

# Scholar Rescue

## The Past of the Future

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*Jane O. Newman*

Like 'exile', the term 'refugee' is a difficult one to gloss.<sup>1</sup> As the German-Jewish philosopher and political theorist Hannah Arendt, herself a refugee, first in France and then in the United States, wrote in her famous essay 'We Refugees' (1943), refugees themselves often do not choose or even like the term; they would prefer to be treated as normal 'immigrants', with all the trials and challenges which that status itself entails. Refugees are, rather, those who seek refuge, protection, and asylum, Arendt writes, because of 'some act committed or some political opinion held' (2007, p. 264). Many of her academic colleagues who sought refuge from Hitler's Germany at the time had been persecuted less for any such positions or deeds, but rather for who they were, namely German Jews.

Arendt's hesitations about using the term 'refugee' may be appropriate in such cases and may also help to explain the origin of an alternative way of describing the work done to save those of her academic colleagues who had to flee the authoritarian Nazi regime, namely 'scholar rescue'. The Institute of International Education (IIE), best known for hosting the Fulbright scholarship program, for example, was founded in 1919 in the wake of the First World War, but it expanded exponentially during the Second World War and was instrumental in creating what was called the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars at the time. The Emergency Committee facilitated placement for countless German-Jewish scholars at colleges and universities, libraries and research centres in the United States (Samuels, 2019). The Council for At-Risk Academics (CARA) in the UK was founded in 1933, also in response to the dangerous situation faced by scholars in Germany

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1 This article is based on a lecture given at the National Humanities Center (NHC), Research Triangle, North Carolina, in March 2018. Hence its focus. I am grateful to NHC for inviting me to present on the topic of scholar rescue to their Board of Trustees. I am especially indebted to the President of the NHC, Robert Newman, and the NHC Director of Scholarly Programs, Tania Munz, for their extraordinary efforts in developing a programme to host a scholar at risk at the NHC in collaboration with Duke University. Going forward, the programme can serve as a model for other research centres and colleges and universities, both in the United States and around the world.

during the Second World War. And the name of the Philipp Schwartz Initiative (PSI) in Germany, now housed in the Humboldt Foundation, honours the Hungarian-born neuropathologist Philipp Schwartz who, soon after being dismissed from his position at the university in Frankfurt in 1933 because he was Jewish, founded the Emergency Assistance Association for German Scientists Abroad, which helped place several hundred German-Jewish academics in Turkey during the war.<sup>2</sup> Again, the German-Jewish scholars aided by these organizations sought sanctuary not necessarily for any particular ‘acts committed’ or politically suspect kinds of research. Rather, they were persecuted simply for who they were, or perhaps more accurately, because of who they no longer were after 1935, namely citizens of Germany entitled to the protection of (rather than persecution by) the state.

The huge number of ‘stateless’ persons in Europe after 1945 and elsewhere after 1948 has not been rivalled until today, with some 65 million refugees and internally displaced persons (Betts and Collier, 2017), among them many academics, now at risk. As Arendt writes: Having ‘lost’ their ‘occupations’, they have also ‘lost’ the ‘confidence’ they were ‘of some use in this world’ (2007, p. 264). Looking to the past, back to Arendt’s generation, can help us to orient ourselves today as we move forward and confront the continuing harassment and mistreatment of scholars. ‘Lost ... language’, the ‘loss of the naturalness of reactions, the simplicity of gestures, the unaffected expression of feelings’, are all gone, she writes, left behind on the other side of the ‘rupturing’ of one’s private and public-professional life because of displacement.

