

# The Ordeal of Gotthard Deutsch

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## I.

In the early spring of 1916, Cincinnati's Hebrew Union College faculty voted to bestow on Dr. Gotthard Deutsch, their esteemed colleague, "the highest honor at their disposal," the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. This was their way of recognizing his twenty-five years of distinguished service to the institution as its dean, professor of history, and erstwhile president. The Board of Governors in turn granted him a full "year's leave of absence . . . without loss of pay," because it had been brought to their attention that he "was very anxious at the close of the European War to visit a number of European countries and the Orient."<sup>1</sup>

Barely a year later, the United States herself had entered the war. Peace seemed farther away than ever, and so was the realization of the tour abroad which Deutsch had "so anxiously desired." Instead, the war insinuated itself step by step into the peaceful atmosphere of the Hebrew Union College, and with it Deutsch's name came up increasingly as a subject of angry debate before the Board of Governors. By the end of November, 1917, it had reached such a point that the chair even entertained "arguments including suggestions of expulsion and dismissal." Apparently, some members had come to the conclusion that "the public activities of Dr. Deutsch

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Dr. Dobbert is on the faculty of Youngstown University, Youngstown, Ohio. He requested that the following be appended to his essay: "This article is based almost exclusively on manuscript sources in the Deutsch Collection deposited in the American Jewish Archives. Any references taken from material other than that deposited at the Archives will be cited accordingly. The author wishes to acknowledge his appreciation to the personnel of the Archives, Dr. Stanley F. Chyet, the Associate Director, and Mrs. Ralph Zelcer, the Archivist, who have more than generously given of their time and made valuable suggestions. The Administration of the Hebrew Union College has graciously provided free access to the relevant parts of the Minutes of the Board of Governors."

<sup>1</sup> *American Israelite* [AI], June 15, 1916; Hebrew Union College Board of Governors Minutes [B. o. G. Minutes], March 28, 1916, p. 99; June 27, 1916, p. 149.

have been of such a nature as to end his usefulness to Hebrew Union College."<sup>2</sup>

#### HIS PLACE IS IN BERLIN

The last straw had been an incident before the United States District Court, where Gotthard Deutsch appeared as a character witness at a citizenship hearing. The presiding judge, the Honorable Howard C. Hollister, trying to ascertain whether Deutsch was qualified to act in that capacity, asked him the following "searching" question: "The United States being engaged in a great war with Germany, which side do you wish to see win?" To this Deutsch replied somewhat defiantly, "I do not think I am compelled to answer that question." "If you do not answer the question," the judge announced, "the court will assume that you refuse to answer," and he put the question a second time. Deutsch refused again. Thereupon Judge Hollister disqualified him as a witness and dismissed the case.<sup>3</sup>

Too late did the good professor realize the error of his ways; but his immediate as well as subsequent efforts for personal redress with the honorable judge were of no avail. The press in Cincinnati had a field day.

On the following evening, the Reverend Madison C. Peters, of New York, came to Cincinnati to deliver to an enthusiastic crowd assembled at the Sons of Veterans Memorial Hall an address "filled with inspiring patriotic sentiment." For Peters, the author of a treatise entitled *Justice to the Jew*, the Deutsch case was ready-made. Billed as the "Eulogist of American Jewry," he fully lived up to his reputation by pointing out that Deutsch was one of those "exceptional Jews today [who] are so loud in their traitorous activities that the American can't hear the patriotic Jew." The fact, moreover, "that Professor Deutsch [was] personally a lovely old man, almost worshipped by his students, [made him] all the more a menace to our free institutions. Such a man," Peters concluded, "has no more right in America than a weasel in a henhouse. . . ." "[His]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, June 27, 1916, p. 149; Nov. 27, 1917, p. 295; Dec. 26, 1917, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1917, p. 294; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Nov. 21, 1917.

place is in Berlin." The final disposition of the Deutsch case, though, Peters entrusted to the "patriotic Jews of Cincinnati and of America who support the College," and, for good measure, "to the Department of Justice," too.<sup>4</sup>

Pressures and counterpressures both to dismiss and to retain Professor Deutsch increasingly were brought to bear on the College. They emanated not only from the outside, but also from within the Board of Governors. And so the ordeal of man and institution began.<sup>5</sup> That in the end, and under rather dramatic circumstances, the Board decided by the narrowest of margins to retain its distinguished professor was to the credit of the College and of Reform Judaism at large; for at the height of World War I hysteria it was by no means easy to stand in defense of a man who could be simultaneously so irrepressibly human and so stubbornly individualistic as Gotthard Deutsch. Under the overwhelming pressures of that 100 percent superpatriotism which tried to force everyone into the same jingoistic mold, Deutsch's human qualities were no longer lovable assets, but a heavy liability to himself and the College.

#### NIHIL IUDAICI MIHI ALIENUM EST

By any standard, Deutsch was "an outstanding personality." Behind his "fine patriarchal mien, his gracious and genial manner," though, there was no simple man. He straddled too many ages and too many cultures. Born on January 31, 1859, in Kaunitz, Moravia, the descendant of a "long line of scholars and teachers," he spent his childhood and adolescence in a province of Austria-Hungary where Czech and German cultures mingled freely and more harmoniously than in the somewhat more pugnacious Bohemia to the northwest. Timewise, too, he grew up between two distinct socioeconomic eras. As he put it, "I have been brought up still next to

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1917. See also the Cincinnati *Times-Star* for the same date. [Peters' *Justice to the Jew: The Story of What He Has Done for the World*, originally published in 1899, appeared in 1909 in a "new and revised edition." He published other "eulogies" as well — *The Jew as a Patriot* in 1902, and *The Jews in America: A Short Story of Their Part in the Building of the Republic* in 1905. — Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Deutsch to Harry Cutler, Dec. 3, 1917; to Joseph Stolz, Dec. 2, 1917; to Jacob H. Schiff, Dec. 1, 1917; to Joseph Rauch, Dec. 10, 1917; *Jewish Comment*, Dec. 21, 1917.

the spinning wheel, while only a few miles away the steam engine of industry has supplanted already the romance of handicraft."<sup>6</sup>

As symbolized by his name, he belonged culturally also to Moravia's German minority. Accordingly, he went to the Gymnasium at Nikolsburg, and from there proceeded to the seminary at Breslau, Prussia, to study for the rabbinate. Simultaneously he "arranged to attend classes at the University," where "he came under the influence" of Heinrich Graetz, at the time the foremost authority on Jewish history. His Ph.D. in that field he received from the University of Vienna at the age of twenty-one. Called in 1891 by Isaac M. Wise to the chair of history at the Hebrew Union College, he arrived in Cincinnati that same year on December 2.<sup>7</sup>

Within the framework of American immigration history, Deutsch geographically was part of the "new" East European Jewish immigration; culturally, however, he belonged firmly in the older German-Jewish immigrant wave which had preceded the former by about half a century. Deutsch thus, by the peculiar chemistry of his geographic and cultural environments, by his personality and upbringing, had evolved into that "sort of a Jew to whom nothing Jewish can ever seem alien."

