27, 1943, CBIR 9/1; Philipson to Wolsey, May 28, 1945, CBIR 9/3.
111. See the extensive Wolsey/Philipson correspondence in CBIR 8/8, 9/1 and 9/2.
112. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Hyman J. Schachtel, Houston, Dec. 24, 1946, CBIR 9/4.

1. Meyer, "Centennial History," 17-18, 20-21, 31-44; Philipson, MLAJ, 6-8, 21-23; PUAHC, vol. I passim; Philipson, "History of HUC," 13 ff.
2. PUAHC, 1596, 2018, 2123, 2307, 2473, Indices sub "Philipson, Dr. David."
- 2a. Philipson, MLAJ, 98.
3. PUAHC, 2123, 2473, 2664, 3422-34, 3979, 3981, 4808, 5393, 6226 ff., 6997.
4. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Sept. 15, 1932, CBIR 6/10.
5. Philipson, MLAJ, 65-66; PUAHC, Indices sub "Philipson, Dr. David."
6. PUAHC, 3192, 3195; Philipson, MLAJ, 65; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, Dec. 11, 1946, CBIR 9/4; Meyer, "Centennial History," 82, 89, 117.
7. Meyer, "Centennial History," 82.
- 7a. Henry Berkowitz, Phila., to Isaac Bloom, Cincinnati, Mar. 23, 1903, HUCR D-2/7; Charles W. Dabney, Cincinnati, to Kaufmann Kohler, Bernhard Bettmann, and David Philipson, Cincinnati, Nov. 2, 1904, HUCR D-2/12.
8. Philipson, MLAJ, 87, 245; Isaac Bloom, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 27, 1913, HUCR D-7/8.
9. Private communication, Jacob R. Marcus, to Doug Kohn, Cincinnati, Jan. 6, 1987; Philipson, MLAJ, 190; Report of Kaufmann Kohler, June 5, 1904, HUCR D-2/13; diary entries, July 23, Nov. 2, 1933, DPP box 3; George Zepin, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 23, 1933, CBIR 7/1.
10. Isaac Bloom, Cincinnati, to Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, Mar. 4, 1910, HUCR B-2/3; HUC Board of Governors Minutes, June 23, 1914, HUCR D-8/2; Henry Englander, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 9, 1920, HUCR C-2/21; Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, July 26, 1922, CBIR 3/5.

11. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Joseph Silverman, N.Y., Dec. 9, 1918, CBIR 2/7; Janice J. Feldstein (ed.), Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein: Advocate of the People (N.Y.: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1980), 33, 36 (hereafter cited as Feldstein, Weinstein).
12. HUC Board of Governors Minutes, June 23, 1914, Feb. 26, 1918, HUCR D-8/2, D-11/13; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Joseph Posner, Jersey City, N.J., Mar. 31, 1915, DPP 1/14; diary entry, Oct. 2, 1933, DPP box 3; Feldstein, Weinstein, 33; Meyer, "Centennial History," 106.
13. Meyer, "Centennial History," 260, n. 83; Joseph M. Rubin material, HUCR D-5/4; HUC Board of Governors minutes, Mar. 31, 1914, HUCR D-8/2.
14. PUAHC, 3201; HUC Board of Governors Minutes, July 1, 1898, 1914, 1917, HUCR D-1/7, D-8/1, D-10/13; Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, to HUC Board of Governors, Cincinnati, "Report of Committee on Recasting the Curriculum..." Dec. 13, 1919, HUCR D-12/9; Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Summer School for HUC Alumni, n.d., HUCR D-15/4.
15. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Cincinnati, June 14, 1916, DPP 1/11.
16. Philipson, MLAJ, 322; Isaac Bloom, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Dec. 9, 1920, HUCR D-12/21; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to HUC Board of Governors, Cincinnati, Jan. 24, 1921, HUCR D-13/8; HUCA, 1:v-vi. For Neumark see Meyer, "Rapprochement," 56-62; Samuel E. Karff (ed.), Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion : At One Hundred Years (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1976), Index sub "Neumark, David"; Meyer, "Centennial History," 113.
17. Diary entry, June 7, 1931, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julius Grodinsky, Phila., Feb. 15, 1929, CBIR 5/1; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Mrs. Julius E. Weil, Milwaukee, Sept. 23, 1943, CBIR 9/1.
18. Diary entry, Apr. 13, 1932, DPP box 3.

