3. How To Use This Primary Source Workshop

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66. Refugee Scholars Exercise Worksheet

69. What Happened Next

70. About Us
This workshop presents selected primary sources from the Rockefeller Foundation holdings at the Rockefeller Archive Center. This collection is intended for use in facilitating a classroom exercise on the Rockefeller Foundation's 1933–1945 refugee scholar program. The exercise asks students to consider what foundations can do in times of global crisis by placing them in the role of Rockefeller Foundation (RF) program officers during World War II. As were the real program officers, students will be tasked with selecting a limited number of scholar applicants for aid in a life-threatening situation. Working in groups, students will read documents related to ten scholars who represent a variety of nationalities, backgrounds, and scholarly disciplines. Students will then select four candidates, and must be prepared to articulate the reasoning behind their decisions. This exercise enables students to imagine and grapple with the difficult choices RF officials had to make in one historical example of how foundation philanthropy has responded to humanitarian crisis. Students are encouraged to use this exercise as a springboard for further research into current scholar rescue initiatives, and/or policies and practices pertaining to refugees today.
In 1913, New York State incorporated what would soon become the largest philanthropic organization in the world: the Rockefeller Foundation (RF). The brainchild of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his advisor, Frederick Gates, the RF was one of the first foundations to practice organized institutional giving and had an exceptionally broad mission: “to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world.”

Beginning around 1917, the RF supported scientific research in the physical, medical, and natural sciences, especially in Europe and the United States. By the 1930s, the Foundation had added the social sciences to its slate of concerns. Following a major internal reorganization, the RF adopted the core strategy of promoting “the advancement of knowledge.” This approach viewed intellectual discovery and exchange as the primary lever for improving “the well-being of mankind,” reasoning that new knowledge would inevitably lead to human progress.

As the 1930s unfolded, however, Europe experienced an escalating humanitarian crisis. As Nazism spread across the continent, various groups — racial and religious minorities, political dissenters, and immigrant communities — found themselves subject to legalized discrimination, social persecution, and worse. In response, the RF considered its obligation to aid scholars who had been displaced and/or threatened by the Third Reich.

After its defeat in World War I, Germany experienced severe political infighting and chronic economic depression. These conditions helped give rise to a far-right, ethno-nationalist party, the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, or Nazi Party, which officially seized control of the country in 1933 with the appointment of Nazi Party leader Adolf Hitler as German Chancellor. The Nazi party pledged to root out those whom they believed undermined the strength of the German state: political dissenters, racial and religious minorities, non-citizens, and recent immigrants.
University professors, including those funded by the RF, were among the first people targeted by Nazi policies. By the early 1930s, some of the academics receiving RF support had been fired because they were either Jewish or allegedly held anti-Nazi beliefs. RF leaders were disturbed by these developments, but were unsure about what, if anything, the Foundation could do to help at-risk scholars in Germany.

The United States, for its part, still had restrictive immigration policies in place, for example the Immigration Act of 1924, which strictly limited the quota for Jewish immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and expressed the anti-Semitic attitudes that still pervaded American society. Indeed, public opinion surveys conducted in the 1930s suggested a majority of Americans opposed allowing Jewish refugees from Europe to enter the United States; some, in both public and official circles, claimed that the U.S. would become a dumping ground for Hitler’s victims should the country liberalize its immigration policy.

The American public, still affected by World War I and now consumed with the Great Depression, generally favored an isolationist foreign policy in the 1930s. As a result, President Roosevelt signed a series of neutrality acts and upheld the nation’s restrictive immigration laws, even as conflict across the Atlantic intensified.

REFERENCES:

Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

The Rockefeller Foundation: A Digital History https://rockfound.rockarch.org/home


While the RF was one of the country’s preeminent international bodies, it did not consider itself a relief organization. Instead, the RF viewed relief as a temporary, and ultimately ineffective, solution to problems with deeper “root causes” by supporting programs that could help people develop lasting solutions to their own problems. Yet the advent of World War I had asked the RF to step outside of these bounds. After appropriating $22 million in humanitarian aid during that global conflict, the Foundation resolved never to become a relief organization again.

RF leaders believed the best way to maintain the Foundation’s long-term viability on the international stage was to remain politically neutral in foreign affairs. For this reason, the Foundation initially continued to support German universities. Gradually, the RF developed a rationale that enabled it to reduce or refuse support to institutions in authoritarian countries, but initially it was uncomfortable passing judgment on the duly elected governments of foreign nations.

In order to justify its establishment of a refugee scholars program, the RF framed the conflict in Europe as an intellectual crisis, one that would disrupt important scientific research and drain the Continent of its knowledge base. As RF President Raymond Fosdick noted in September 1939, just two months before France and Great Britain declared war on Germany, the Foundation had two jobs in Europe: “first, in a dark world to keep burning the candle of intellectual life; and second, to make available the best of scientific research in the alleviation of human misery.

The RF Refugee Scholars programs then took shape as two different initiatives. The first Refugee Scholars program, which ran from 1933–1939 (and continued at a reduced scale under a slightly altered name until 1945), was called the Special Research Fund for Deposed Scholars. This program provided one-to-three-year grants to U.S. and European universities to hire scholars who had been dismissed for political or religious reasons. Much of the cost and responsibility for managing the grants fell to the universities. The chief goal, as Fosdick described, was “the preservation of scholarship rather than personal relief for scholars.”
The second refugee scholar program, called the Emergency Program for European Scholars, ran from 1940–1945 and sought to address the increasingly dire wartime conditions, as Germany invaded neighboring countries and stepped its campaigns of persecution and elimination. This second initiative targeted scholars threatened by Nazi policies and offered additional benefits such as travel expenses, the procurement of visas, and help with contingency plans in case an individual could not return home after his term as a visiting scholar expired. In order for the RF to sponsor a scholar, an American college or university had to have invited the scholar to be in residence for at least a 2-year term.

The documents that follow allow students to view first-hand a lesser-known aspect of this crisis: how American philanthropy worked to rescue scholars at risk from the perils of Nazi Europe. They highlight ten European academics accepted by the Rockefeller Foundation’s Emergency Program for European Scholars, launched in 1940 as the second phase of an initiative to relocate refugee scholars to university campuses across the United States or safe European countries. The correspondence among RF officials, university administrators, and the scholars themselves offers a dynamic, on-the-ground view of refugee experiences during World War II and highlights the challenge of preserving scholarship during wartime.
**Scholar 1:** Marc Bloch

- Marc Bloch, *Detail of Information,* 1940–1942
  Folder 550 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
  Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

- *Arthur H. Cole to Joseph H. Willits,* September 27, 1940
  Folder 550 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
  Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

- *Earl J. Hamilton to Joseph H. Willits,* October 13, 1940
  Folder 550 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
  Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

**Scholar 2:** Warner F. Brook

- W.F. Brook, *Detail of Information,* 1940–1945
  Folder 560 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
  Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

- *Harlow Shapley to Alvin Johnson,* August 1, 1940
  Folder 560 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
  Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

- *E.F. Bruck to Harlow Shapley,* July 30, 1940
  Folder 560 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
  Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Scholar 3: Jose Castillejo

“Jose Castillejo, Detail of Information,” 1940–1941
Folder 566 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Jose Castillejo, Curriculum Vitae, 1941
Folder 566 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

M. Castillejo Statement on Jose Castillejo, September 18, 1940
Folder 566 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Alvin Johnson to Thomas B. Appleget, September 23, 1940
Folder 566 | Box 48 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Scholar 4: Boris Ephrussi

“Boris Ephrussi, Detail of Information,” February 25, 1941
Folder 575 | Box 49 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Frank Blair Hanson to R.A. Millikan, October 18, 1940
Folder 575 | Box 49 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Frank Blair Hanson to J.T. Patterson, January 15, 1941
Folder 575 | Box 49 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Warren Weaver Memo, November 29, 1940
Folder 575 | Box 49 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

J.T. Patterson to Frank Blair Hanson, January 23, 1941
Folder 575 | Box 49 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