He was interested in the oriental as well as in the occidental Jew. He sought out the Karaites, the Hassidim, the Samaritans, the Jews of Algeria, Mexico and Central America and other odd corners of the world. He was concerned about the Reformer and the Orthodox, the Zionist and the anti-Zionist, the ritualist and the non-conformist.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Henry Englander, "Dr. Deutsch, the Teacher," *H. U. C. Monthly*, VIII (March, 1922), 153. (This issue of the *H. U. C. Monthly* was designated a "Gotthard Deutsch Memorial Number"); *ibid.*, "Biographical Note" (no page given); Elizabeth Wiskemann, *Czechs and Germans* (New York, 1938), pp. 109-111; Deutsch to Joseph Spitz, April 1, 1914. *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia [UJE]*, VII, 642, says that the Jews of Moravia, though small in number, had a distinguished history. After the founding of Czechoslovakia, they "made it their mission to effect a bond between the West (Bohemia) and the East (Slovakia) of the republic, and to bring them together."

<sup>7</sup> *UJE*, V, 80-81; "Biographical Note," *H. U. C. Monthly*, VIII (March, 1922): According to this Note, Deutsch enrolled in Vienna in the fall of 1879, which made him twenty. Hence, after two semesters, he must have received his Ph.D. in 1880 at the age of twenty-one.

<sup>8</sup> Oscar Handlin, *Adventure in Freedom* (New York, 1954), pp. 49-50; Max Heller, "The Personality of Gotthard Deutsch," *H. U. C. Monthly*, VIII (March, 1922), 150; Joseph Stolz, "Memorial Address," *ibid.*, p. 130.

According to his friend Max Heller, Deutsch "was entirely free from that uncomfortable self-consciousness which makes the rest of us squirm when Jewish gesture or Jewish accent escape into the publicity of the streetcar." Belonging to a generation which had not "a particle of patience for what they disdained as the jargon," Deutsch not only enjoyed "Yiddish poetry, Yiddish humor, Yiddish pathos, Yiddish proverb, and Yiddish idiom," but even went so far as to acquire "the language, write articles for Yiddish papers, until no compliment would please him more than praise of his 'Yiddish style.'"<sup>9</sup>

As historian, he allowed no aspect of Jewish life, be it ever so small and fleeting, to escape his grasp, or, to put it more accurately, his *Zettelkasten* — the paper-slip box into which he assiduously deposited every scrap of information he could get hold of. It was for him a great source of pride and pleasure to see it grow, until towards the end of his life he had accumulated some 70,000 or more ingeniously indexed and cross-indexed items. To this day, the Americana in his *Zettelkasten* occupy a not insubstantial section in the cabinets of the American Jewish Archives card catalogue.<sup>10</sup>

#### PROPHETS AND OYSTER-GOURMANDS

Almost equally devoted was he to keeping alive in Cincinnati what remained of its once-flourishing German immigrant culture. Fairly soon after his arrival he joined the German Literary Club, "a society," he observed in his diary, "of mostly elderly gentlemen," which a less kindly inclined member characterized as being more or less in a permanent "state of extinction." At a time when only 30 percent of its members attended the club's sessions regularly, Deutsch was among that minority which did so assiduously. But even he could not help noticing that the papers and debates

<sup>9</sup> Max Heller, p. 151; *AI*, Oct. 21, 1921.

<sup>10</sup> Deutsch to David J. Simonsen, June 7, 1916, and Jan. 27, 1918. The non-Americana in Deutsch's *Zettelkasten* are housed in the basement of the Hebrew Union College Library in Cincinnati.

given before the club were "stale," "commonplace," and "boring twaddle."<sup>11</sup>

In a comparable endeavor, Deutsch also lent his considerable prestige as scholar to keeping the Cincinnati School Board from prematurely dismantling the administrative structure of its German division in the elementary schools, where part of the school day was assigned to classes taught entirely in German. By such and similar activities in behalf of the German community, Deutsch eventually came to be known as a "representative German citizen," when this still counted as an asset and "every mayor of Cincinnati greeted the annual 'Deutscher Tag' and showed off his German, when he could."<sup>12</sup>

In regard to the German-Jewish weekly *Deborah*, Deutsch's zeal knew no bounds. As Isaac M. Wise, the paper's founder-editor, told Joseph Stolz, "If I would let him, he [Deutsch] would fill the *Deborah* every week with the production of his own pen." But already at that time *Deborah* no longer had "the patronage to guarantee its [material] existence." When the paper was discontinued after Wise's death, Deutsch fought for over a year to keep it going as a monthly. Then, by the end of 1902, he, too, had to give up the struggle, thereby vindicating Leo Wise, *Deborah's* previous publisher, in his judgment that

there is no field in America for a Jewish German paper. . . . Jewish immigration from Germany has practically ceased, and the children of the immigrants from that country, who are now the active men and women, are *Americans*, and their language is *English*. (Italics added.)<sup>13</sup>

For Deutsch, the content and tone of such comments must have been doubly painful. For one, being "a German at heart," he "was always gratefully conscious of his obligations to German culture."

<sup>11</sup> Deutsch, Diary, Oct. 12, 1892; May 4, 1898; June 4, 1903; and Sept. 28, 1904; G. A. Dobbert, "The Disintegration of an Immigrant Community: the Cincinnati Germans, 1870-1920" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1965), p. 180. As to Deutsch's regular attendance, any cursory look through his diaries will attest to the fact of his most regular attendance.

<sup>12</sup> Dobbert, pp. 54-55; Deutsch to Harry Cutler, Dec. 3, 1917.

<sup>13</sup> Stolz, p. 125; *Deborah*, April 5, 1900; Deutsch, Diary, Dec. 25, 1902 (undated clipping identified by Deutsch as from *AI*).

But even more as a Jew to whom Judaism meant above all the promotion of universal brotherhood, he found the more extremist connotations of "America is our Zion" particularly obnoxious. This, to him, was not only a perversion of the true essence of Jewish history, but also smacked of pure hypocrisy to boot. He resented it especially during the war when "the old bourgeois idea of America is our Palestine" transformed itself into the American chauvinism voiced by such as Rabbi David Philipson, who proclaimed before the Cincinnati Business Men's Club that he heard "the words of the Lord speaking to America through the prophet even as he spoke to ancient Israel:

I the Lord have called thee in righteousness and have taken hold of thy hand . . . and set thee for a covenant of the peoples, for a light of the nations, to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeons. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

In the eyes of Deutsch, such representatives of "prophetic Judaism" were nothing else but "oyster-gourmands" — though at least he took solace in the fact that, as he wrote to his friend Professor David J. Simonsen, they were "no more consistent than the enthusiasts of the Sermon on the Mount, the parable of the Samaritans, and the Letter to the Corinthians." But, when really exasperated, he even addressed his personal friend Joseph Stolz, a prominent leader of Chicago's rabbinical association and a member of the Hebrew Union College Board of Governors, with: "You of the snobocratic Jewish ministry will drive me in my old age into the ranks of Zionism, for no matter how confused and chimerical their ideas may be, there is at least self-respect in their camp."<sup>15</sup>

#### NOSES OUT OF JOINT

Deutsch fought consistently for Zionism to be given a fair hearing before any Jewish meeting or convention. Because of the Zionists'

<sup>14</sup> Heller, p. 150; Deutsch to Joseph Krauskopf, Dec. 12, 1902; Oscar Handlin, p. 168; Deutsch to Leon Kellner, Jan. 26, 1921; David Philipson, "Are the Germans the Chosen People?" (address before the Business Men's Club, Cincinnati, Ohio, Feb. 12, 1918), pamphlet file, Cincinnati Historical Society.