19. Diary entry, Mar. 19, 1931, DPP box 3; Reports of Kaufmann Kohler, Mar. 1, 1910, Jan. 31, 1911, HUCR D-5/5, D-6/1; cf. Philipson-Englander correspondence, 1909-1910, DPP 1/4; Stanley F. Chyet, "Jacob R. Marcus - A Biographical Sketch," in Essays in American Jewish History (Cincinnati, American Jewish Archives, 1958), 9.
20. Meyer, "Centennial History," 90 ff.
21. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to William Rosenau, Baltimore, Mar. 9, 1922, CBIR 3/4. Cf. Rosenau to Philipson, Mar. 3, 1922, CBIR 3/4.
22. Diary entry, July 27, 1934, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 449.
23. Diary entry, Feb. 23, 1934, DPP box 3.
24. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Mar. 1, 1926, DPP 1/13.
25. Ibid.; Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 4, 1926, DPP 1/13; Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 4, 1926, DPP 1/19; James G. Heller, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 5, 1926, DPP 1/7; William Rosenau, Baltimore, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 9, 16, 1926, DPP 1/18.
26. Diary entries, Sept. 9, 1928, Apr. 24, 1931, DPP box 3; HUC Board of Governors Minutes, May 8, 1946, HUCR D-19/1.
27. Samuel Schulman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Jan. 12, 1922, CBIR 3/3.
28. Meyer, "Centennial History," 100.
29. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to L.B. Wolfenson, Boston, July 8, 1924, CBIR, 3/7; diary entry, July 20, 1931, DPP box 3.
30. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, Dec. 11, 1946, CBIR 9/4.

31. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., Mar. 29, Nov. 26, 1922, Schulman to Philipson, Nov. 8, 1922, Philipson to Schulman, Nov. 21, Dec. 1, 1922, Schulman to Philipson, Dec. 27, 1922, Philipson to Schulman, Feb. 14, 1923, CBIR 3/3; Schulman to Philipson, Nov. 10, 1923, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, Nov. 17, 1923, CBIR 3/7; Meyer, "Centennial History," 109-10.
32. Meyer, "Centennial History," 119 ff., 161-62; diary entries, Apr. 25, May 31, July 3, 1934, DPP box 3.
33. Diary entry, Dec. 20, 1934, DPP box 3.
34. Diary entries, Mar. 13, May 4, 12, 1936, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Maurice Jacobs, Phila., Nov. 21, 1938, CBIR 8/4; Philipson, MLAJ, 65, 111; Meyer, "Centennial History," 126-27.
35. Diary entry, Oct. 21, 1933, DPP box 3; see Philipson's 1934 HUC Founder's Day Address as printed in the American Israelite, Mar. 29, 1934, in diary entry, Mar. 29, 1934, DPP box 3. Philipson, MLAJ, 69-70; Philipson, Centenary Papers, 200-1.
36. CCARY, 1:6, 2:10, 3:2. See Philipson's correspondence in DPP 1/17.
37. CCARY, 1-8, passim, esp. 1:22, 29, 2:13, 25, 3:48, 4:37, 6:17, 30, 34, 7:41, 8:45, 55; diary entry, Sept. 7, 1933, DPP box 3.
38. See CCARY, 11-20, passim, esp. 13:46 ff., 91-93, 115 ff., 14, 16:61, 20:48-49, 52-53, 55.
39. PUAHC, 4808; CCARY, 13:91-93.
40. CCARY, 14:22.
41. CCARY, 13:91-93, 14:160-61, 15:66-72, 16:132 ff.; diary entry, Jan. 4, 1906, DPP box 3.
42. Philipson, MLAJ, 192-93.
43. CCARY, 18:148, 152, 19:33-34, 191-93.
44. CCARY, 18:62 ff., 98, 130-31, 151-52.
45. Max Heller, New Orleans, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Apr. 5, 1909, DPP 2/12; Philipson to Heller, Apr. 13, 1909, DPP 1/7.