H.M. Miller, Jr. to Avra M. Warren, February 28, 1941
Folder 575 | Box 49 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Scholar 5:
Emil J. Gumbel

“Emil J. Gumbel, Detail of Information,” 1940–1947
Folder 583 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Emil J. Gumbel, Curriculum Vitae, 1940–1947
Folder 583 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Albert Einstein to Alvin Johnson, August 7, 1940
Folder 583 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Harold Hotelling to Alvin Johnson, August 7, 1940
Folder 583 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Jerzy Neyman to Warren Weaver, Telegram
August 22, 1940
Folder 583 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Scholar 6:
Antonin Heythum

“Antonin Heythum, Detail of Information,” 1940–1942
Folder 588 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Antonin and Charlotta Heythum to D.H. Stevens
July 3, 1940
Folder 588 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

“Antonin Heythum Biography,” c. 1940
Folder 588 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Scholar 7: Ernest Honigmann

“Ernest Honigmann, Detail of Information,” 1940–1941
Folder 592 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Mrs. Gregoire to Henri Gregoire, September 18, 1940
Folder 592 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Memo re: Ernest Honigmann, October 4, 1940
Folder 592 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Telephone Conversation with Michael Rostovtzeff, October 8, 1940
Folder 592 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

H. Honigmann to Michael Rostovtzeff, October 9, 1940
Folder 592 | Box 50 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Scholar 8: Tadeusz Kotarbinski

“Tadeusz Kotarbinski, Detail of Information,” 1940–1941
Folder 596 | Box 51 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Tadeusz Kotarbinski, Curriculum Vitae, 1940–1941
Folder 596 | Box 51 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

R. Carnap to Professor Alvin Johnson, September 9, 1940
Folder 596 | Box 51 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Ernest Nagel to Dr. Alvin Johnson, September 17, 1940
Folder 596 | Box 51 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Scholar 9: Michael Laskowski

“Michael Laskowski, Detail of Information,” 1940–1948
Folder 599 | Box 51 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Michael Laskowski to Franklin C. McLean, July 14, 1940
Folder 599 | Box 51 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Michael Laskowski to H.M. Miller, June 26, 1940
Folder 599 | Box 51 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

H.M. Miller to Franklin C. McLean, November 15, 1940
Folder 599 | Box 51 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Scholar 10: Paul Schrecker

“Paul Schrecker, Detail of Information,” 1940–1949
Folder 649 | Box 54 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Paul Schrecker, Curriculum Vitae, c. 1940
Folder 649 | Box 54 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Albert Einstein to Alvin Johnson, August 1, 1940
Folder 649 | Box 54 | S.G. 1.1 | Series 100
Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Professor Marc Bloch; 54 years of age; married, with six children between the ages of eleven and twenty. Professor Bloch was professor of economic and social history, first at the University of Strasbourg, and since 1936 at Paris. He was also on the staff of the Library of Contemporary International Documentation at Vincennes and was Vice-President of the Governing Board of the Centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangère. Because of his Jewish origin he has lost his position in France and would appear to be in some danger. He is very anxious to come to the United States provided he could bring his family with him.

Professor Bloch has a recognized reputation as one of the leading European students of economic and social history. He has lectured in England and has written a number of books which have been published in England as well as in France. His contributions to the history of feudalism and of agriculture in France are among the most important of the historical studies published in France since 1800.

A number of the leading American professors of economic history, such as Professors Gay, Cole, Usher, Hamilton, Neff, and Gras, have strongly recommended that Professor Bloch be provided with an opportunity to continue his teaching and research in economic history in the United States. His reputation is such that there would appear to be no difficulty in finding suitable opportunities for him, and a grant in his favor by the Foundation therefore seems amply justified.

"Marc Bloch, Detail of Information," 1940–1942, Folder 550, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Arthur H. Cole to Joseph H. Willits, September 27, 1940,
Folder 550, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 1: MARC BLOCH

Earl J. Hamilton to Joseph H. Willits, October 13, 1940,
Folder 550, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 2: WARNER F. BROOK

"W.F. Brook, Detail of Information," 1940–1945, Folder 560, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 2: WARNER F. BROOK

Professor Warner F. Brook (formerly Bruck), M.A., Ph.D., Leipzig, is a Visiting Professor and Research Scholar at the University College of Cardiff, Great Britain, since 1933. He is a naturalised British Subject. In 1933 he was dismissed for racial reasons from his position as Professor Ordinarius of Economics and Political Science at the University of Halle, the University of the German industrious area, the “Ruhrbezirk.” There Professor Brook was at the same time Director of the Institute of Economics and Political Science, Director of the Research Institute of Housing and Resettlement, Director of the Westphalian School of Public Administration, and Chairman of the Society of World Economy. During the Great War he occupied leading posts in the German War Office - Department of the Administration of Raw Materials, under its chief Walter Rathenau, the later Minister of Foreign affairs, murdered by the early Nazis. I.a. he was Commissioner of the German Schutzstaffel Control Board.

From 1918 to 1920 he was head of a section of the German Ministry of Economic Affairs, as such liaison officer of the Ministry and the Nationalization Committee. His numerous publications include:

- Die Kriegenutzungsaufgabe (Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft 1919-20);
- System der Unternehmungsforderung (Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft 1921-22);
- Unternehmungsgewinn und Leistungspreis (Heymanns Festchrift 1931);

- Various monographs on the economics of textiles, trade policy, city planning, and on the education of the administrative groups of the Civil Service.

Books written in English:

- The Road to Planned Economy, Oxford University Press 1934.

This last book has stirred great comment, and has been brilliantly reviewed in numerous English and American periodicals and newspapers. (A list of reviews is enclosed)

Professor Brook could speak on problems in political economy as well as public administration.

"W.F. Brook, Detail of Information," 1940–1945, Folder 560, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 2: WARNER F. BROOK


Extracts:

"A book of profound learning showing the evolution of Nazi Germany and the growth of a planned economy. For those wishing to understand how Germany has come to what she is today it is indispensable."

"This work comes from the hand of one who has not only served as head of a section of the German Ministry of Economic Affairs, but has held the post of Professor of Political Economy in the University of Munster. He may claim to speak, therefore, with peculiar authority."

The Times Literary Supplement

"There is an excellent description of the working of what the author calls "Finance Capitalism". Dr. Bruck's account of the way in which the present regime has tackled... is fair, well balanced and penetrating and provides a valuable last chapter to an important book. The ordered body of fact which this book contains is most significant to students of our times and of fascinating interest;"

The Economist

"Those who wish to understand modern Germany have been put under a debt of gratitude by Professor Bruck for his study of that country's recent economic and social history. He understands our point of view, and when it differs from that of his fellow countrymen, he says it in a form intelligible to the English reader... his career has not been purely academic, for he was at one time a Civil Servant. During the war he was Commissioner of the Cotton Control Board, so he has both a practical and theoretical knowledge of his subject."

The Observer

"Professor Bruck possesses a remarkable combination of qualities. His is the approach of the scholar trained in the historical and theoretical branches of economics, but illumined by practical experience of industry and administration. He writes vividly and interestingly..."

Professor E. Hall in Western Mail.

American Reviews:

American Political Science Review, 1939;
American Historical Review, 1939;
Economic History, Feb. 1939;
Economic History Review, 1939;

"W.F. Brook, Detail of Information," 1940–1945,
Folder 560, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Harlow Shapley to Alvin Johnson, August 1, 1940,
Folder 560, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
E.F. Bruch to Harlow Shapley, July 30, 1940,
Folder 560, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 3: JOSE CASTILLEJO

Detail of Information

Professor Jose Castillejo, Spanish, married, born about 1880, was recently Professor of Roman Law at the University of Madrid and Director of the Institute of Social Research in Madrid. He studied at the University of Madrid where he became a pupil of Cimer de los Rios, the greatest educator of Spain and the man who did the most for the reform of education in Spain. Castillejo was one of his best pupils and followers. After graduating from the University of Madrid he spent years of study in England and Germany, completing his education in the field of education, philosophy and law. His main achievements have been as an educational organizer and reformer. He has been responsible for sending hundreds of Spaniards to study abroad and has organized such institutions of learning as the Center of Historical Studies; the Institutes of Biology, Physics, and Natural Sciences; the Residences for Students; and the Instituto-Escuela, a model secondary school.