<sup>15</sup> Deutsch to Simonsen, July 26, 1919; to Stolz, Jan. 11, 1917.

Jewish esprit de corps, he thoroughly enjoyed their gatherings, just as "he was fond of soliciting donations of olive trees for the Herzl Forest." Only "the political aspects of the movement . . . repelled him," for he always remained faithful to what he called the "utopian and old-fashioned ideal (Jes. 26.9) [*sic*] . . . that the hope of humanity, ourselves included, lies in the building of a road from Mizraim [Egypt] to Assur [Assyria]." <sup>16</sup>

Such prickly independence did not always endear him to that branch of Reform Judaism which remained bitterly opposed to Zionism — men like Kaufmann Kohler, the College's president, and David Philipson, rabbi of the fashionable Rockdale Avenue Temple and a resident member of the College Board of Governors. Nor did Deutsch render the life of the Board easier by his occasional criticisms of the American Jewish "aristocracy" on whose support the College depended. During the war, for instance, he categorically declined any connection with the drive for Jewish war victims, because, as he saw it, "Dr. [Judah L.] Magnes in his courageous stand for peace does far more good than even Mr. [Louis] Marshall or Mr. [Julius] Rosenwald, with all their sacrifice of time and money, can accomplish in spite of their noble motives." <sup>17</sup>

Neither was it out of character when he purposefully failed to appear at the convocation at which, on the occasion of his twenty-fifth anniversary at the College, the honorary degree of D.D. was to be conferred upon him. He did it, as he wrote to a relative in Vienna, "not out of antique modesty, but because I detest America's sham politeness and all that conventional nonsense." At least he admitted having given his wife Hermine "a bad moment, especially since all the children had come for the day," not to mention his friend Max Heller, who had journeyed from New Orleans to deliver a personal tribute. But his feelings of guilt hardly made up

<sup>16</sup> Deutsch to Joseph Krauskopf, Dec. 12, 1902; to Leon Kellner, March 16, 1920; Heller, p. 151. The biblical reference is, correctly, Isaiah 19:23.

<sup>17</sup> *H. U. C. Jubilee Volume* (Cincinnati, 1925), p. 43; David Philipson, "What Zionism Really Is," *AI*, Jan. 20, 1916; Deutsch to Jacob Billikopf, June 5, 1917. According to H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War 1917-1918* (Madison, Wis., 1957), pp. 76-77, Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, of New York, had been one of the principal speakers at a pacifist assembly in Chicago.

for his satisfaction in having gotten "the noses of the Board of Governors out of joint" by denying them the *éclat* of a festive peroration. For "it makes the great gentlemen feel so good to be able to be charitable."<sup>18</sup>

In brief, Gotthard Deutsch was the kind of person who is best summed up in his own words:

I am not only a Jew, but an official Jew. Nevertheless, a strike on a railroad or in a coal mine touches me more deeply than the possibility of being rejected by a fashionable summer resort hotel or even a country club, should I ever have had the ambition of knocking at their doors.<sup>19</sup>

## II.

When, on August 1, 1914, World War I broke out in Europe, Gotthard Deutsch in Cincinnati was soon in the midst of things. An ardent pacifist, he immediately set out to organize a public meeting for peace. It was held on September 6, in the Music Hall, featuring as speakers such known public figures as Dean William P. Rogers, of the Law School, Bishop Joseph Crane Hartzell, of the Methodist Church, and Congressman Alfred G. Allen.<sup>20</sup>

At the same time, and understandably so, Deutsch could not help being drawn into the vortex of pro-German agitation among the Cincinnati Germans. For one, there was his emotional attachment to German culture and indirectly to Germany herself. There was his growing irritation at the long delays in the mail which interrupted the lively academic dialogues with his friends and colleagues in Vienna and Berlin. His sense of justice and fair play was outraged by the one-sided pro-Allied coverage of the war, offered in most of the newspapers. And, finally, he could not resist the sense of excitement and the revitalizing effect which the war had upon Cincinnati's slowly decaying and disintegrating German immigrant community. For instance, it was he who made the motion

<sup>18</sup> Deutsch to C. Weiss, June 19, 1916.

<sup>19</sup> Deutsch to Leon Kellner, May 24, 1920.

<sup>20</sup> Deutsch to Cutler, Dec. 3, 1917; A. B. Gorbach, *Das Kriegshilfswerk in Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1917), p. 62.

in the Literary Club to invite the German propagandist Professor Eugen Kühnemann for the club's foundation day celebration, and to "make a great affair of it." He also appeared prominently in one or another capacity at the various events organized under the auspices of the German, Austrian and Hungarian Aid Society for the relief of war widows and orphans, or the local chapter of the German American National Alliance.<sup>21</sup>