46. CCARY, 24:238.
47. CCARY, 18:93, 154-55.
48. The Holy Scriptures, vi.
49. CCARY, 18:149; "Reminiscences of My Presidency," n.d., DPP 5/5.
50. Mayer Sulzberger, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 28, 1907, Philipson to Sulzberger, Oct. 31, 1907, DPP 2/2. I am grateful to Dr. Jonathan D. Sarna for permitting me to read and cite from his manuscript in process, The History of the Jewish Publication Society. Some of the material in this section has been gleaned from Dr. Sarna's work. Jonathan D. Sarna, The History of the Jewish Publication Society (MS in process), ch. 5, pp. 21-23 (hereafter cited as Sarna, History of JPS).
51. Cyrus Adler, I Have Considered the Days (Phila.: Jewish Publication Society, 1941), 287-88 (hereafter cited as Adler, I Have Considered). Cf. The Holy Scriptures, vii, Sarna, History of JPS, ch. 5, pp. 23-25.
52. Sarna, History of JPS, ch. 5, pp. 23-28.
53. "Memorandum of a Conference had between Dr. Philipson and Dr. Adler in Washington, February 13th, 1908, etc." DPP 2/15.
54. Ibid.; Adler, I Have Considered, 287-88; Philipson, MLAJ, 197.
55. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Max Heller, New Orleans, Feb. 17, 1908, MHHP, 4/18; David Lefkowitz, Dallas, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 6, 1908, DPP 1/11; Samuel Hirschberg, Milwaukee, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 9, 1908, DPP 1/7; Tobias Schaufarber, Chicago, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 9, 1908, DPP 1/19; Maurice H. Harris, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 9, 1908, DPP 2/8; Max Heller, New Orleans, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 10, 1908, DPP 1/7; Joseph Stolz, Chicago, to David Philipson, Mar. 13, 1908, DPP 1/19; Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Mar. 15, 1908, DPP 1/13.
56. CCARY, 18:92, 151.



57. Philipson, MLAJ, 195; Victor E. Reichert, "Necrology of David Philipson," PAJHS 39:467; "Reminiscences of My Presidency," n.d., DPP 5/5.
58. CCARY, 18:31.
59. CCARY, 18:157-58.
60. Morris B. Chapman, N.Y., to Stanley Klein, Cincinnati, May 12, 1938, CBIR 9/1.
61. Diary entries, Nov. 22, 1927, Apr. 7, 1931, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 205-6; "Reminiscences of My Presidency," n.d., DPP 5/5.
62. Philipson, MLAJ, 206; CCARY, 19:191.
63. CCARY, 19:199.
64. CCARY, 19:201.
65. Editorial, "Partisanship in Office," Nov. 28, 1909, DPP 5/4.
66. CCARY, 19:210-11.
67. "Reminiscences of My Presidency," n.d., DPP 5/5.
68. Ibid.
69. CCARY, 19:170-84.
70. Diary entry, Feb. 15, 1934, DPP box 3.
71. CCARY, 57:174.
72. Samuel Schulman (1912 and 1913): CCARY, 22:230, 23:102; Moses Gries (1914): CCARY, 24:13; Leo M. Franklin (1921): CCARY, 31:13; Edward N. Calisch (1923): CCARY, 33:11; Abram Simon (1924): CCARY, 34:11; Louis Wolsey (1926): CCARY, 36:13; David Lefkowitz (1929): CCARY, 39:13; Samuel H. Goldenson (1934): CCARY, 44:13; Felix A. Levy (1935): CCARY, 45:12.
73. CCARY, 22:70; correspondence with Joseph Jasín, 1912-1913, DPP 1/8; Philipson, MLAJ, 268.
74. Joseph Stolz, Cape May, N.J., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, July 9, 1922, CBIR 3/5.