It is not only these words from the 1943 essay ‘We Refugees’ that still resonate, however. Arendt’s objections in her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1949), published somewhat later, to the so-called ‘regime’ of ‘human rights’ that was inaugurated more or less immediately after the end of the Second World War with the founding of the United Nations and the ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 also continue to ring true. Such efforts were of course designed to champion the rights of all human beings in the face of the betrayal of so many of them by the authoritarianism of their birth states. But they did little to address the measures imposed on them by the states to which they fled. Already in 1940, for example, the ‘Alien Registration Act’ in the US led to mass forced registration of immigrants and also to countless arrests and the imprisonment of many; the quieter authoritarianism of a 1942 curfew imposed on the German Jews of Los Angeles, who, as ‘enemy aliens’, could not leave their homes between eight

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2 Many of these organizations still exist and continue to support scholar rescue. The IIE in New York now houses the Scholar Rescue Fund (SRF), which offers fellowship opportunities and has, since its founding in 2002, helped some 1,200 scientists, artists, and scholars find safe havens where they can continue their work. The international organization Scholars at Risk (SAR) also assists in the placement of several hundred scholars a year around the world.

in the evening and six in the morning and had to remain within a five-mile radius of their residences during the day, may have seemed eerily familiar to them from their experiences in Germany. In the face of such state-based controls on both sides of the Atlantic, possessing the ‘human rights’ meant to guarantee the trans-state rights of those who had ‘formally lost their nationality’ during the war and of ‘those who could no longer benefit from’ any ‘citizenship rights’ they might still have had (such as refugees and asylum seekers) must have seemed of distant utility indeed. These realities formed just one of the reasons why Arendt objected to the discourse of human rights, for she understood that the guarantee of such rights in the 1940s was, as political scientist Ayten Gündoğdu writes, mostly ‘aspirational’. ‘Universal’ human rights can always be ‘proclaimed’, she writes, but must in the end also be ‘politically enacted, recognized and affirmed in ... institutions, orders, and communities [on the ground] if they [were and] are to find stable guarantees’ (2015, p. 7). The right to have human rights is thus classically hampered by what sociologist Yasemin Soysal (cited in Gündoğdu, 2015, p. 10) refers to as the enforcement or ‘implementation deficit’ that always was and still is more the rule than the exception, with the ‘discrepancy between formal [human] rights and their practice’ leaving ample room for the nation-state to dictate who comes and who goes.

Arendt’s objections to relying only on a rhetoric, or discourse, of human rights that in the end may be powerless to control the policies and acts of nation-states are still relevant. Repatriation agreements are signed and deportation orders enforced depending on the political needs of the day. This powerlessness is nevertheless itself not universal, as the work of the scholar rescue organizations detailed above shows. Indeed, it was precisely the capacity of non-state-based institutions in the early to mid-twentieth century, such as IIE, CARA, and Schwartz’s Emergency Assistance Association for German Scientists Abroad, working together with the colleges and universities and the research centres, institutes, and libraries at which many academics found a place, to guarantee these scholars’ survival that must be remembered. Indeed, in times such as the early twenty-first century, when there has been active resistance to authoritarian regimes – concrete ‘acts’ of resistance, in other words – on the part of students and faculty alike, scholar rescue is more urgent than ever.<sup>3</sup> It is important to underscore that such work is nevertheless not only an act of mercy or just a ‘humanitarian issue’ (Betts and Collier, 2017, p. 10). Scholar rescue also creates the conditions of possibility for profoundly innovative academic work. Indeed, the institutions hosting scholars and the disciplines in which they work often benefit just as much, if not more, from scholar rescue than the individual scholars themselves. This was certainly the case in the United States in the mid-twentieth century when so many of the German-Jewish scholars

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3 For up-to-date statistics by location, see the annual reports published by Scholars at Risk (SAR), entitled *Freedom to Think*.

reached US shores. It is to this exemplary moment that I now turn as a way of beginning to assess the promise – but also the challenges – of erecting the ‘new institutional architecture’ of scholar rescue in the global academy for which Betts and Collier call (2017, p. 5).