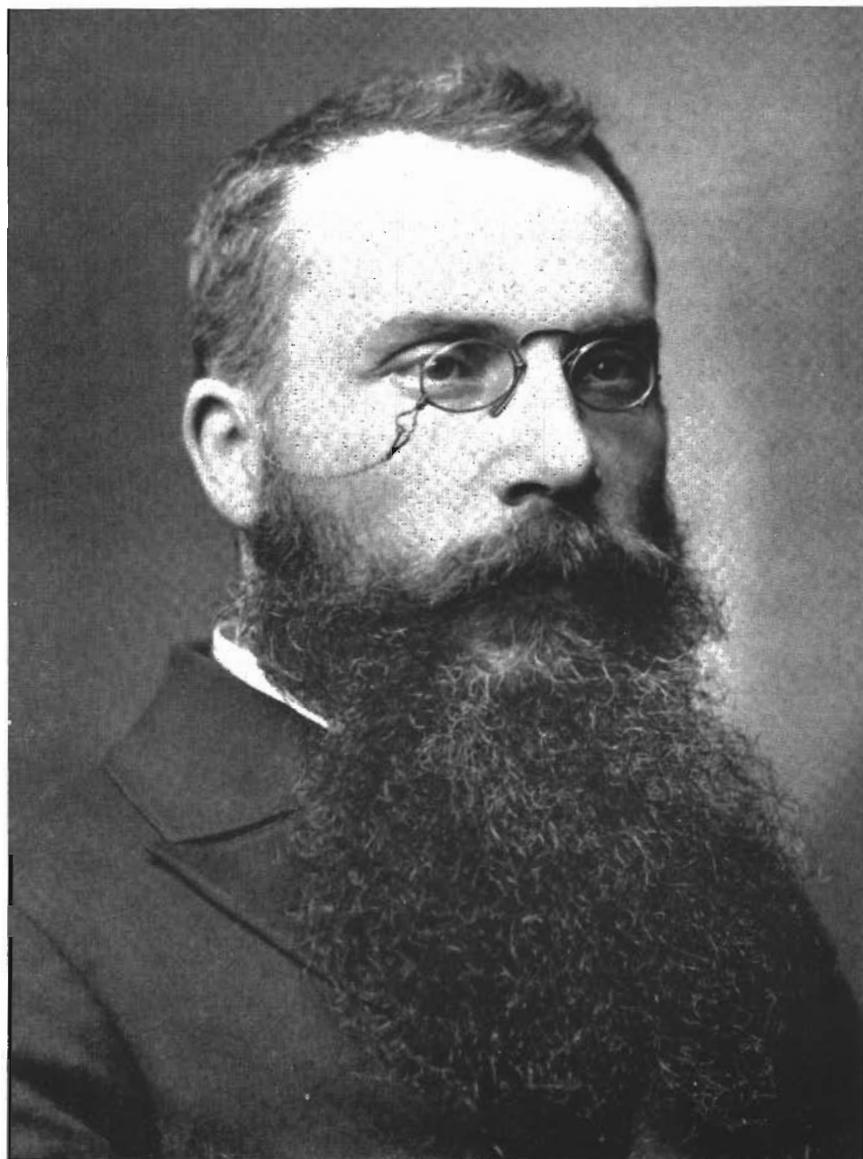
#### WHAT HAS A GERMAN JEW TO SAY?

The local press, being entirely dependent upon British-censored cables for its war news, occasionally asked Deutsch to represent the German point of view because, as he put it, the paper still had "to reckon with the German sympathies of its readers." He complied so well with the request that even "the German Consul congratulated him on the article." Unfortunately for him, he was also part of the small group of pro-German sympathizers which, on January 5, 1917, disrupted a meeting organized to protest against German war atrocities in Belgium. Catcalls such as "German pig" or "What has a German Jew to say?" were directed against Deutsch and his companions by the pro-Allied audience, among which quite conspicuously sat Judge Howard C. Hollister. To the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, however, the incident showed how wide "the breach between the supporters of the cause of the Allies and those of the Central Powers" had become in the city.<sup>22</sup>

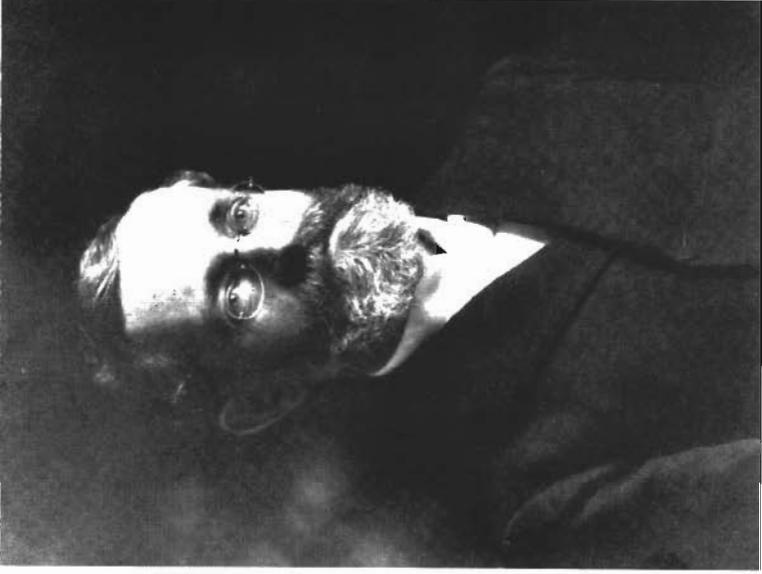
Occasionally chided by his friends for his partiality, Deutsch vigorously defended his stand by saying: "I condemn war with all its cruelties but cannot make any distinctions between the policy of the British trying to starve out Germany and to strangle its commerce, and the actions of the Germans employing the terroristic means [i. e., submarine warfare] available to them." And although the shelling of the British coast by the German Navy depressed

<sup>21</sup> Dobbert, pp. 114, 116, 292-321; Deutsch, Diary, Nov. 4, 1914; Gorbach, pp. 90-91, 94, 127, 155, 173.

<sup>22</sup> Deutsch to Weiss, Jan. 13, 1916; Deutsch, Diary, Jan. 5, 1917; *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, Jan. 6, 1917; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 6 and 7, 1917. According to the *Volksblatt*, Deutsch was addressed as "dirty German Jew."



Gotthard Deutsch  
"I feel like Malachi"



Alfred M. Cohen and Max Heller  
Deutsch's defenders

him, he wrote, on the other hand, to his nephew in the Austrian army that he wished he "could do more. . . ." But then, remembering his "weekly review of Jewish affairs abroad" in the *American Israelite*, he did admit that "actually I do more"; for in his column he really made "the Messrs. British thoroughly pay for it." "While the British Board of [Jewish] Deputies would not do anything for alien enemies," he wrote in the *American Israelite*, German Jews "have taken pains to provide Jewish [soldiers] living in the camps of detention with kosher food." In German-occupied Russian territories, the German administration permitted "papers in Yiddish language" to reappear, while the Russians had prohibited them. "Would it not be natural," he concluded, "for the Jews of these places to feel that they are happier under German administration, which does not know of any such restrictions," as in the case, for example, of Prussia, which "has not known any restrictions of civil rights of Jews since 1812?"<sup>23</sup>

Such views eventually impaired his formerly cordial relations with the Anglo-Jewish press, which he now judged to be "in the pay of the English High Finance." He was particularly angry at the London *Jewish Chronicle*, the dean of England's Jewish newspapers, for "laying the blame on Germany for the mistreatment of Russian Jews." "This," he wrote indignantly to Simonsen, "is not only consciously lying but treason to the Jewish cause." And he added, "On account of my attitude in this question, I've gotten myself into open conflict with my chief, Mr. [Leo] Wise."<sup>24</sup>

In the meantime, Deutsch had to take on David Philipson, who had apparently been guilty, in Deutsch's eyes, of attacking "Kaiser" and "Kultur" in a public address. Philipson, in turn, could not forego the opportunity of being righteous in showing off his loyal compliance with President Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality Proclamation. And so he, too, took to the pages of the *American Israelite*, contending

<sup>23</sup> Deutsch to Simonsen, Nov. 14, 1915; to Stolz, Jan. 1, 1917; to E. Reiniger, Oct. 1, 1915; Deutsch, Diary, Dec. 16, 1914; *AI*, March 16, 1916; June 28, 1917. See also *AI*, Sept. 2, 1915, as to the German Army advancing Jews much faster in rank than the Allied armies.