Professor Castillejo is recommended highly by scholars both here and abroad. Professor Shotwell of Columbia writes: “He is a very learned and competent scholar but above all a man of outstanding rectitude of mind and uncompromising yet not a fanatic liberal. I have the highest regard for him and have no doubt that we should profit greatly from his presence in this country.”

Professor Castillejo is now in London where he appears to be in distress. If Spain should join the axis powers he would undoubtedly be interned. It is recommended that a grant of $6,000, $2,500 a year for two years plus $1,000 for travel, be made to the New School for Social Research to permit him and his family to come to this country.

“Jose Castillejo, Detail of Information,” 1940–1941, Folder 566, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME
Castillejo, Jose

DATE OF BIRTH
1877

NATIONALITY
Spanish

FAMILY
Married. Children

FIELD
Roman Law, Education.

ACADEMIC POSTS HELD
Professor of Roman Law, University of Madrid
Director, Institute of Social Research, Madrid

PUBLICATIONS AND OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS
War of Ideas
Education and Revolution in Spain, London 1937
Many books in Spanish translated into English

LANGUAGES
English, French, Spanish

REFERENCES
James T. Shotwell
Prof. von Mises
Prof. Marschak

PRESENT ADDRESS

ADDITIONAL REMARKS
Represented Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations in Madrid.
Desires to come to the United States. In distress in London.

(Difficulties in communication with Europe are responsible for any lacunae.)
M. J. Castillejo is a well-known Spanish scholar, educator and writer. Besides being a professor at the Madrid University, he was, as Director of the "Junta" of education which played a decisive role in all the improvements of the Spanish system of education before the Civil War, largely responsible for the reorganization of the higher education in Spain. Many of the developments which have taken place in the universities of Madrid and especially of Santander had been inspired by him. He had also successfully organized an international secondary school, the staff of which was partly composed of professors of various nationalities.

The measure of M. Castillejo's success as an educator was testified by the profound admiration and devotion of many young Spanish scholars, his former students and disciples, who unanimously considered him as a great master.

A strong intellectual personality, Prof. Castillejo is known for the striking originality of his mind and his power of thought as well as for his intensive culture. He can deliver lectures in English and French as well as in Spanish. In addition to his work as a scholar and an educator, he has written extensively in Spanish papers and in foreign reviews on the basic problems which confront the world today.

M. Castillejo
Alvin Johnson to Thomas B. Appleget, September 23, 1940,
Folder 566, Box 48, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

Dear Mr. Appleget:

I should be happy to have Professor B. Hircine Guetsewitch on our list. I suggest a grant of $2,000 a year for two years and $1,000 for travel.

As for Castillejo - I too am troubled by his age and yet Spaniards are so few in this country, and there is such a rapidly developing demand for lectures in Spanish that I think he could get along.

As for a grant to him in England - the difficulty there is that before we know Spain will have joined the Axis in an attack on England and Castillejo will be interned.

As he is a man of great personal splendor I think we ought to take the risk and invite him.

Sincerely,

Alvin Johnson
Director

Mr. Thomas B. Appleget
Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, New York

Since writing this I have had some sense of uncertainty. I haven't yet anything authoritative on him, but I assume you have.
Boris Ephrussi, 29, Jewish, married, daughter 16 years of age; on 2 occasions held RF fellowships for work in the United States. Dr. E. is easily the leading geneticist of France, and for this reason was singled out for a second fellowship experience and for aid toward his researches under an appropriation to the Rothschild Institute.

As a Jew in France, Dr. E. no longer has the possibility of carrying on in research in Paris under German control, and for the same reason can not continue to receive his salary for work in unoccupied France. He has appealed for aid to come to this country, and because of his eminence in genetics, NS officers are prepared to make a grant to the New School in his favor.

Dr. B. H. Willier, head of the Zoology Department of Johns Hopkins University, is distinctly interested in Dr. E. in connection with a permanent post at Hopkins as a member of the team which Dr. Willier is attempting to build up for work in experimental embryology. He would offer a permanent post to Dr. E. if he could be certain of his personality and cooperativeness. The committee on staff appointments at Hopkins has reported favorably on Dr. E., on the basis of his scientific record.

If Dr. E. and his family succeed in reaching this country, it should be possible to have him assigned to the Zoology Department at Hopkins for a few months, during which time it could be determined whether a permanent post would be offered to him. In this event, the grant to the New School would be cancelled, after payment of travel costs, and the stipend of $2,500 a year for Dr. E. for a limited period of time, and the funds reverted to RF 40189.

Funds for Dr. E. were earmarked ($6,500) on February 10, 1941, but the sum provided by the present action ($6,200) is less than that earmarked, as Dr. E. is now on the Riviera and will certainly come to the United States via the West Indies, so that a maximum of $1,200 instead of $6,500 is considered ample for his travel and that of his wife and daughter.
Via Air Mail

Dear Dr. Millikan:

Thank you for your telegram about Ephrussi.

While we are attempting to gather as much information as possible about men in the natural sciences in the various disturbed countries of Europe, our knowledge of many of them is incomplete or not of recent date. Regarding Ephrussi, we do not know whether he could get out of France or whether he desires to leave if such opportunity came his way. Being of pure Jewish stock probably means that if he were invited to this country he would wish to remain here permanently and eventually secure a regular academic appointment. In those few cases where we have assisted French scientists (for the most part non-Jewish) to come to this country by providing a modest stipend over a one- or two-year period, there has been every expectation of their returning to France at the earliest opportunity. Since this would probably not be true of Ephrussi we would like to be able to see just a little farther ahead than is possible now before giving consideration to his needs.

In this division of the Foundation we have not given assistance to French refugees upon the terms proposed in your telegram. The institutions receiving refugees have cooperated by supplying facilities for research and in some cases contributing toward the salaries involved.

We shall be glad to keep your telegram in mind should the question of placing Ephrussi in an American institution arise at some future time.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. R. A. Millikan
Calif. Institute of Technology
Pasadena, California

Frank Blair Hanson

Frank Blair Hanson to R.A. Millikan, October 18, 1940,
Folder 575, Box 49, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Dear Dr. Patterson:

This division of The Rockefeller Foundation has had an interest in Dr. Boris Ephrussi in that he is a former fellow of the Foundation and subsequently had a grant toward the support of his research work in Paris. We do not know whether he could secure a permit to leave France, nor indeed whether it is his wish to do so. However, if there is some university in this country where he could be scientifically useful and where there exists at least some hope of a post for the future, we would have an interest in contributing the travel expenses of himself and family to this country and in setting up funds on a purely maintenance basis for his support during a two-year period. I think it would not be fair to Ephrussi or to an American institution to bring him to this country unless there was some hope that he might be retained as a staff member following a two-year period of Foundation support.

I am writing this as a friend of Ephrussi and of yourself rather than in my official capacity, since in the first instance I wish merely to sound out any possibility that might exist in your Department. I am sure you will understand that the refugee problem has grown within the past year to tremendous proportions and that we can do but a very small bit on behalf of a few outstanding individuals. I am sure also you will not construe this letter in any sense to mean that we are attempting to sell Ephrussi to any institution or to assist in placing him in any Department where he and his particular research interest would not be of distinct advantage to that Department. I hope you will answer in the same frank and friendly personal way in which I have written to you.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Blair Hanson

Dr. J. T. Patterson

Department of Zoology

University of Texas

Austin, Texas
Your memorandum of November 25th to H.G.

1. Lacassagne is W1 rather than N1.

2. We are highly skeptical as to the possibility of giving any real effective aid to Ephrussi in France. His work could be seriously held up by shortage of any one necessary chemical; scientific journals are not available; anti-Semitism will almost surely increase, etc.