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The academic conditions on the ground in Germany when Hitler came to power have been well studied (see Bialas and Rabinbach, 2007, for example). In 1933, one of the first major acts that he passed was the so-called ‘Restoration of the Professional Civil Service’, which either dismissed or forcibly retired most ‘non-Aryan’ civil servants, including many university faculty members as well as teachers, professional judges, and municipal and government workers at all levels. A similar law was soon passed that imposed the same fate on lawyers, doctors, tax consultants, and musicians. It is shocking to realize how quickly it all transpired. While those who had served at the front in the First World War were exempt for a time, this loophole was rapidly closed two years later with the passing of a second law, the ‘Law on the Retirement and Transfer of Professors as a Result of the Reorganization of the German System of Higher Education’. These anti-Jewish laws, the first since the so-called emancipation of the Jews in 1871, decimated higher education in Germany. Some 1,200 German-Jewish colleagues were dismissed. The percentages give a better sense than the raw numbers do of what this actually meant at the time: as of approximately 1920, for example, between 25 and 47 per cent of all university faculty in the humanities were Jews. The figure was similar in other disciplines. When the world-renowned mathematician David Hilbert, who taught at the University of Göttingen, was seated next to Bernhard Rust, the Nazi minister of education, at a banquet in 1934, he was asked by Rust: ‘How is mathematics at Göttingen, now that it is free from the Jewish influence?’ Hilbert allegedly replied: ‘There is no mathematics in Göttingen anymore’ (Menzler-Trott, 2001, p. 142).

In most cases, the Nazi purges of the professoriate of course meant that the vacated positions were soon filled by party loyalists, usually ignorant of the disciplines for which they were being made responsible. More troubling, however, is that other more or less reputable scholars kept their jobs by toeing the line, enthusiastically embracing the task of supporting the state to which they owed their employment. The immense multi-volume ‘scholarly study’ published in 1941 entitled *The German Way in Language and Poetry (Von deutscher Art in Sprache und Dichtung)*, edited by Franz Koch and others, for example, was a project that had been developed the year before in Weimar at the ‘Wartime Mobilization Conference of German University Germanists’. It contains essays by prominent scholars that are sometimes still cited today (Newman, 2007). The conference was but one example of the multi-disciplinary ‘War Effort of the Humanities’ known as the ‘Aktion Ritterbusch’ under the leadership of Professor Paul Ritterbusch, rector of the University of Kiel between 1940 and 1945. Such programmes meant that the ‘Gleichschaltung’ – or

enforced political conformity – of the universities under the Nazis was thorough and quick (see Hausmann, 1998).

In the face of conditions such as these, it is no surprise that the German-Jewish scholars were eager to take advantage of any way out they could find. Many got help from Philipp Schwartz, the Jewish neuropathologist mentioned above, who, having escaped from Germany in 1933, founded the Emergency Assistance Association for German Scientists Abroad in Zurich. Schwartz, together with the Swiss educator Albert Malche, who had been advising the newly established Turkish Republic about the reform of their higher education system since 1932, facilitated finding numerous positions in Turkish higher education for persecuted scholars. (They were in competition with Albert Einstein in this project; Einstein also tried to get the Turks to hire forty German-Jewish academics, but he was turned down, as the Turks wanted to choose their own invitees.<sup>4</sup>) Contracts for up to five years were signed and several hundred academics were ultimately placed. It is important to note that as ‘humanitarian’ as such hiring initiatives might sound (and the Turkish government still insists they were), these initiatives were also extremely strategic, part of the plans by the founder of the modern Turkish state, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), who served as Turkey’s first president from 1923 until his death, to secularize and westernize the country (see Konuk, 2010). Alongside more cosmetic changes, like ordering all men in 1925 to wear a western-style top hat instead of the traditional fez, Atatürk decided in 1933 that the venerable Turkish institution of higher learning, the very traditional Dar-ül Fünun, had to be transformed into a western-style Istanbul University.