<sup>24</sup> Deutsch to Reiniger, Oct. 1, 1915; to Simonsen, Nov. 14, 1915. Leo Wise was then in charge of the *American Israelite*.

that he, "although . . . strong pro-Ally, still in [his] public utterances [had] preserved constantly an attitude of neutrality." At the same time, he also indirectly criticized the *American Israelite* for providing a forum for Deutsch, "your correspondent whose pro-German sympathies are well known."<sup>25</sup>

After the United States had entered the war on April 6, 1917, Deutsch continued his column as though nothing had changed. "The anti-Jewish sentiment of England is on the increase," he wrote on June 28. In August he took issue with Israel Zangwill's contention that modern anti-Semitism was primarily of German origin. Pointing out that the anti-Semitism of Ernest Renan had preceded that of Heinrich von Treitschke, Deutsch argued that "the question of priority" was really immaterial, "were it not used for supporting the claim that national conceit and contempt for Semites are peculiarly German."<sup>26</sup>

#### THREATS WILL NOT INDUCE ME

Deutsch thus indirectly — but relentlessly — used his column to question the wisdom and sincerity of the United States Government in having thrown in its lot with two such untrustworthy allies as England and Russia. That the *American Israelite* continued to feature Deutsch's column until October, 1917, and only seldom printed letters complaining about Deutsch's attempts to "prejudice" its "readers against England" seems to suggest that substantial elements in the Jewish community had considerable reservations about the war. In the memories of many a Jew from Russia, the pogroms of Kiev, Odessa, and Kishinev were still vivid. Undoubtedly, there were a large number who shared Deutsch's apprehensions about American support for a regime which had so cruelly persecuted them. At least the great relief with which the *American Israelite* greeted the Russian Revolution would seem to be a fair indication of the rather strong presence of such sentiments. When, however, the *Israelite* contended that the Revolution had "changed . . . the bitter hatred of Jewish Americans to something very much akin

<sup>25</sup> *AI*, Nov. 25, 1915.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, June 28, 1917; Aug. 23, 1917.

to love," the paper in all likelihood was expressing more its editor's wishful thinking than stating an actual fact.<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, those in the community belonging to the school of thought that "America is our Palestine" began more and more, under the pressure of war hysteria, to close ranks with "100 percent Americans." Deutsch, by his defiant refusal to let himself be categorized into any one branch of Judaism, must have always been something of a thorn in their side. Now it seemed as though they were biding their time, counting on his impulsive personality to get him into sufficient hot water to discredit him once and for all in the eyes of American Jewry. That opportunity presented itself when Deutsch became involved with the Reverend Herbert Bigelow, of the People's Church, a well-known progressive and pacifist, in founding a local chapter of the People's Council of America for Peace and Democracy.

The Council was "a loose organization" working for "peace by negotiation now." It opposed the draft and the sending of American troops abroad. Because of its pronounced pacifist platform, it attracted people from the most variegated political and religious backgrounds. They ranged from progressives on the right to single taxers in the center and socialists on the left. In Cincinnati, the Council's public image was not improved by the prominent role played in its councils by Colon Schott, who had strongly advocated the German cause before America's entry into the war; Schott was already notorious for having had to be escorted by the police from the meeting organized by pro-Allied sympathizers in January, 1917, to protest against German war atrocities in Belgium.<sup>28</sup>

Right from the beginning, the People's Council came under the surveillance of government agents. Deutsch's participation was soon communicated to the Hebrew Union College authorities, and Alfred M. Cohen, vice president of the Board of Governors, in an effort to protect Deutsch against himself, took him to a meeting with the president of the Board, Edward L. Heinsheimer. The president pleaded with him to sever his connections with the People's Council, particularly since Colon Schott was reputed to be in Germany's

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, July 5 and 26, 1917.

<sup>28</sup> Deutsch, Diary, June 18, 1917; Peterson and Fite, pp. 74-80. See Note 22, *supra*.

pay. Deutsch "refused any concession," except to assure them that "he would not do anything which may be construed as illegal." Within a few days, however, Deutsch, despite their "entreaties," not only presided at a meeting of the People's Council, but in his opening speech "denounced the U. S. government's method of conscription, [and] called attention to . . . misdemeanors and crimes committed by the soldiers . . . at Fort Thomas [in nearby northern Kentucky]." In their desperation, Cohen and Heinsheimer met with Mrs. Deutsch to impress upon her that "her husband might be arrested for inflaming public opinion." Deutsch, undaunted, continued to go to the meetings, except that now, as he noted in his diary, his wife tagged along, for "she is afraid of letting me go unsupervised." Further warnings on the part of his friends that he might lose his position only stiffened his resistance; "threats will not in the least induce me to do so. . . ." <sup>29</sup>

#### ANGRY AND HUMILIATED

On September 23, 1917, just before the Board of Governors was to adjourn its regular meeting, "several members opened a discussion concerning the conduct of Dr. Deutsch. . . ." The move, however, was squelched by Alfred M. Cohen, who, in the absence of President Heinsheimer, occupied the chair. He ruled that the subject ought to be taken up in Heinsheimer's presence at a special meeting "to be called by the President on his return." In the meantime, on October 5, local and federal law enforcement officials had raided a meeting of the People's Council. Deutsch by some fluke had left just before. On his way out, though, he was accosted by the reporter of the *Enquirer* and by another individual, who provoked him with "You Germans want Germany to win the war." "I do not wish anyone to win," Deutsch replied. "I wish the war to be settled." Considering that Judge Hollister later employed almost the identical phraseology in court when he formulated his question, this was an odd coincidence. <sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> B. o. G. Minutes, June 25, 1918, p. 82; Deutsch, Diary, July 9, 20, 24, 27, and 29, 1917; Aug. 3, 1917; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Oct. 6, 1917.

<sup>30</sup> B. o. G. Minutes, Sept. 23, 1917, p. 271; Deutsch, Diary, Oct. 5, 1917.

The sensational accounts in the newspapers caused such an uproar and brought such "a storm of protest" on the members of the Board that a special meeting was held on the same day. "The sentiment of the majority was to dismiss Dr. Deutsch at once." Then saner counsel prevailed, and it was decided to have another special meeting "to give Dr. Deutsch ample opportunity to explain his attitude." The press was informed accordingly. In the meantime, Deutsch was given to understand that "the members urgently desired to settle the matter in such a fashion as to clear themselves from all accusations of disloyalty." Deutsch, in turn, prepared a statement in which he promised to sever his connection with the People's Council, but when he read it to the Board, it was found "absolutely inadequate" to meet "the exigencies of the situation." A special committee had to be appointed to iron out the differences with Deutsch.<sup>31</sup>

Immediately after the meeting had adjourned, the Board haggled for an additional forty minutes because Deutsch refused to declare that the People's Council was disloyal. Only the compromise formula, "the government condemning this organization as disloyal," proved satisfactory to all the parties concerned. And so the matter was declared to be officially settled, with the appropriate excerpts of the Minutes of the Board being published in the *American Israelite*. But Deutsch, on receiving "many congratulations" from well-meaning friends and sympathizers on the outcome of the affair, felt "angry and humiliated."<sup>32</sup>

At the same time, his relations with Leo Wise, the publisher of the *American Israelite*, reached the breaking point. Wise was in a quandary. On the one hand, Deutsch's connections and intimate knowledge of Jewish affairs abroad were invaluable to the paper; on the other hand, his public activities were an embarrassment. So Wise lectured Deutsch "on the duties of Jews to be 'super-loyal'" and asked him to refrain from writing anything which the Jewish public would regard as detrimental to England and beneficial to

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 6 and 9, 1917; B. o. G. Minutes, June 25, 1918, p. 83.