3. We would not think it wise to make a special appeal to the Treasury Department for Ephrussi's work. If any further special appeal is to be made, we would prefer Linderström-Lang's work in Copenhagen. We might be able to handle the latter by incorporating it, in some formal manner, with the Bohr grant.

WW
J.T. Patterson to Frank Blair Hanson, January 23, 1941,
Folder 575, Box 49, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Dear Mr. Warren:

I have been asked to write to you concerning Dr. Boris Ephrussi, formerly of the Rothschild Institute of Physical-Chemical Biology, Paris. I am able to do so because of my personal acquaintance with Dr. Ephrussi over a period of some eight years.

In the first place, I can state without fear of contradiction that Dr. Ephrussi is easily the most distinguished French geneticist, and that, due to his activities in research, he has attracted advanced students from other countries, including even one American who went from Stanford University to Paris in order to work under the guidance of Dr. Ephrussi.

The work of Dr. Ephrussi is not only known throughout Europe, where he was instrumental in organizing international conferences on genetics, with the collaboration of a German and a British representative, but as a result of his publications and his fellowship experience under The Rockefeller Foundation in this country beginning in 1934, he is well-known to all of the leaders in this country and any one of the most prominent representatives of this subject would be glad to attest to the fact of his eminence. My acquaintance as an officer of the Foundation was somewhat more
SCHOLAR 4: BORIS EPHRUSI

intimate with Dr. Ephrussi, because of the rather large-scale aid which we gave to the Rothschild Institute for his work and for that of two other members of this institution.

I might say further, as evidence of the international standing of Dr. Ephrussi, that President Bowman and Professor Millier of the Johns Hopkins University requested that, if he were brought to this country on our aid, he be assigned to work during the emergency period in the Biology Department at Hopkins. He would be particularly useful in this institution, as they are looking for a person qualified to teach the aspect of genetics which he knows best, and they have to date been unable to find a person with suitable qualifications.

Although Dr. Ephrussi’s post at the Rothschild Institute has not required him to teach large classes of undergraduate students in biology, he lectured at the Collège de France in the department of Professor Faure-Fremiet, and in his capacity as Assistant Director of the School of Higher Studies, he similarly lectured to advanced students, and was instrumental in introducing in biology in France the American method of teaching which he learned while in the United States. This sort of teaching activity is not engaged in by individualistic French professors except in instances where they have worked in this country, and the results of Dr. Ephrussi’s efforts in this respect promise to have, in time,
Mr. Avra M. Warren  
February 26, 1941

far-reaching influence in France, as his younger colleagues teaching in other subjects were impressed by the results obtained with students.

Sincerely,

Mr. Avra M. Warren, Chief  
Visa Division  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

H.M. Miller, Jr.

H.M. Miller, Jr. to Avra M. Warren, February 28, 1941,  
Folder 575, Box 49, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 5: EMIL J. GUMBEL

Detail of Information

Professor Emil J. Gumbel was born in Germany in 1881, is married and has two children. From 1928-1932 Dr. Gumbel was Privatdozent and later Professor of Statistics at the University of Heidelberg. Dr. Gumbel is an eminent scholar, widely known for his numerous publications on the calculus of probabilities in relation to the social sciences, demography, statistics, political economy and the theory of insurance. He was dismissed from Heidelberg for his anti-militaristic views. In addition to his professional achievements during the German republic he collected much material of political interest, in particular information concerning cases of political assassinations in which murderers were not at all or inadequately punished for their crimes.

Since 1933 Professor Gumbel has been carrying on his teaching and research at the University of Lyon. This appointment was made possible in part by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation Special Grant in Aid Fund. With the collapse of France Professor Gumbel is in imminent danger and it is reported that the Nazis are seeking to put him in confinement.

Professor Gumbel’s research is considered extremely valuable by mathematicians in this country and likely to have an important bearing on the social sciences, where the development of statistical methods on a sound basis has barely begun.

As Professor Gumbel is married and has a family, a grant of $2,500 a year plus $1,000 for travelling expenses is recommended.

“Emil J. Gumbel, Detail of Information,” 1940–1947,
Folder 583, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
CURRICULUM VITAE

Emil J. Gumbel

Born in Germany in 1891.

Married; 2 children.

Field: Applied Mathematics; Statistics; Calculus of Probability; Actuarial Science.

Until 1925 studied mathematics and worked as an actuary.

1925 - 1933 Privatdozent and later Professor of Statistics at the University of Heidelberg.

Since 1955 University of Lyon.

Languages: French and English.
Albert Einstein to Alvin Johnson, August 7, 1940
Folder 583, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Harold Hotelling to Alvin Johnson, August 7, 1940
Folder 583, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Jerzy Neyman to Warren Weaver, Telegram, August 22, 1940
Folder 583, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 6: ANTONIN HEYTHUM

DETAILED INFORMATION

Mr. Antonin Heythum is one of the two or three lead Czech architects and stage designers. He formerly lectured at the Czechoslovak Institute of Technology and the Prague School of Pedagogy on techniques of stage design, housing, and other architectural problems. Since 1934, he was collaborator of the Czechoslovak State National Theatre and Opera House in Prague, where his stage designs brought him international recognition. As early as 1926, his designs for O'Neill's "Desire Under the Elms" were reproduced in the Theatre Arts Monthly in this country, and a collection of his stage designs were included in the exhibition of international theatre art at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1934. As an architect, he planned and built several exposition pavilions and interiors for the Czech government. Among his best known works are the Czechoslovak Pavilion at the Brussels World's Fair in 1935, the Czechoslovak Glass-Salon for the Paris Exposition in 1937, and the Czechoslovak Pavilion at the San Francisco World's Fair in 1933.

In 1939, he came to this country with his wife, Mrs. Charlotte Heythum, who is also a well-known architect on a fellowship from the Czechoslovak Academy of Art and Science to undertake a survey of exposition techniques at the two American world's fairs. Since then, Mr. and Mrs. Heythum were entrusted with the planning and execution of new exhibits in the Czechoslovak Pavilion for the New York World's Fair of 1940. Mr. Heythum is now 39 years old, married but with no children. Both he and his wife speak English well.

At present, both Mr. and Mrs. Heythum are in this country on visitors' visas. Their chances of placement in this country seem excellent. Mr. Heythum's work is well-known to Mr. Erwin Piscator, who is in charge of the Department of Drama at the New School. And, Mr. Piscator is interested both in having him lecture on stage design there and collaborate on forthcoming productions which Mr. Piscator is planning.

As a next step toward the placement of Mr. and Mrs. Heythum in this country, Dr. Johnson recommends a two-year's appointment to the faculty of the New School for Mr. Heythum. The recommendation is for a grant-in-aid to the New School of $4,000 to cover a two-year period beginning approximately October 30th, 1940. It is understood that this sum will be used toward Mr. Heythum’s salary as a member of the School’s faculty.

"Antonin Heythum, Detail of Information," 1940–1942
Folder 588, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Dear Mr. Stevens:

When we saw you last, you had kindly suggested that we should send you our curriculum vitae, which we enclose today. For many months we have been absorbed in work and worries to make the best use of a very small fund put at our disposal for alterations and additional exhibits in the Czechoslovak Pavilion. We very much hope that you will be kind enough to give us an opportunity to show you through our pavilion some day.

With our mission being fulfilled soon, we realize that we have forgotten to think of our own affairs for quite a while. We should be very thankful if you would allow us to see you some day soon and submit you our plans and hear your kind advice.

With best thanks in advance,

very sincerely yours,

Antonin and Charlotta Heythum

D.H. Stevens Esq.
Rockefeller Foundation
New York City
ANTONIN HEYTHUM BIOGRAPHY

See Also WHO IS WHO IN CENTRAL EUROPE, since FIRST EDITION 1933

Born May 1901 in Most, Czechoslovakia

Studied architecture at the Czechoslovak Institute of Technology in Prague, received degree of DIPLOM INGENIEUR ARCHITEKT.