75. CCARY, 24:132-36; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Adolf Kraus, N.Y., Oct. 4, 1913, DPP 1/9; Louis Marshall, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Feb. 19, 1914, DPP 1/13.
76. Diary entry, Dec. 22, 1931, DPP box 3.
77. CCARY, 1:29-30, 2:17, 3:97, 4:46, 5:85, 20:146; diary entries, Dec. 22, 1931, Sept. 7, 1933, DPP box 3; Isaac S. Moses, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 29, 1893, DPP 1/13.
78. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to William Rosenau, Baltimore, Feb. 28, 1916, DPP 1/18.
- 78a. William Rosenau, Baltimore, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Feb. 22, 1916, DPP 2/12.
79. Louis Wolsey, Cleveland, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Dec. 10, 1918, CBIR 2/7.
80. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to William Rosenau, Baltimore, Dec. 12, 1918, CBIR 2/7.
81. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to William Rosenau, Baltimore, Dec. 18, 1918, CBIR 2/7.
82. CCARY, 30:94-96, 123-24; Leo Franklin, Thetford, Ont., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, July 12, 1920, CBIR 3/2; diary entry, Dec. 22, 1931, DPP box 3.
83. William Rosenau, Baltimore, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 9, 1922, DPP 1/18; Ephraim Frisch, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 9, 1922, DPP 1/5; Harry Ettelson, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 13, 1922, DPP 1/3; Samuel Schulman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 9, 1922, DPP 2/1; same to same, Mar. 15, 1922, DPP 2/2.
84. CCARY, 32:39.
85. CCARY, 39:114, 143; James G. Heller, Cincinnati, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Dec. 6, 1929, CBIR 5/8; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., Mar. 22, 1930, CBIR 5/2.
86. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to David Lefkowitz, Dallas, Jan. 16, 1930, CBIR 5/10; same to same, Mar. 24, 1930, CBIR 5/12; Samuel Schulman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Mar. 21, 1930, CBIR 5/12; Morris Lazon, Baltimore, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Dec. 3, 1929, CBIR 5/8; CCARY, 40:84 ff.

87. Diary entries, July 6, 1930, Dec. 22, 1931, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Solomon Freehof, Chicago, Mar. 5, 1931, CBIR 6/7.
88. Philipson, MLAJ, 98; CCARY, 51:107.
89. Diary entries, May 17, 1928, July 26, 1932, DPP box 3.
90. Diary entries, Sept. 2, 1931, Jan. 26, 1932, DPP box 3.
91. CCARY, 45:93-94.
92. Diary entries, May 16, 1928, July 27, 1930, Jan. 5, 1932, DPP box 3.
93. Louis Wolsey, Phila., to George Zepin, Cincinnati, July 22, 1930, CBIR 6/3; diary entry, July 2, 1930, DPP box 3.
94. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Hyman Enelow, N.Y., Feb. 14, 1930, CBIR 5/11; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Emanuel Gamoran, Cincinnati, Oct. 18, 1933, CBIR 7/2; Louis Wolsey, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 1, 1934, CBIR 7/4; diary entry, July 26, 1932, DPP box 3.
95. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Samuel Schulman, N.Y., May 8, 1934, CBIR 7/4.
96. David Philipson, Rye Beach, N.H., to George Zepin, Cincinnati, July 22, 1934, Zepin to Philipson, July 25, 1934, CBIR 7/4.
97. "Testimonial to Dr. David Philipson," n.d., DPP 9/4.
98. Hyman Enelow, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 1, 1929, CBIR 5/1; Alexander Segal, York, Pa., to David Philipson, Nov. 10, 1927, CBIR 4/5; diary entry, Aug. 27, 1927, DPP box 3; CCARY, 36:127; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Rudolf I. Coffee, Oakland, Ca., Feb. 6, 1928, CBIR 4/5.
99. CCARY, 39:153-54.
100. CCARY, 38:157.
101. Diary entries, July 6, 28, 1930, DPP box 3.
102. CCARY, 45:23, 119-20, 133 ff., 190-206.