<sup>32</sup> B. o. G. Minutes, June 25, 1918, p. 83; Deutsch, Diary, Oct. 11 and 13, 1917; *AI*, Oct. 18, 1917.

Germany. Deutsch was also to drop his byline. After several days of wrangling back and forth, Deutsch finally told Wise, "If my name is a disgrace to the paper, the paper is no honor to me." A few days later he severed his connection with the *American Israelite*.<sup>33</sup>

Even before that, Deutsch had voluntarily withdrawn from all public activities, and had it not been for a previous commitment made several months before to David Sway to act on his behalf as a character witness, he probably would not even have appeared in Court.<sup>34</sup>

### III.

To withdraw at one stroke from all public activities could not have been easy for a man like Deutsch, whose lifelong pattern had been one of deep and passionate involvement in all kinds of affairs, whether Jewish, German-American, or civic. After a few weeks of self-imposed silence, he was literally bursting at the seams. By the time Judge Hollister asked him the slightly impertinent question as to which side of the war he wished to see win, Deutsch could no longer resist the overwhelming temptation to put the "learned Judge" in his place, and gave him to understand in no uncertain terms what kind of questions he, Deutsch, deemed fit to be asked and answered in a United States District Court.<sup>35</sup>

Nor was Deutsch's situation much improved by the people he was associated with in the case. These, by the standards of the time, were anything but exemplars of red-blooded American patriotism. David Hyman Sway, the applicant for citizenship, was reputedly a labor agitator and the "editor or agent of a Yiddish Socialist weekly." Nicholas Klein, the other character witness, was known for his connection with the pacifist Union Against Militarism. According to Heinsheimer, Klein had also written "threatening and

<sup>33</sup> Deutsch, Diary, Oct. 8 and 25, 1917; Nov. 2, 1917.

<sup>34</sup> Deutsch to Joseph Krauskopf, Dec. 5, 1917. The "Sway Case" is among the files of Gotthard Deutsch; undated, it was in all likelihood sent as an appendix to a letter to Max Heller on Nov. 29, 1917.

<sup>35</sup> See Note 3, *supra*.

abusive letters to Julius Rosenwald . . . [a] friend of our institution."<sup>36</sup>

#### SUCH PEOPLE SHALL BE PUNISHED

Considering the circumstances, the outlook for Deutsch was far from bright. Other institutions of higher learning had dismissed faculty members for far lesser causes. Columbia University, for instance, had fired two of its distinguished professors, one because of his connection with the People's Council, the other for his public stand against conscription. Deutsch, nonetheless, set out to fight for his academic survival. For one, he felt "humiliated," as he confided to his friend Max Heller, "that I should leave the institution under a cloud after 26 years of service, recognized even by the 'Sensationspfaffe' Madison Peters." His major consideration, however, was his wife. It was his feeling of remorse and guilt at having brought it upon her, who "has, to this moment, not said in words or indicated in any manner that I ought to have had her in mind when the incident happened."<sup>37</sup>

After Deutsch's attempts to set himself personally aright with Judge Hollister had failed — His Honor even refused to accept a letter of apology delivered in person by Vice President Cohen of the Board — a threefold strategy evolved to save Deutsch. One was to obtain through friends of high standing a personal audience with the President of the United States and the Attorney General. Before them Deutsch would make a personal declaration of loyalty. Appropriate releases would be made to the press, and his nationwide publicity would not only calm public opinion in Cincinnati, but perhaps even overawe his personal enemies. A second tactic was to mobilize his friends, both within and without the Jewish community in Cincinnati as well as elsewhere, to write letters on

<sup>36</sup> B. o. G. Minutes, June 25, 1918, p. 81; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Oct. 6, 1917. [David Sway, who died at Cincinnati in 1954, was, in fact, editor of the Cincinnati edition of the Cleveland-based Yiddish weekly, *Di Idische Velt*; thirty-four years after Deutsch's appearance on his behalf in court, the *Cincinnati Times-Star*, April 21, 1951, p. 22, saluted Sway as a "tiny man with a great spirit." — Ed.]

<sup>37</sup> Peterson and Fite, pp. 103-9; Deutsch to Max Heller, Nov. 29, 1917.

his behalf to the Board of Governors. At the same time he solicited letters from well-known contributors to the College, men like Jacob H. Schiff, Julius Rosenwald, and Harry Cutler, to offset those written to the Board of Governors by people threatening to withdraw their support of the College, should Deutsch be retained on its faculty. Deutsch urged his friends to do the same in those cases where he did not know the benefactors personally.<sup>38</sup>

The final strategy was, first, to delay the meeting of the Board of Governors which was to decide Deutsch's fate in order to gain time, then to get as many nonresident members and supporters of Deutsch as possible to attend so as to counterbalance the majority of resident members bent on Deutsch's dismissal.

Both of the first two tacks were none too successful. Particularly the project of a personal audience in Washington fell flat on its face. Even Justice Louis D. Brandeis, to whom Deutsch had written, would not reply directly. Indirectly he did so through Judge Julian W. Mack, who had come to Cincinnati on business. When Deutsch went to see Mack, he was diplomatically given to understand that "the authorities as a matter of principle [would] not take up a case like his." "Such people shall be punished," Deutsch concluded grimly in his diary. As to the letters of support pouring in from all corners, Deutsch reported to his friend Joseph Stolz that they did "not seem to do any good."<sup>39</sup>

There was left the last alternative, which was to pack the meeting of the Board of Governors with Deutsch's out-of-town supporters. This proved successful. Locally it was masterminded by Murray Seasongood with the discreet assistance of Alfred M. Cohen. The out-of-town support was primarily organized by Max Heller, of New Orleans, and Joseph Stolz, of Chicago.

<sup>38</sup> Deutsch to Hollister; Deutsch, Diary, Nov. 23, 1917; Deutsch to Murray Seasongood, Nov. 26, 1917; to Julius Rosenwald, Nov. 28, 1917; Dec. 3, 1917; to Jacob H. Schiff, Nov. 29, 1917; to Cutler, Nov. 29, 1917; Dec. 3, 1917; to A. Benesh, Nov. 29, Dec. 1 and 3, 1917; to P. Roettinger, Nov. 28, 1917; to Judge Loeders, Nov. 28, 1917; to A. Kroemer, Nov. 28, 1917; to Joseph Stolz, Dec. 2, 1917.