Extensive research work on architectural and theatre problems for various Czechoslovak institutions included studies in USA, England, France, Italy, Austria, Germany, Netherlands, Spain, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

Lectured at the Czechoslovak Institute of Technology and the Prague School of Pedagogy and for the Czechoslovak Broadcasting System and various professional clubs, on stage technic, home building and other architectural problems.

Collaborated at the New York World's Fair 1939 with the BUFFALO MUSEUM OF SCIENCE FAIR SURVEY GROUP sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation.

Is in USA best known as stage designer and exhibition architect.

Designed settings for 89 plays during a theatre career of 16 years which he started at the age of twenty. Was collaborator of many State and Privat theatres in Czechoslovakia, co-founder of Avantgarde-stages, since 1924 collaborator of the Czechoslovak STATE NATIONAL THEATRE AND OPERA HOUSE in Prague. Many of his designs were reproduced in publications on theatre art, often referred to as of revolutionary influence on modern stage-technic. His setting for O'Neill's Desire Under The Elms was the first of his works reproduced in USA, in May 1926 in THEATRE ARTS MONTHLY. A collection of his drawings was included in the Exhibition of International Theatre Art at the MUSEUM OF MODERN ART in New York 1924. His setting for Kingsley's Dead End was reproduced together with his article on the Czechoslovak National Theatre, published in THEATRE ARTS MONTHLY in February 1940.

As architect he planned and built several Exhibition Pavilions and interiors for the Czechoslovak Government and other official institutions. Among his best known works are: The Czechoslovak Pavilion at the World's Fair in BRUSSELS 1935, the Czechoslovak Glass-Salon in PARIS 1937, the Czechoslovak Exhibition at Treasure Island in SAN FRANCISCO 1939. In 1940 he was in charge of alterations and additional cultural exhibits for the Czechoslovak Participation at the NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR.

For many years he was architectural advisor of the Art and Crafts Museum in Prague for which he planned and executed a number of Theme Exhibitions.

Apart from such official activity he also built privat houses and designed and executed many privat interiors.

He was associate editor of various Czechoslovak publications on art and architecture and wrote many articles in these fields. His latest article, an analysis on Exhibit Techniques at the New York World's Fair, was published in the ARCHITECTURAL FORUM in March 1940.

"Antonin Heythum Biography," c. 1940
Folder 588, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Until 1933 Professor Ernest Honigmann held a position in the library of the University of Brussels where he became known as one of the most eminent students of ancient and medieval geography. Since 1934, he has been attached to the Institute of Philosophy and History of the University of Brussels where the Foundation has contributed toward his salary. At the time of the German occupation of Belgium Professor Honigmann escaped to France where he has been interned as an opponent of the present German regime. He is at present interned in the Camp de St. Cyprian near Perpignan in the department of Pyrénées Orientales where he was recently seen by the wife of Professor Henri Gregoire. According to information transmitted by Mr. Makinsky from Lisbon, the Commandant of that camp is willing to allow Professor Honigmann to leave if he receives an invitation to come to the United States. Professor Honigmann is probably about 55 years of age and knows English, though he probably does not speak it well. So far as is known he has no family.

Professor Honigmann had previously been recommended for Foundation help by Professor Gregoire and by other scholars competent to judge his standing. These earlier recommendations are now confirmed by Professor Kostovtsaff of Yale who reports that he is without question the leading authority in his subject and a man who, in Professor Kostovtsaff’s opinion, could be most advantageously utilized in this country.

The recommendation is for a grant of $3,500 to the New School for Social Research to enable it to invite Professor Honigmann to join its faculty, for a two-year period. The understanding is that of this grant $1,500 would be available toward his salary in each of the two years covered, and the balance of $2,000, or as much thereof as may be needed, will be applied to expenses he will incur in coming to this country.

“Ernest Honigmann, Detail of Information,” 1940–1941
Folder 592, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 7: ERNEST HONIGMANN

NAME: Ernest Honigmann
AGE: About 57
NATIONALITY: German
FAMILY: Wife not living - daughter (about 15) and son (about 4) in Belgium
now staying with a Belgian family, friends of Prof. Gregoire.

He first came to the attention of the Foundation in 1933, when he was
forced to resign the position he had held since 1922 as "Bibliothekar" at
Breisach. At that time he had written a relatively large number of studies
on the historical geography of Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean region
in ancient and medieval times. He was known as a leading specialist in the
geography of antiquity and a prominent Byzantine scholar.

The University of Brussels was eager to have Honigmann attached to its
Institute of Philology and History to enable him to complete his study of
historical geography of the Byzantine period, and establish a series of
historical maps relating to the Byzantine Empire. Foundation aid made
such an arrangement possible and Honigmann was connected with the Institute
from 1933 to 1940.
Tivoli Hotel, Boulevard Clemenceau, Perpignan.

September 18, 1940.

(Extract from letter from Mrs. Gregoire to her husband, Prof. Henri Gregoire, Lisbon).

I am writing this on the train from Perpignan back to Toulouse, at 4 a.m. This is what I did after I parted with you: I went to the Lion d’Or, where Mr. Vauremoltel used to live, but he is no longer there. I then went all around the hotels in Perpignan, and finally succeeded in finding where he was staying. At noon, I met him at one of the restaurants; he was leaving Perpignan an hour later, and told me he did all he could for Honigmann, which was very little. Not satisfied with the result, I went to see the Bishop of Perpignan, who received me very kindly. He said he transmitted to the Commandant of the camp the letter which you had written, and that he also spoke to the Chaplain of the camp. The Bishop said he would do his best, after I explained to him that the case was quite urgent. After lunch a taxi took me to the camp, which is 20 kilometers from Perpignan. As no car is allowed to stand at any distance nearer than some kilometers, I had to walk for 5 kilometers under a torrid sun. I waited two hours for our friends, with my package of cheese and fruit. Seeing that I was alone, some officers and interned prisoners came to talk to me; all of them were full of complaints, of course. Nothing can surpass in horror this awful place, where the regime is worse than that of hard labour. Just imagine hundreds of kilometers of huts, half-demolished, most of them without roofs, and all of them full of vermin. On the floor, only a packet of straw, nothing else. These huts and surrounded with human excrements. As the soldier who was sent to find the prisoners was not coming back, I took advantage of it and went to see the Commandant. It is no longer the same Commandant that you saw last time. He was very kind, full of sympathy and comprehension. I told him he was assuming a grave responsibility in keeping at the camp a man of H’s state of health, quite unable to do any harm and unfit for military service. He advised me to write to the Ministry of Interior, at Vichy, which I shall do immediately, explaining the circumstances of the case; then he told me something which is most important, namely that if someone from the United States were to put in a request on behalf of Honigmann, not only would the Commandant help Honigmann to leave the camp, but he would even go as far as trying to help H. to get the necessary visae. If that can be done, I shall go to Marseille and will try to help H. there. In the meantime I shall go to Marseille and Perpignan again, and shall have a doctor go to the camp and examine H., as it is obvious that a prolonged stay in the camp would be fatal to him.

I saw Honigmann - he is an old man, and I hardly recognized him. No clothing, no underwear, no tobacco, and hardly any food. I was speechless when I saw him. Think of an intellectual and a friend as he is being treated that way! I promised him that when
Mrs. Gregoire to Henri Gregoire, September 18, 1940
Folder 592, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Memo re: Ernest Honigmann, October 4, 1940
Folder 592, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
At TBF's suggestion JM got in touch with Professor Rostovtzeff by telephone to ask his opinion of Professor Ernest Honigmann. Professor Rostovtzeff, himself, is of course recognized as the leading authority on the history and life of the Graeco-Roman world. He was definite in saying that Professor Honigmann is a first-rate man. JM asked if he could think of any other scholar in that field who would be more worthy of assistance than Honigmann and Professor Rostovtzeff replied that he could not. He further said that he thought Professor Honigmann a man who should be brought to this country if that were possible and that he could be utilized here to real advantage.