The state-initiated creation of a secularized system of Turkish higher education was to be undertaken under the leadership of a carefully selected cadre of refugee scholars, who were thus invited in a more or less instrumental fashion to accept academic positions not as Jews, but rather as ‘Europeans’ in support of Atatürk’s plans; their contracts stipulated clearly what they were and were not allowed to profess. Their number included the famous literary scholars Leo Spitzer and Erich Auerbach, who joined Traugott Fuchs, Heinz Anstock, and Eva Buck, the ancient historian Clemens Bosch, the economist Alexander Rüstow, and the philosophers Ernst von Aster and Hans Reichenbach as well as the architect Bruno Taut and the composer Eduard Zuckmayer. While the manner in which the arrival of the German-Jewish academics in Turkey was celebrated suggests that the situation was an intellectually rich, vibrant, and, above all, welcoming one in which the scholars could thrive, private letters and recently discovered documents reveal just how fearful they continued to be, since they knew that an active Nazi spy network in Istanbul was keeping tabs on their activities, both private and professional, even as Nazi functionaries and their contacts within the Turkish Ministry of Education

4 For more on this specifically, see Reismann, 2007.

sought to contain the growing influence on university culture of the refugee scholars by appointing additional non-Jewish German faculty members whose loyalties lay with the Nazis (see Konuk, 2010). The situation was perhaps not so dire as in Shanghai, where the German-Jewish refugees were literally confined in ghetto-like neighbourhoods (Bei, 2013), but it was unsettling all the same. Somewhat later, after German-Turkish relations had soured and Turkey declared war on Germany in 1944, many of the émigrés were perversely interned by the Turks as German nationals.

These details with regard to the conditions faced by German-Jewish scholars in Turkey are instructive, especially if we compare their asylum at Atatürk's state-sponsored universities to what many of them experienced when they came to the United States. Again, it was the non-governmental Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, working together with the Institute of International Education (IIE), that served as a clearinghouse for scholars whose applications were reviewed and for whom placement was sought (see Samuels, 2019). Files of the Emergency Committee housed at the New York Public Library contain multiple letters from the Committee to college and university presidents requesting their aid. The case of the German-Jewish literary scholar Erich Auerbach (1892-1957) is revealing of the precarity of these scholars' lives. Auerbach applied several times to the Committee while he was still in Germany and also during his years in Istanbul. It is troubling to note that his dossier was in fact declared 'closed' in 1942; as it turns out, he did not leave Turkey until 1947, after the war. At first, Auerbach found a temporary position at Penn State University, but it was not renewed after a year because he did not receive a clean bill of health (Kadir, 2011). He then spent a year at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, a private foundation established with a gift from the department store magnate Louis Bamberger, before he received an offer in 1950 to join the faculty at Yale University in the form of a permanent position. In a case such as Auerbach's, placement was thus only the result of a combination of private philanthropy and efforts on the part of several universities, each with its own policies and needs.

In other cases, institutions of higher education came up with larger-scale infrastructural responses. This was famously what happened at The New School in New York, which under its founder and then director, Alvin Johnson, and with the financial support of philanthropist-businessman Hiram Halle, part-owner of Gulf Oil, and the Rockefeller Foundation, provided a haven in the United States at the so-called University in Exile, which sponsored more than 180 individuals and their families, securing them both visas and jobs (see Friedlander, 2019). On the basis of its excellent faculty, which included economists (Karl Brandt, Gerhard Colm, Arthur Feiler, Eduard Heimann, and Emil Lederer), psychologists (Max Wertheimer and Erich von Hornbostel, who was also a leading musicologist), social policy experts (Frieda Wunderlich), and one sociologist (Hans Speier), as well as the philosopher

Hans Jonas, the University in Exile received authorization from the Board of Regents of the State of New York in 1934 to offer master's and doctoral degrees. The work of many other German-Jewish scholars associated with The New School, such as the philosopher Leo Strauss, who taught for a long time at the University of Chicago and then at St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, and the psychologist Erich Fromm, who taught at The New School for more than fifteen years while also a professor at Bennington College, in Vermont, remains influential today. In this case, too, it was non-governmental bodies – research institutes and colleges and universities – that, working together with private donors and organizations like the IIE, mobilized to house the scholars.