- 103.      Diary entry, July 2, 1935, DPP box 3.
- 104.      Ibid.
- 105.      CCARY, 50:38-40, 125-26, 130.
- 106.      CCARY, 56:212-13.

1. Address: "The Interreligious Mind," n.d., DPP 4/9; Philipson, MLAJ, 52, 468.
2. Philipson, Lilienthal, 96-97.
3. Philipson, Lilienthal, 96-100, Chapter Six; Philipson, Centenary Papers, 180 ff.
4. Address: "Church and State," n.d., DPP 4/3.
5. Ibid.; diary entries, Jan. 2, 1888, Dec. 29, 1931, July 21, 1932, DPP box 3.
6. Jacob Rader Marcus, "The Americanization of Isaac Mayer Wise" (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1969), 17-18; diary entries, Oct. 20, 1927, July 15, 1928, Aug. 18, 1935, DPP box 3.
7. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Ferdinand Isserman, St. Louis, May 5, 1930, CBIR 6/1; address: "Educating our Youth Away from Religious and Race Prejudice," Washington, D.C., Feb. 13, 1908, DPP 4/5.
8. Diary entry, Aug. 18, 1935, DPP box 3.
9. Sermon: "The Open Door in Religion," n.d. (prob. early 1920's), DPP 5/13.
10. Ibid.
11. Philipson, MLAJ, 383 ff., 468.
12. Diary entry, Dec. 25, 1931, DPP box 3.
13. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to William Alfred Marqua, Cincinnati, Dec. 17, 1930, CBIR 6/5.
14. Philipson, MLAJ, 157.
15. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to James A. Green, Cincinnati, Oct. 18, 1916, DPP 1/6.
16. Philipson, MLAJ, 49, 72.
17. Diary entry, Feb. 28, 1935, DPP box 3.

18.       Untitled address (on Congress of Liberal Religious Societies), n.d. (prob. 1894), address: "Why I am a Jew," n.d. (1894), DPP box 7; Philipson, MLAJ, 89-91, 95-96.
19.       Philipson, MLAJ, 171-73; diary entry, Nov. 28, 1930, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to William McKibben, Cincinnati, Nov. 28, 1907, DPP 1/13.
20.       David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Joseph Kornfeld, Columbus, Ohio, Mar. 16, 1915, DPP 1/9; address: "The Bible in the Public Schools," n.d., DPP 4/2; CCARY, 24:132-36, 35:58; Philipson, MLAJ, 253-55; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Harry L. Davis, Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 2, 1922, CBIR 3/4.
21.       Address: "Jews and Christian Science," n.d., DPP 4/10; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Rudolph I. Coffee, Oakland, Ca., Feb. 6, 1928, CBIR 4/5; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Sidney Wallach, N.Y., June 11, 1935, CBIR 7/5; diary entry, Sept. 13, 1934, DPP box 3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to John J. McNicholas, Cincinnati, July 5, 1938, CBIR 8/4.
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23.       Philipson, MLAJ, 506.
24.       Sermon: "Inter Religious Harmony," Mar. 5, 1932, DPP 4/9.
25.       David Philipson, Atlantic City, N.J., to Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Feb. 4, 1929, Philipson, Atlantic City, N.J., to Everett R. Clinchy, N.Y., Feb. 4, 1929, DPP 1/1; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Mar. 20, 1931, CBIR 6/7; Philipson, MLAJ, 506-7.
26.       Philipson, MLAJ, 505.
27.       Cincinnati Times Star, Nov. 2, 1928, in DPP 10/2; Philipson, MLAJ, 66-67, 280; diary entry, Oct. 30, 1935, DPP box 3.
28.       Diary entries, Nov. 9, 1932, May 19, 1933, June 5, 1935, DPP box 3.