JM: Yes
H. Honigmann to Michael Rostovtzeff, October 9, 1940
Folder 592, Box 50, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 8: TADEUSZ KOTARBINSKI

DETAILED INFORMATION

Since 1918, Professor Tadeusz Kotarbinski has held a professorship of philosophy in the University of Warsaw. He is presumably still in Warsaw, and, if so, must be in serious danger as he had been active in opposing the rise of anti-Semitism in Poland. In fact, before 1938 he had several times been attacked by Polish fascists. Professor Kotarbinski is now 54 years old, is married, and has one son. He is said to speak English.

Professor Kotarbinski is regarded as the leading Polish philosopher by scholars in this country and by Polish scholars who have recently come here. Professor Lesniewski, now at Harvard, believes that Professor Kotarbinski is to be regarded as one of the three or four leading Polish scholars who might be considered for assistance. Professor Rudolf Carnap, formerly of the University of Vienna and now at the University of Chicago, speaks of him as the teacher and in a certain sense the founder of the brilliant and famous group of Warsaw philosophers.

The recommendation is for a grant of $6,000 to enable the New School for Social Research to invite Professor Kotarbinski to join its faculty for a two-year period. It is understood that this grant should be used to provide a salary of $4,500 for Professor Kotarbinski during each of the two years covered and that $1,500, or as much thereof as may be needed, is to be used for expenses he will incur in coming to this country with his family.

JHRA

"Tadeusz Kotarbinski, Detail of Information," 1940–1941
Folder 596, Box 51, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 8: TADEUSZ KOTARBINISKI

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME KOTARBINISKI, Tadeusz
DATE OF BIRTH 1886
NATIONALITY Polish
FAMILY Wife and one son
FIELD Philosophy

ACADEMIC POSTS HELD
Since 1918 Professor in Warsaw University

PUBLICATIONS AND OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS
Elements of Logic, Methodology & Epistemology (Polish)
The Theory of Action (Polish)
The development of the mean problem in the methodology of Francis Bacon, Lemberg 1936 (Polish)
Ueber das Wesen der inneren Erfahrung, 1921
Grundgedanken des Pansomatismus, Paris 1935
Les idees fondamentales de la theorie generale de la lutte, 1936 etc.

LANGUAGES English; German; French; Russian

REFERENCES Prof. Ernest Nagel, Columbia University
Prof. A. Tarski, College of the City of New York
Prof. Oscar Lange, Chicago University
Professor Rudolf Carnap, Chicago University

PRESENT ADDRESS Warsaw, Erzogowa 12

ADDITIONAL REMARKS
Starving

Tadeusz Kotarbinski, Curriculum Vitae, 1940–1941
Folder 596, Box 51, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Rudolf Carnap
Department of Philosophy
University of Chicago

Bethlehem, N.H., Sept. 9, 1940

Professor Alvin Johnson
Director, the New School for Social Research
66 W. Twelfth St
New York City

Dear Professor Johnson:

Upon your request of August 30, I am giving you herewith an appraisal of the work of Professor Tadeusz Kotarbinski.

He has been the teacher and thus, in a certain sense, the founder of the brilliant and famous Warsaw group of philosophers. They all have not only learned from him, but also have been inspired by him to their own work in the theory of knowledge. His book on the theory of knowledge and science is the basic work of this group, a very important work with highly novel and advanced ideas, which has not found the attention it deserves, since, unfortunately, it has been published only in the Polish language. Nevertheless, he is an acknowledged prominent man in the field, and famous as an excellent teacher.

In addition to his scholarly prominence, Professor Kotarbinski is a noticeable figure by his upright character and his courageous stand in the question of the anti-Semitic and fascist tendencies in the Polish universities. I am speaking from personal knowledge, since I met him in Warsaw about ten years ago. He was one of the very few men in the academic life who bravely sought to stem the tide of anti-Semitism and who held his hands protectively over his Jewish colleagues and students. This may have exposed him now to great reprisals. I think, his liberal attitude of mind in addition to his scholarly prominence merit special consideration of his case.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed): R. CARNAP

R. Carnap to Professor Alvin Johnson, September 9, 1940
Folder 596, Box 51, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
SCHOLAR 8: TADEUSZ KOTARBINSKI

Ernest Nagel to Dr. Alvin Johnson, September 17, 1940
Folder 596, Box 51, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
New York City
Department of Philosophy

Philosophy Hall
September 17, 1940

Dr. Alvin Johnson
New School for Social Research

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It is a great privilege for me to write you testifying to the scholarly excellence of Professor Tadeusz Kotarbinski, until recently professor of philosophy at the University of Warsaw.

Professor Kotarbinski is perhaps the most eminent contemporary Polish philosopher, and he has acquired a considerable international reputation in spite of the obstacles which the Polish language put in its way. He is an intellectual descendant of Franz Brentano, and from my knowledge of his work he has surpassed that Austrian thinker in the scrupulous clarity and patent honesty with which he carried on his mission as a teacher. He had the good fortune to be able to combine an interest in the larger problems of philosophy with a careful study of formal logic. As a consequence his writings exemplify philosophy at its best - insights controlled by logical techniques, and a sympathetic imagination and large human interests guided by the standards of scientific inquiry. His distinctive Philosophy of Reisman is an attempt to work out systematically an empiricist epistemology and a realistic metaphysics, and to make the best use possible of the tools of modern logic for making his argument cogent and precise. His great textbook on methodology (in Polish) has been profoundly influential in training the members of the remarkable group of Warsaw logicians of whom Dr. Tarski is the most outstanding. In addition to his work in systematic philosophy, Professor Kotarbinski is also a student of the history of philosophy, especially English philosophy in the 17th and 18th centuries; his monograph on Bacon, the only work of Professor Kotarbinski in this field with which I am familiar, shows careful scholarship, a thorough knowledge of the period, and a mastery in the writing of English.

I should like to add a word about Professor Kotarbinski’s personality and character. He is one of the gentlest men I have met, and at the same time one of the most courageous. Although not a Jew himself, during the years of a rising anti-Semitism in Polish universities he has continued to fight for the rights of Jewish students, to lead the attack on the segregation of Jews in class-rooms, and to employ Jewish assistants at the risk of physical violence to his own person. He has a strong sense for the social responsibilities of a teacher, and I know that his losing fight for the under-dogs in Polish society was one of the few glances of light in that unhappy country.

In my judgment Professor Kotarbinski’s coming to this country would be a permanent contribution to our intellectual life.

Sincerely yours,

SIGNED - Ernest Nagel, Associate Professor of Philosophy
SCHOLAR 9: MICHAEL LASKOWSKI

"Michael Laskowski, Detail of Information," 1940–1948
Folder 599, Box 51, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
"Michael Laskowski, Detail of Information," 1940–1948
Folder 599, Box 51, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Michael Laskowski to Franklin C. McLean, July 14, 1940
Folder 599, Box 51, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Dear Dr. Miller,

More than a week is gone since I left Lyon. Travelling in the refugees train I spent several days for a journey, which normally does not last more than a day - and I arrived just a bit too late for a boat. I tried them to go to Portugal or to Spain but the visas were suspended. I do not think my situation here will be sure - I am afraid the French might give all Polish citizen to the German authorities to be send to Poland - which means a concentration camp.

My dream is to emigrate to the United States and to take there my family, but being born in Russia I am obliged to wait a few months for emigration - so I was told by the American Consul, what in that particular time might be just too long.

Michael Laskowski to H.M. Miller, June 26, 1940
Folder 599, Box 51, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Michael Laskowski to H.M. Miller, June 26, 1940
Folder 599, Box 51, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
ties to send some to my wife, and spending on myself only a 1000 a month. But I do not think these economies will be much value out of France. 21,000 were left by Prof. Frumposfet in Lyon.

You should imagine than I am waiting for your letter more than anxious.