<sup>39</sup> Deutsch to Benesh, Dec. 5, 1917; to Stolz, Dec. 2, 1917; Deutsch, Diary, Dec. 5, 1917.

## A SEARCH FOR FRIENDS

On November 27, the Board of Governors convened in its regular monthly meeting under the chairmanship of President Heinsheimer. Deutsch was made the first order of business. Two communications of his were read and ordered spread on the minutes. One was an unequivocal declaration that he, notwithstanding his attitude in court, wished the "U. S. to win the war." The other was to inform the Board of his unsuccessful attempts to make "personal amends for his errors" with Judge Hollister. Statements of unanimous support of Deutsch from the faculty and the student body were also read and entered into the minutes. "Other communications from men not directly interested in the College had been received, but," as Deutsch had correctly estimated, "were not presented to the Board."<sup>40</sup>

Still, among the letters "read and ordered filed" from members unable to be present at the meeting was one by Joseph Stolz, who between the lines accused the resident members of foul play. He pointed out that it was only "by the purest accident" that he had learned from a visitor the rumor making the rounds in Cincinnati that the Board contemplated dealing with the Deutsch matter in the course of a routine meeting. Stolz sternly requested that "hereafter when matters of serious import are to be brought to the attention of the meeting . . . the out of town members be informed be-times of the subject matter so as to be able to send a written communication if not to be able to be present in person." This letter and apparently one from Stolz's fellow-Chicagoan, Emil G. Hirsch, as well must have given Deutsch's local supporters sufficient leverage to pass by a close vote of 6 to 5 the resolution to adjourn the meeting to December 11, so as to "afford" the fifteen nonresident members the "opportunity to be present."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> B. o. G. Minutes, Nov. 27, 1917, pp. 294-95.

<sup>41</sup> Stolz to Heinsheimer, Nov. 26, 1917; B. o. G. Minutes, Nov. 27, 1917, p. 297; Deutsch to Stolz, Dec. 1, 1917.

### THE PRESIDENT HAS BREATHED HIS LAST

By the narrowest of margins, the supporters of Deutsch had won the first round. Under the encouragement and prodding of Murray Seasongood — “If you have friends among the non-resident members, be sure to use every effort to get them to be present Tuesday night” — Deutsch frantically wrote letters to round up his out-of-town supporters. This was asking a great deal. Many among them were important people in their own respective communities and congregations. They had their hands full with all kinds of obligations — not to mention activities connected with the war effort, which must have placed additional burdens on their time. Finally, it was no pleasure to travel at that season of the year, especially since the winter was exceptionally severe, with the Ohio freezing “from its headwaters to the Mississippi.”<sup>42</sup>

Nonetheless, on that Tuesday night, December 11, four out-of-town members managed to be present. President Heinsheimer, who so far had been strictly impartial, if not sympathetic to Deutsch, had for the occasion prepared a report which he intended to read to the members. It was to the effect that “Dr. Deutsch’s activities aside from his” scholarly avocations had “been a matter of consideration for the Board of Governors for many years.” Nothing was left out, not even the fact that Deutsch once upon a time had presided at a meeting where that “foe of established institutions,” the notorious anarchist Emma Goldman, had spoken. Nor did Heinsheimer fail to mention the embarrassment Deutsch had caused the Board of Governors by not turning up to receive his honorary D.D.<sup>43</sup>

The situation was tense. After the meeting had been called to order and the proceedings had begun with the reading of letters from members of the Board unable to be present, President Heins-

<sup>42</sup> Seasongood to Deutsch, Dec. 6, 1917; Deutsch to Joseph Krauskopf, Nov. 30, 1917; Dec. 5, 1917; to Charles S. Levi, Nov. 29, 1917; to Max Landsberg, Dec. 6, 1917; to Emil G. Hirsch, Nov. 29, 1917; to I. J. Aschheim, Nov. 30, 1917; to William Rosenau, Nov. 30, 1917; Dec. 10, 1917; to M. Myer, Nov. 30, 1917; to Simonsen, Jan. 27, 1918.

<sup>43</sup> B. o. G. Minutes, Dec. 11, 1917, p. 310; March 26, 1918, p. 81.

heimer "leaned forward to take a glass of water," knocked over the glass, and "remained leaning on the table." Noticing it, Alfred M. Cohen went to determine the cause. He found that President Heinsheimer had "breathed his last, never regaining consciousness. The members dispersed without formal adjournment."<sup>44</sup>

Consternation reigned. "The tragedy of last night cast a gloom over the community which cannot but influence my fate," Deutsch wrote sullenly to Max Heller, who replied in the same vein: "H's death will tend to prejudice your case. It will embitter his powerful connections, who will argue with much force that worry over your case had hastened his end. He will appear as a martyr to an over-heavy load of uncalled-for cares. . . ." On second thought, however, Heller estimated that a postponement of two weeks until the next regular session of the Board would "tend to calm the public." A few days later, Deutsch believed that he detected public sentiment turning in his favor: "Heinsheimer's death is looked upon as an intervention of Providence on my behalf." Murray Seasongood, on the other hand, considered "the situation as serious."<sup>45</sup>

Whatever the outlook, Deutsch held fast to his resolve of fighting it out. Again appeals went out to nonresident members to be present at the next regular meeting scheduled for December 26. In addition, Deutsch, despite Heller's admonition "to be especially careful now as to your doings, sayings, comings and goings," announced to his friends that he would pen a pamphlet "reviewing my whole activity in connection with the war." In it he would stress the fact that in 1795, at a time which found Prussia at war with France, Immanuel Kant, then professor at the Prussian University of Königsberg, had been able to write and publish his treatise on Universal Peace without suffering reprisals of any kind from the University or from public officials.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Deutsch, Diary, clipping of *Jewish Comment*, Dec. 21, 1917; B. o. G. Minutes, Dec. 11, 1917, p. 310.

<sup>45</sup> Deutsch to Heller, Dec. 12, 1917; Heller to Deutsch, undated; Deutsch, Diary, Dec. 17 and 18, 1917.

<sup>46</sup> Deutsch to Joseph Krauskopf, Dec. 19, 1917; to Charles S. Levi, Dec. 18, 1917; to Rosenau, Dec. 19, 1917; to Heller, Dec. 12 and 22, 1917.