As we consider the afterlives of these efforts and the investment in the future of the global academy that the present and ongoing scholar rescue efforts represent, it is important to underscore how profound the impact of the work of this generation of scholars was on the shape of the US academy in the twentieth century. One of the most well-known among them is the art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968), most famous for his studies of iconology and iconography. Panofsky was one of the first art historians to move away from the study of style as an art historical method to use the history of ideas and deep knowledge of visual clues to unpack early modern and especially northern European art (see Holly, 1985). His early essay (1934) on the famous 'Arnolfini Portrait' by Jan van Eyck, which now hangs in the National Gallery in London, explains that it is not just a portrait or even merely a depiction of a wedding ceremony. It is also a visual contract testifying to the event and an account of the rights and responsibilities of the holy sacrament of marriage itself, which are visible in the many details of the image. The essay and approach made his name. Panofsky's methods set the terms of art historical debates until his death in 1968 and still determine how early northern European art is read. But Panofsky was lucky. He was already well known in art historical circles before the war and had had a visiting appointment at New York University (NYU) in 1931. He was thus able to relocate permanently to the US after 1933 with relative ease. He taught at both NYU and Princeton before moving to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton in 1935.

Panofsky was nevertheless well aware of the desperate plight of many other German-Jewish scholars and was himself influential in assisting colleagues well beyond his discipline of art history. He was instrumental, for example, in eventually arranging for the medieval and early modern historian Ernst Kantorowicz (1895-1963) to join him at Princeton (see Lerner). The German-Jewish Kantorowicz has long been considered a controversial figure. His early book on the twelfth-century Hohenstaufen emperor, Frederick II, published in 1927, was full of praise for the charismatic figure of Frederick and depicted him as a tragic hero and the idealized embodiment of the German nation. The Nazi general Hermann Goering allegedly presented a copy of the book with a personal inscription to Mussolini, and

Hitler is said to have read it twice. It may have been the reputation of this book that helped the Jewish Kantorowicz, who, like so many others, was forced into retirement by the Nazis in 1935, to survive until 1938, at which point he fled, arriving in the United States after a short stay in Oxford. He landed first at the University of California, Berkeley, where in 1950 he would refuse, along with many other faculty members, to sign the McCarthy-era 'loyalty oath' pledging not to become a member of the Communist Party. He was all too familiar, he said, with the way universities could be instrumentalized by the state; he would rather resign. And he did. Panofsky then prevailed upon Robert Oppenheimer, then the head of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, to create a position for Kantorowicz there, which Oppenheimer did, thus providing Kantorowicz with the time and space he needed to complete his monumental *The King's Two Bodies* (1957), which recasts his argument about leadership. The book is a study of what Kantorowicz calls 'medieval political theology'; it traces the ways in which theologians, historians, and canon lawyers in the Middle Ages and early modern period used the figure of Christ as both man and God to define 'the king' as both a mortal individual – with his 'body natural' – and an institution identified with the 'body politic' of the office, which transcends time. Kantorowicz's examples may derive from pre- and early modern Europe, but his analysis is still compelling today. Historians, literary scholars, and political scientists still use *The King's Two Bodies* to understand how authority and charisma can come to be vested in a single individual rather than in the clunky, but sometimes less authoritarian apparatus of the office he or she occupies.