29. Philipson, MLAJ, 279; diary entry, May 3, 1928, DPP box 3.
30. Diary entry, Aug. 31, 1934, DPP box 3.
31. Diary entry, Mar. 21, 1937, DPP box 3.
32. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to John J. McNicholas, Cincinnati, July 5, 1938, CBIR 8/4.
33. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Nov. 22, 1928, CBIR 4/8.
34. Diary entry, Jan. 26, 1928, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 402.
35. Diary entry, Nov. 3, 1937, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 489.

1. "Address at Graduation Exercises of the Jewish Institute of Religion," May 27, 1934, DPP 4/6.
2. Philipson, MLAJ, 29, 32.
3. See Bibliography, below.
4. Freehof, "Introduction," xiv, xxi; William Rosenau, Baltimore, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, May 1, 1907, DPP 1/18.
5. Marcus, "Philipson Historiography," 28-30.
6. Ibid., 28; see diaries, passim, for regular evaluations of Philipson's reading. He recorded his own reviews of the books and journals he read, and he indicated that he read extensively in French and German, as well as English.
7. Philipson, MLAJ, 54.
8. Philipson, MLAJ, 54-55.
9. Philipson, OEJ, 117-18, 219.
10. PJAHs, 17:iii, 38:346; Philipson, MLAJ, 177.
11. Marcus, "Philipson Historiography," 30.
12. Philipson, Centenary Papers, Preface, 11-62; Philipson, MLAJ, 152, 448; Philipson, "A Reformer"; address: "My First Glimpse of Dr. Wise," n.d., DPP 5/1; address: "Personal Contacts with the Founder," Mar. 24, 1934, DPP 5/4.
13. Philipson, Lilienthal, v-vi.
14. Diary entries, Aug. 24, 1933, Feb. 22, 1937, DPP box 3.
15. Untitled graduation address, n.d., DPP box 6; Max Heller, New Orleans, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, n.d., DPP 1/7.
16. Sermon, "Pesach," n.d., DPP 4/5; diary entry, Sept. 21, 1927, DPP box 3; Philipson, MLAJ, 378.

17. Private communication, Dr. Michael Meyer, to Doug Kohn, Cincinnati, Winter, 1986. See also Philipson, RMiJ, 437-91, esp. 442, n. 113.
18. HUCA, 2:419; diary entries, July 21, 1905, Jan. 10, 1906, DPP box 3; see sermons, DPP boxes 4-7, esp. those in box 7.
19. Philipson, RMiJ, vi.
20. Ibid.
21. David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Louis E. Levinthal, Phila., Feb. 3, 1944, CBIR 9/2; Bernard J. Bamberger, "Philipson's History of Reform Judaism," CCAR Journal, 15 (no.1):4 ff.
22. See Freehof, "Introduction," xxi, for other non-English histories.
23. Diary entries, Sept. 21, 1927, June 13, Aug. 5, 1928, DPP box 3; Charles Bloch, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Nov. 15, 1928, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Caesar Seligman, Frankfurt on the Main, Nov. 23, 1928, CBIR 4/8.
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25. Diary entry, Sept. 11, 1932, DPP box 3.
26. Freehof, "Introduction"; see also works by Dr. Michael A. Meyer, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati.
27. "Are There Traces of the Ten Lost Tribes in Ohio?" PAJHS, 13:37 ff.; "The Cincinnati Community in 1825," PAJHS, 10:97 ff.; "The Hebrew Words on the Tombstone of William Bradford," PAJHS, 22:186 ff.; "The Jewish Pioneers of the Ohio Valley," PAJHS, 8:43 ff.
28. Heinsheimer: PAJHS, 28:284 ff.; Enelow: AJYB, 36:23 ff.; J. Walter Freiberg: PAJHS, 29:161 ff.; Julius Freiberg: PAJHS, 19:202 ff.; Kohler: PAJHS, 31:268 ff.; Levi: PAJHS, 28:289 ff.; Gries: PAJHS, 28:274 ff.; Fox: PAJHS, 25:149 ff.; Ezekiel, PAJHS, 28:1 ff.