Apparently at this stage, his friends began to conspire to save Deutsch despite himself. He was strongly advised to stay away from Heinsheimer's funeral, and immediately after the funeral, a friend reporting on the event subtly suggested that Deutsch might declare himself "officially ill." "Ich soll offiziell krank sein" (I am supposed to be officially ill), he confided to his diary. To make sure, his personal physician, Dr. Heyn, called later at his home to give him "imperative orders" that he and his wife "should go away at once . . . for a period of rest." "Seems to have been commissioned," Deutsch suspiciously noted in his diary. In the meantime, Alfred M. Cohen, taking charge as vice president of the Board, had arranged with the faculty to take over Deutsch's teaching load for the remainder of the term.<sup>47</sup>

#### ONE HUNDRED PERCENT AMERICAN — OR ELSE

Deutsch was far from happy. Not only would his being away from his library hamper the writing of his contemplated pamphlet, but "the suspense of being 1,000 miles away from home would not be beneficial to our health," he lamented. Also, under these conditions, he found "the proportionate expense doubly hard to bear," particularly if his being sent away meant that he was "to receive [his] discharge in small doses." When he communicated to Cohen his desire to await the result in Cincinnati, the vice president replied diplomatically "that Dr. Heyn presented [Deutsch's] departure as a *conditio sine qua non*." So, on Sunday, December 23, the Deutsches departed for a cold and miserable stay in Florida, while three days later in Cincinnati the Board met again to decide Deutsch's fate.<sup>48</sup>

This time Cohen chaired the proceedings. Three major resolutions were offered. One was to suspend Deutsch immediately "from all further duties or connections with H. U. C." His salary, though, was to be paid to the end of the scholastic year, and the action was not to preclude his receiving a pension upon reaching retirement

<sup>47</sup> Deutsch, Diary, Dec. 13 and 14, 1917; Deutsch to Stolz, Dec. 17, 1917; to Heller, Dec. 14 and 17, 1917.

<sup>48</sup> Deutsch to Heller, Dec. 17 and 22, 1917; Deutsch, Diary, Dec. 17 and 30, 1917.

age. Stolz, next to Heller one of the strongest of Deutsch's out-of-town supporters, offered a rather lengthy resolution which accused Deutsch of having committed an "unfortunate error." He was to be given the opportunity to correct it, however, by appearing in a solemn assembly before the members of the Board of Governors, representatives of the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the press, to make "his declaration of loyalty to the American Government." The debate was protracted and lasted well beyond midnight. Finally a vote was called for with the express understanding that it was solely on the spirit and not on the letter of Stolz's resolution. A tie resulted, which was broken in Deutsch's favor by Chairman Cohen. Thereupon a debate ensued on the wording of Stolz's resolution. Failing to make any headway, the members in their exhaustion fell back on a resolution previously offered and then withdrawn by Rabbi Charles S. Levi, of Milwaukee. Levi had called for censure because, in his appearance in Judge Hollister's court, Deutsch had failed to discharge the "paramount duty of leaders and teachers of American Israel to be one hundred percent American." In view of the fact that Levi's resolution considerably departed from that of Stolz, Cohen gave the members the option of changing their votes; but since no one desired to do so, the censure of Deutsch was carried. Again, appropriate excerpts of the minutes were printed in the *American Israelite*.<sup>49</sup>

Officially the case was closed, but during the winter and early spring of 1918 the nativist hysteria reached new heights. In Cincinnati, German was dropped from the public school curriculum. German street names were changed, and German books were removed from circulation in the Public Library. Apparently, some of the resident members felt the need to reopen the Deutsch case. They, undoubtedly, and not the out-of-town members, had to bear the brunt of nativist taunts that the College had not displayed the proper patriotic spirit in its handling of the Deutsch case.<sup>50</sup> In any

<sup>49</sup> B. o. G. Minutes, Feb. 26, 1918, pp. 16-19; *AI*, Jan. 3, 1918. The debate must have been so heated that the Stolz resolution on which the actual vote had been taken was at the time not entered into the Minutes. It was at the following meeting that Judge Harry M. Hoffheimer requested a correction, which was entered on Feb. 26, 1918.

<sup>50</sup> Dobbert, pp. 391-94.

event, at the Board's regular meeting in March, 1918, Ralph W. Mack made a formal request to reopen the matter. He argued that the close vote had rendered "the result unsatisfactory and inconclusive." Moreover, if all the facts, particularly Heinsheimer's report, had been presented to the Board, its "action . . . would have been different." Therefore, he judged it to be no matter of a simple difference in opinion, but one which involved "the very honor and loyalty of the College itself." And he concluded that, regardless of the parliamentary rules involved, his own "usefulness as a member of this Board [was] impaired while the matter remains in the present condition."<sup>51</sup>

### I FEEL LIKE MALACHI

Despite Seasongood's threat that he might raise a point of order, and Heller's actually calling for it in saying that the Board was engaging in business previously disposed of, the Deutsch case was reconsidered on June 25. As a concession to Deutsch's friends for withdrawing their point of order, however, a motion was passed calling on President Cohen to read a number of communications on the subject of reopening the case. Among them Cohen included not only letters from people directly connected with the College, but also some from important people who had no direct connection, a policy which the Board seems not to have customarily followed. Among these communications was one from the enormously influential Louis Marshall, who condemned the contemplated action "as cruel and unwarranted . . . an unqualified misfortune and productive of incalculable injury to your institution and to American Jewry. . . ." Joseph Krauskopf, a member of the Board, argued that "even people who were formerly inclined to condemn will be turned to sympathizing with the persecuted."<sup>52</sup>

As a matter of fact, the storm of protest seemed to have been so great that now the shoe appeared to be on the other foot. The petitioners who had requested reconsideration now asked for the ap-

<sup>51</sup> B. o. G. Minutes, March 26, 1918, pp. 31, 34.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, June 25, 1918, pp. 73-85; Marshall to Cohen, June 24, 1918; Krauskopf to Cohen, June 21, 1918.

pointment of a committee whose task it would be to answer the various communications received in such a manner as to "make it unmistakably clear" that their authors had been "laboring under a complete misapprehension as to the motives of such members of the Board."<sup>53</sup>

Despite its successful outcome, the ordeal had left its mark on Deutsch. And even though shades of his scrappy old self returned, age was rapidly catching up: "I get easily fatigued," he wrote; "my state of health, impaired by nervous depression, does not allow me to do much." His outlook on national and world affairs became increasingly pessimistic: "Our republic has scented the airs of Tsarism. . . . In the history of modern democracies we have come to the chapter of Julius Caesar." Considering the fast pace of historic change caused by modern technology, "the age of Caligula ought not to be far away." Concerning Jewish affairs, Deutsch wrote:

I do feel like Malachi (1.10) that the doors of the temple might just as well be shut and the coal and electricity saved if the last prop of liberal religion, the prophecy of turning swords into sichles [*sic*], becomes an empty phrase.<sup>54</sup>

As in so many other instances, in Deutsch's case, too, the war had accentuated the tragedy inherent in the man himself: Deutsch was a German Jew when Jewish immigration from that country had, for the most part, long since ceased; he was an internationalist when nationalism was the order of the day; and, finally, he lived the ideal of a universal cosmopolitan Judaism when his coreligionists had already begun taking the nationalistic road of political Zionism.

Though venerated and loved by students and colleagues alike and almost worshipped by most of America's Reform Jews, he had, by the time of his death on October 21, 1921, become a relic of the past.

<sup>53</sup> B. o. G. Minutes, p. 85.

<sup>54</sup> Deutsch to Simonsen, Jan. 27, 1918; April 11, 1918; July 26, 1918; to I. J. Aschheim, Nov. 5, 1919.