The case of Paul Oskar Kristeller, who lived from 1905 to 1999, is one of the most fascinating stories of this generation. His refugee route and intellectual and physical journeys were as complicated as they get (see Rubini, 2014, pp. 293-343). Like so many of the German-Jewish scholars referenced here, Kristeller had a promising early career in Germany. He studied with all of the major scholars in classics, history, and philosophy during the inter-war years and imbibed both their vast learnedness and their methods. An interesting though little-known fact is that Kristeller was also a student of the phenomenologist Edmund Husserl and the existential psychologist Karl Jaspers; perhaps most shocking is that he even worked with the existential philosopher and soon-to-be Nazi supporter Martin Heidegger from 1931 to 1933 (see Boutcher, 2006). After 1933, Kristeller fled Germany, first to Italy, where the famous Italian historian of Renaissance philosophy Giovanni Gentile, who happened to be Mussolini's culture minister at the time, found his learned colleague employment. But in 1938, after the imposition of Italy's racial laws, Kristeller left Europe entirely. He initially found a temporary teaching job at Yale before being hired by Columbia University, where he worked from 1939 until his death. Kristeller did not reveal to his colleagues that he was Jewish until the very end of his life. As in the case of Panofsky, it would be difficult to overstate Kristeller's importance in the multiple fields in which he worked, primarily

the history of philosophy and of Renaissance Humanist philosophy in particular, but also for medieval and Renaissance studies in the United States and around the world. He was one of the founders of the main professional organization for Renaissance studies, the Renaissance Society of America, for example, and was also the president of the Medieval Academy of America. Without his *Iter Italicum*, which describes numerous un-catalogued manuscripts of Renaissance philosophy in detail, we would have a very skewed idea of the real nature of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European philosophy. He was also the founding editor and editor-in-chief of what is known as the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, an ongoing project that aims to catalogue all extant classical works as they were published during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. These field-defining learned tomes aside, his *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, which Kristeller edited with Ernst Cassirer and John Herman Randall, and which was first published in paperback in 1948 and is still in print, helped to shape and continues to shape the conception of the European Renaissance among undergraduate students across the country, as did his several other introductory books, also issued in paperback and priced to sell to a growing collegiate audience after the war. That we even know that there was something like a rebirth of ancient philosophy during the Renaissance is largely due to Kristeller's work. As it turns out, despite concealing his own origins, Kristeller too helped other German-Jewish scholars to find safety in the US, as I discuss below.

The men all landed at some of the most prestigious and established universities and research centres in the country. This was one of the reasons why their work had the immense impact that it did. Their successes were nevertheless hard won, since anti-Semitism was rampant in the American academy at the time and especially in the Ivy League. Indeed, it may have been for this reason that the German-Jewish academic refugees marketed their great learnedness in the US, since it was, in addition to their 'Europeanness' – rather than their Jewishness – what set them apart. There were also other campuses, however, many of them in the still heavily segregated South of the United States, that welcomed the refugees with open arms and to which the New York-based Emergency Committee turned over and over again (see Landsberger and Schweitzer, 1996). A mass appeal to college and university presidents on 2 November 1933, for example, sought placement for the scholars. Duke University President William P. Few appears to have responded the very next day asking for a list, and by the end of November he had sent requests for materials on seven scholars (King, 1996). It is important to remember, however, that as ready as Few was to provide assistance, the offer was – as in the case of Atatürk's plans for higher education in Turkey – also extremely fortuitous. Duke was a relatively young institution at the time and during the 1930s undergraduate enrolment increased 50 per cent and graduate enrolment 87 per cent, even as faculty growth lagged behind at only 34 per cent. While the institution had profited enormously from James B.

Duke's largesse at a time of economic depression, the rapid expansion of the campus meant that there were multiple unmet needs, and the opportunity presented by the Emergency Committee offered decided advantages. Distinguished scholars would be available to help in staffing new or expanded academic programmes and to bring Duke much desired prestige. And they were available at no expense, since the Emergency Committee and the Rockefeller Foundation were paying most of the scholars' wages. At the time, no long-term financial commitment was required of the university; this changed as the ranks of the displaced academics swelled.