29. See Philipson-Singer correspondence, 1921, CBIR 3/3; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Isidor Singer, N.Y., Sept. 11, 1921, CBIR 3/5; Isaac Landman, N.Y., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 29, 1929, CBIR 5/6; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Max J. Kohler, N.Y., May 12, 1929, CBIR 5/2.
30. Philipson, MLAJ, 197-200.
31. CCARY, 21:105-6; Mayer Sutzberger, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 12, 1910, DPP 2/2; I.W. Bernheim, Louisville, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, June 14, 1910, DPP 1/1; see Philipson-Adler correspondence, DPP 2/14.
32. Philipson, MLAJ, 200; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Lipman Levy, Cincinnati, May 18, 1914, DPP 1/11; address: "Jacob H. Schiff and the Bible Translation," n.d., DPP 4/10.
33. Diary entry, Oct. 4, 1890, DPP box 3; address: "Opening Address at Golden Jubilee Celebration of JPSA," Dec. 11, 1938, DPP 5/3; Philipson, MLAJ, 56-57.
34. Jewish Publication Society Publication Committee Minutes, Mar. 1, 1914, Aug. 17, 18, 1915, DPP 2/15; Cyrus Adler, Phila., to David Philipson, Apr. 8, 1914, DPP 2/14; Philipson, MLAJ, 248-50; William Rosenau, Baltimore, to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Mar. 3, 1916, DPP 2/12; Moses Gaster, Ma'aseh Book (Phila.: Jewish Publication Society, 1934, facsimile reprint edition, 1981), i-ii.
35. Diary entries, July 15, 1928, June 15, Nov. 18, 1937, DPP box 3; Cyrus Adler, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 7, 1929, CBIR 5/6; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Fritz Baer, Jerusalem, June 3, 1932, CBIR 6/9.
36. Diary entry, July 10, 1932, DPP box 3.
37. Diary entry, Nov. 10, 1937, DPP box 3.
38. Diary entry, Jan. 9, 1888, DPP box 3.
39. David Philipson (ed.), Letters of Rebecca Gratz (Phila.: Jewish Publication Society, 1929), vii; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Mrs. Thomas H. Clay, Lexington, Ky., June 11, 1923, CBIR 3/7; Cyrus Adler, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Dec. 19, 1923, CBIR 3/8.

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41. Philipson, MLAJ, 312-14; David Philipson, Cincinnati, to Cyrus Adler, Phila., Jan. 18, 1929, CBIR 4/9; Solomon Solis-Cohen, Phila., to David Philipson, Cincinnati, Oct. 26, 1929, DPP 1/2.
42. Philipson, MLAJ, Foreward.
43. Diaries, DPP box 3.
44. Philipson, MLAJ, Foreward.
45. Hyman Enelow, N.Y., to George A. Kohut, N.Y., Oct. 6, 1931, Kohut to Enelow, Oct. 1, 1931, David Philipson, Cincinnati, to George A. Kohut, N.Y., Nov. 24, 1931, CBIR 6/8.
46. Marcus, "Philipson Historiography."
47. Diary entry, Nov. 10, 1937, DPP box 3.

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