Your very sincerely,

M. Laskowski.
Refugee Scholars | Scholar 9: Michael Laskowski

Dear Dr. McLean:

Dr. Gregg has suggested that I write in reply to your letter of November 8 concerning Dr. Laskowski, as he is a past fellow from this division and we have recently made a grant to enable him to come to this country. At the present time Laskowski is in Lyons with Professor C. Fromageot.

Dr. Laskowski is 55 years of age. He was appointed shortly before the outbreak of the war to the position of Professor of Physiology at the College of Agriculture, Warsaw. His wife and young child are still in Warsaw. During 1936-37 he held a fellowship from the Foundation and worked with Professor Robison at the Lister Institute, London.

Dr. Laskowski is a man of most pleasing personality. He has a naturally cheerful disposition in spite of all that he has been through. I saw his last in Paris soon after the Polish collapse, after his escape from a Rumanian concentration camp. At that time he was without news of his family for several months, and in spite of this worry, was optimistic for the future and still able to smile.

I know also that Professor Fromageot of Lyons was very much pleased with Laskowski, not only on the basis of his scientific
Dr. Franklin C. McLean
November 15, 1940

abilities, but also on the personal side. I feel quite safe in assuring you that he will be an agreeable collaborator.

It is only from your letter of November 8 that I learned of your interest in Laskowski. The grant for him was made on the basis of his past achievements and promise for the future, as a biochemist, coupled with the fact that he was in real danger of being placed in a concentration camp in France. Rapid action was taken to forestall this, and without any definite plans for his reception in an American laboratory.

I am especially glad to learn that his work is closely related to your own, and that you will welcome him as a collaborator. The Foundation grant, which was actually made through the New School for Social Research because of its facilities for getting men in danger out of Europe, is for a period of two years at a stipend of $2,000 a year. This should give Dr. Laskowski ample time in which to prove his abilities as an investigator and to seek a permanent post in the United States, as his future in Poland seems extremely doubtful.

The Foundation is flooded with requests for refugee scholars from Europe, and we are able to help only a small percentage of them. Laskowski is not one of the most distinguished biochemists in Europe, but does qualify for our aid in the emergency. The ideal would be to have him work during the coming two years, if he succeeds in reaching this country, in an institution where he might ultimately be absorbed. If you can make any statement at all concerning the possible future of Laskowski at Chicago, provided of course he makes good as a scientist,
Dr. Franklin C. McLean

November 15, 1940

I should appreciate having word from you.

Sincerely,

H. M. Miller, Jr.
Asst. Director, The Natural Sciences

Dr. Franklin C. McLean
University of Chicago
Department of Physiology
Chicago, Illinois

HMM: FEB

P.S. I am quite certain that Laskowski is not a Jew.
SCHOLAR 10: PAUL SCHRECKER

Since 1935, Professor Paul Schrecker has been supported with partial help from the Foundation at the University of Paris, where he has been a member of the staff of the Institut d'Histoire des Sciences et des Techniques. There is now current a grant toward his salary at the Institut in the amount of 15,000 French francs over the year beginning April 1st, 1940. Before leaving Germany, where he was a person of independent means, he was in charge of the Prussian Academy of Science's edition of Leibniz. At the Institut in Paris he has been in charge of its projected edition of Halesbranche. He is 50 years old and has a wife and a son now about 28 years old. He speaks English, but not fluently. In 1938 or 1939, he became a French citizen.

Recently word came indirectly to the officers through Mr. Hermann Broch, a Guggenheim fellow of 420 West 111th Street, New York, that Professor Schrecker was in Bordeaux and urgently in need of leaving France.

In June, Professor Marcel Mauss reported to the officers that he regarded Professor Schrecker as the ablest of the German refugees in France. He had been previously recommended to them (in confidence) by Professor Pehling in Berlin, by Levy Bruhl in Paris, and in this country by Professor Albert Einstein, who in March, 1940, wrote of him as follows:

"Professor Paul Schrecker was my highly esteemed colleague at the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin. He is not only a great scholar but has also shown extraordinary strength of character in refusing to make any dishonorable compromise with the Nazi-Regime. His position in France seems to be very precarious financially. I believe that it would be very desirable from every standpoint if this man and his work would be supported by your foundation."

As a historian of culture and science, Professor Schrecker would have an undoubted contribution to make in this country. Recognizing Professor Schrecker's potential usefulness in this country, Dr. Alvin Johnson, Director of the New School for Social Research, wishes to invite him to join the faculty of the School. Through one of Professor Schrecker's friends, Dr. Johnson is now endeavoring to find out how he can be reached. If communication with him can be established, Dr. Johnson wishes to offer him a two-year appointment at an annual salary of $2,000, and, in addition, to provide funds to enable Professor Schrecker and Mrs. Schrecker to come to the United States. A recommendation is for a grant-in-aid of $5,000 of which $2,000 is to be an annual stipend for a two-year period beginning approximately September 1, 1940, and $1,000, or as much thereof as may be needed, as a fund for travel expenses which Professor Schrecker and his wife will incur in coming to this country.

“Paul Schrecker, Detail of Information,” 1940–1949
Folder 649, Box 54, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
CURRICULUM VITAE
of
Dr. Paul Schrecker

Born in Vienna, Austria, October 20, 1880.

Secretary of the Prussian Academy of Sciences ("Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften"); editor of the last two volumes of the "Leibniz Monumental Edition", published by the Prussian Academy; 1935 he went to Paris, became a member of the "Institute de l'histoire des sciences" and Professeur en Sorbonne; editor of the Malebranche edition, published by the Academie Francaise. He is considered to be Europe's first connoisseur of Leibniz. On account of his services rendered to the history of French philosophy he was given French citizenship.

References in this country:

Professor Albert Einstein, Princeton University
Professor Santayana, Harvard University

The Rockefeller Foundation - for years Paul Schrecker has had a research fellowship from them.

In 1940 he fled from Paris. Last given address: Bordeaux, but probably he will not be there, any more. There is no doubt that he is in greatest danger.

Everything has to be done to bring him over; if possible on preference quota as a scholar and teacher of first rank. He speaks and writes English fluently; he was invited, f.i., by the British Academy to deliver the memorial lecture at the 500 years celebration of Leibniz.
Albert Einstein to Alvin Johnson, August 1, 1940
Folder 649, Box 54, SG 1.1, Series 100, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
PRIMARY SOURCE PROJECT: REFUGEE SCHOLARS DECISION-MAKING WORKSHEET

TIME NEEDED: 1–2 hours

SUMMARY:

Students assume the role of Rockefeller Foundation program officers, deciding which of the candidates, whose application materials they will review, should be granted rescue by the Emergency Program for European Scholar.

MATERIALS:

- Refugee Scholars Primary Sources
- Refugee Scholars Exercise Worksheet (for note-taking)
- Paper or shared computer to chart refugee scholars selected by student groups

PART 1

45 minutes – 1 hour: INDEPENDENT AND SMALL GROUP WORK

Assuming the role of Rockefeller Foundation program officers, students independently read the dossiers of 10 refugee scholars. The dossiers generally comprise a CV, bio, and at least one letter of recommendation, though some also include supporting documents that describe each applicant’s life and current conditions. The students should be encouraged to take notes using the primary sources and included Refugee Scholars information spreadsheet while reading through the dossiers.

After independently reading the dossiers, the students will share their findings with others in small groups and reach consensus together on whom they would assist.

The small groups must work together to agree on four candidates they would select and rescue and include selection criteria to explain their decisions.
PART 2

20–45 minutes: LARGE GROUP DISCUSSION

• These small groups reconvene, and, with the instructor as moderator, each group shares its selected scholars and the reasoning used to arrive at its decision.

• Collectively, the class discusses commonly selected and commonly rejected candidates, and the differences and similarities among the small groups in reaching these decisions.

• The instructor then reveals the RF’s five criteria for deciding which applicants to accept for the Emergency Program. Each scholar had to:
  1. Be outstanding in his/her field
  2. Be in his/her productive years (between 35 and 55 years old)
  3. Have lost his/her position and generally be considered to be in some danger, whether for religious, racial, or political reasons
  4. Hold the promise of improving existing scholarship in American universities
  5. Have assurance of a teaching position at a host institution for at least two years (this was a visa requirement)

• Students reflect on the role of the Rockefeller Foundation program officer in the refugee scholar selection process, as revealed to them through the role-play.