There were still other institutions in North Carolina where the German-Jewish refugees – both scholars and artists – found a home, including the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, which hosted the German-Jewish philosopher Werner David Falk (Falk, 1996). Falk had fled Germany in 1933 and, via Oxford and Melbourne, arrived in North Carolina in the 1960s, which is where he would spend the remainder of his career. Black Mountain College, a famed institution near Asheville, North Carolina, also hosted refugees (see Levine, 2106). Less well known, but just as – if not more – important, are the numerous Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), including Durham's North Carolina Central University (formerly known as the North Carolina College for Negroes), that welcomed the eminent scholar of classical philosophy Ernst Manasse (see Schweitzer, 1996). Manasse had been a colleague of Kristeller, both in Germany and in Italy. These connections turned out to be crucial, for when the Emergency Committee could find only a minimally paid, one-year position for Manasse at the Museum for Classical Art in Urbana, Illinois, which would not have allowed him to support his family, another German-Jewish classicist, Ernst Abrahamson, who was teaching at Howard University in Washington, D.C., at the time, arranged, together with Kristeller and Panofsky, for Manasse to receive the job offer in Durham. The paradox that Manasse had been an oppressed minority in Germany and was now teaching, as the only white instructor on the campus, members of an equally unjustly oppressed minority at North Carolina Central was something about which he wrote and spoke often in his 34 years as a faculty member there. Finally, like Manasse, though not a humanist strictly speaking, the German-Jewish sociologist Ernst Borinski, who arrived in the United States in 1938, began teaching at Tougaloo College in Mississippi in 1947. Maria Lowe has written that Borinski 'embodied the characteristics of both a bridge leader and a transformative intellectual, and worked behind the scenes and utilized the academy's resources and his status as an "outsider" to contribute to undermining Mississippi's racial status quo'. Throughout the 1940s, '50s, and '60s, Borinski worked both in and outside the classroom as a civil rights activist; his so-called Sociology Science Forums were designed to bridge the gap between the races by bringing together Tougaloo students with members of the surrounding white communities. Countless other academic refugees from a racist regime in Europe were able to continue their work at HBCUs.

These are only a few of the German-Jewish refugee scholars who arrived on the shores of the United States during and after the war. In addition to helping to shape many of the core disciplines within American academe, they had a profound impact on generations of students of colour in a still pre-Civil Rights era in the US. There were countless others, including a number of learned women academics, including the German-Jewish classicist, Eva Fiesel, today virtually unknown, who played similar roles in the education of women in the US at a time when this was not the norm. Fiesel was the author of a still important book on Etruscan grammar based on her dissertation (see Hallett, 2018). She received her PhD in classics from the University of Rostock in 1920 and some years later secured a position at the University of Munich, where she taught until she was dismissed in 1933. She managed to escape with her thirteen-year-old daughter (she was a single mother, having divorced her husband in 1926 when he aligned himself with Hitler in Munich) and arrived in the United States via Florence. Fiesel's initial appointment was as the only woman faculty instructor at Yale for a year. She then received an offer to join the faculty of Bryn Mawr College, a prestigious women's college. Tragically, Fiesel died soon thereafter, very young, of cancer, leaving her daughter Ruth alone. Ruth later attended Bryn Mawr College as a scholarship student. Ruth Fiesel, Miss Fiesel, as we called her, was this author's Latin and Greek teacher in elementary and middle school at the Friends' Central School, a Quaker private school in Philadelphia, where Latin, Greek, and German were taught to girls and boys alike beginning in the seventh grade. Fiesel wrote a Latin language instruction book entitled *Living Latin*, in which she taught Latin not as a dead language, but as one school children could speak and use to converse with one another about the issues that concerned them most. Such lessons are part of the living legacy that the work of the German-Jewish scholars represents. The organizations, schools, colleges, and universities that housed them testify to the work of countless individuals and institutions committed to scholar rescue. Looking to the structures and impact, but also the challenges, of their work in the past reveals the importance of remaining committed to building an international academy today via our own efforts.

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