PART 3

While this exercise intentionally asks students to make stressful, life-or-death choices, when the exercise wraps up, the instructor may want to let students know that, in fact, every scholar highlighted in this activity was accepted by the Emergency Program. Over 60% of the scholars selected were employed, at least initially, at The New School for Social Research in New York City through its “University in Exile” program. If desired, the instructor concludes the exercise with the section entitled “What Happened Next,” filling in the details about the program, and explaining the fate of some of the dossier candidates.
# REFUGEE SCHOLARS DECISION-MAKING WORKSHEET

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Institution/Title</th>
<th>Current Location</th>
<th>Decision &amp; Rationale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bloch, Marc</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Economic and Social History</td>
<td>Professor at the University of Paris</td>
<td>Paris, France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brook, W. F.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Economics, political science, and economic history</td>
<td>Originally Professor Ordinarius of Economics and Political Science at the University of Muenster; dismissed and took up position as Visiting Professor and Research Scholar at University College, Cardiff, Great Britain</td>
<td>Cardiff, Wales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castillejo, Jose</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Roman Law, Education</td>
<td>University of Madrid, Institute of Social Research, Madrid</td>
<td>Middlesex, England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephrussi, Boris</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Genetics</td>
<td>Geneticist at the Rothschild Institute of Biology, Paris</td>
<td>Paris, France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gumbel, Emil J.</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Statistics / applied mathematics</td>
<td>Professor of Statistics, University of Heidelberg; dismissed and moved to University of Lyon in 1933</td>
<td>Lyon, France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>Institution/Title</td>
<td>Current Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heythum, Antonin and Charlotta</td>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>Architecture and Stage Design</td>
<td>In U.S. on fellowship from Czechoslovak Academy of Art and Science to study 'exposition techniques at the two American world's fairs.'</td>
<td>New York, United States</td>
<td>For the study of American and Russian exposition techniques.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honigmann, Ernst</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Medieval Geography</td>
<td>Librarian at the University of Breslau; forced to resign, moved to University of Brussels Institute of Philology and History</td>
<td>Detained in a concentration camp outside Perpignan, France</td>
<td>For the study of Medieval Geography and Philology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotarbinski, Tadeusz</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>Professor of Philosophy, Warsaw University</td>
<td>Warsaw, Poland</td>
<td>Unable to continue teaching due to political pressure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laskowski, Michal</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>Biochemistry</td>
<td>Assistant Professor, College of Agriculture, Warsaw; then an RF fellowship allowed him to work at the Lister Institute, London; then attempted to set him up at the University of Lyon, France (after service in the Polish army)</td>
<td>Lyon, France</td>
<td>To continue his research at the Lister Institute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schrecker, Paul</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>History of Science</td>
<td>Professor at the Academy of Sciences, Berlin; professor at the University of Paris</td>
<td>Bordeaux, France</td>
<td>Unable to continue teaching due to political pressure.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

• What were your expectations going into the exercise?

• What is your impression of the work of the program officers?

• Describe the decision-making process that took place among your group members.

• What was most challenging when articulating the criteria for selecting the scholars?

• What experiences have you had working with primary sources before this exercise?

• How did the primary sources affect your interest or investment in the exercise?
The first phase of RF refugee work — the Desposed Scholars Program — spent over $740,000 to place 192 scholars at universities in Europe and the United States. Of those placed in the U.S., slightly over 80% eventually secured permanent positions somewhere. A reduced version of this program, which ran from 1940–45, spent nearly $230,000 on another 59 scholars.

Every scholar highlighted in this activity received RF support under the Emergency Program for European Scholars. Because foundations generally do not retain records for rejected grant applicants, the files for the many applicants who applied for rescue but were denied are no longer extant.

Some scholars, like Statistics Professor Emil Gumbel, received two rounds of RF aid. After dismissal from the University of Heidelberg for his anti-militaristic views, Gumbel received appointment at the University of Lyon with Rockefeller Foundation support; when he needed to flee to France, he received a second RF grant under the Emergency Program to go to the United States.

However, the decision to stay in Europe or come to America was fraught, and often hampered by personal circumstance. For instance, Tadeusz Kotarbinski initially declined his invitation from the RF in order to stay with his aging father in Poland. Eventually, Kotarbinski accepted a non-RF-funded post at The New School. Another well-known example of a scholar who refused RF support is Marc Bloch. Block was accepted into the Emergency Program in 1940, but his two oldest sons couldn’t secure visas in time to depart with him, so he declined the RF’s offer in favor of keeping his family together. Bloch’s decision to stay proved fatal: he joined the French Resistance in 1942, and was captured and executed by firing squad in 1944.

In total, the program invited 89 academics to emigrate to the U.S. as refugee scholars. 52 ultimately arrived (37 either could not leave Europe or declined the grant). This second phase of the RF’s refugee work cost the Foundation nearly $440,000.

The RF spent $1.4 million to rescue 303 emigrant scholars from 1933–1945. These scholars represented twelve different nationalities. About sixty percent of the rescued scholars were German, nearly forty percent worked in the social sciences, and the vast majority (all but eight) were men. In addition, six rescued scholars were Nobel Laureates and another six were future Nobel Prize winners.

The Foundation succeeded in saving a small number of academics and preserving a significant body of knowledge for humankind. As The New School for Social Research Director, Alvin Johnson, wrote, looking back on it:

“In reviewing with myself the history and results of our cooperative undertaking, I feel new impulses of gratitude toward you and the Foundation. You saved many valuable lives, and what may really be more significant, many of the hopes men live by. Many of the scholars we brought over have taken root in this country and are flourishing in the new soil. Many have returned, or are returning to Europe to take a part in the rehabilitation of Europe education, more active and effective for their experience in America.”
ABOUT US

This exercise was developed from a workshop created by James Smith, PhD, Laura Miller, PhD, and Marissa Vassari, MA, MLIS. The workshop has been conducted with student groups of various levels since 2015.

This workshop was created by:

Marissa Vassari is Education Program Manager at the Rockefeller Archive Center. She coordinates the Archival Educators Roundtable to facilitate communication among professionals who use primary sources in public outreach and teaching. She holds a BA in Psychology and Special Education, an MA in Childhood Education, and an MLIS degree with an Archival Studies specialization.

Barry Goldberg was a Research Fellow at the Rockefeller Archive Center, 2018-2020. He earned his PhD in History from the CUNY Graduate Center and has written for numerous publications. Barry has ten years of teaching experience at the high school and college level. As a postdoctoral scholar, he has developed public-facing projects at several archives and museums.

Elizabeth Berkowitz was the 2018–2020 Mellon/ACLS Public Fellow at the Rockefeller Archive Center, where she worked as the Outreach Program Manager for the Research and Education division. An art historian, Elizabeth has taught extensively in museums and universities, and has published both popular and academic articles. She holds a BA in Art History and English, an MA in Modern Art, a Graduate Certificate in Museum Studies, and a PhD in Art History.
The Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) is a major repository and research center dedicated to the study of organized philanthropy and the Third Sector. It holds the records of over forty major foundations, cultural organizations, and research institutions, as well as the papers of over one hundred individuals associated with these organizations.

The Research and Education (R&E) Program at the RAC brings together historians, educators, and archivists to explore topics in the history of philanthropy for public, scholarly, and professional audiences and to cultivate new audiences for archival research. The team’s activities include digital publishing, conferences and workshops, educational outreach, practitioner engagement, and a competitive research stipend award program.

R&E develops and makes available archive-based interdisciplinary projects and curricula for levels ranging from upper elementary grades to graduate study. These materials support the development of information literacy and research skills, as well as deeper engagement with primary sources and the practice of history. R&E also works to strengthen the bridge between education and archives by hosting workshops and discussions for a growing professional network through its Archival Educators Roundtable.
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