

# *A Past Renewed*

A CATALOG OF GERMAN-SPEAKING REFUGEE HISTORIANS  
IN THE UNITED STATES AFTER 1933

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# INTRODUCTION

THE LITERATURE ON REFUGEE HISTORIANS who emigrated to the United States after Hitler came to power has focused on well-known refugees who worked in the field of modern German history.<sup>1</sup> This focus has not been without good reason: the refugee historians dramatically influenced the study of German history in the United States. Their importance in the field of German history continues to this day, although they no longer dominate the field, as they did in the 1950s and 1960s. As professors at elite universities, as interpreters of German history, and as teachers of much of the generation of German history professors still active in the historical profession, the refugee historians have fundamentally influenced how German history is thought about and articulated in the English-speaking historical profession.

However, in keeping with recent trends in emigration history,<sup>2</sup> this catalog documents not only the famous émigrés who made important contributions to the study of German history in the United States, but also the many refugee historians who worked in urban and small-town college communities for years, without much recognition from the historical profession.<sup>3</sup> Considerable efforts have been made to document forgotten refugee historians, and their inclusion gives perhaps a more accurate picture of the emigration of historians as a professional group. This catalog contains biographical and bibliographical information on eighty-eight refugee historians. As the pages of this catalog suggest, refugee historians shared very different emigration experiences and were active in many different academic settings. Most refugee historians had rather mundane

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 2, Bibliography of General Works on German-Speaking Refugee Historians.

<sup>2</sup> Two other studies on groups of refugees who have been neglected in the field of emigration studies are currently being conducted at the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. Dr. Sibylle Quack, research fellow, is working on a study of the social history of women in the emigration, with a special emphasis on women who emigrated to New York City. Gabrielle Simon Edgcomb, research associate, has recently published *From Swastika to Jim Crow: Refugee Scholars at Black Colleges* (Melbourne, FL: Krieger, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> I have elsewhere labeled this approach *Schicksalsgeschichte*. See Catherine Epstein, "Schicksalsgeschichte: Refugee Historians in the United States," in *An Interrupted Past: German-Speaking Refugee Historians after 1933*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann and James J. Sheehan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 116–135.

careers in the United States; the celebrated careers of some refugee historians are exceptions to the group's norm. As one refugee historian has poignantly written: "Not all émigré *Schicksale* [destinies] could become apotheoses of success."<sup>4</sup>

The refugees who came to the United States after 1933 were not the leading historians of interwar Germany. In the Weimar period, the German historical profession, a well-established discipline, was a bastion of German conservatism. Many, but certainly not all, German historians found it difficult to accept Germany's defeat in 1918 and were thus suspicious of the Weimar Republic and its democratic ideals. Although no *Ordinarius* (tenured full professor) of history was a member of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) at the time of Hitler's rise to power,<sup>5</sup> the great majority of the more than 250 historians engaged at German universities, academies, and archives<sup>6</sup> were receptive to Hitler and his nationalist, greater German aims. These professors both wanted and were able to retain their positions under the Nazis. Although the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* (Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service) of April 7, 1933, led to the dismissal of civil servants who were either of Jewish origin or were politically suspect (either Communists or Social Democrats), very few *Ordinarius* professors were in either of these categories. While the following numbers pertain only to historians who eventually came to the United States,<sup>7</sup> they suggest that the discriminatory law hardly affected the elite ranks of the German historical profession. The Nazi regime dismissed only three professors who held chairs in modern and medieval history in the mid-1930s: Ernst Kantorowicz, Hans Rothfels, and Richard Salomon. In addition, the regime removed another seven full professors of somewhat less politicized fields of history—legal and ancient history.<sup>8</sup> Besides these ten full professors of history,

<sup>4</sup> Guido Kisch, *Der Lebensweg eines Rechtshistorikers* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1975), 16. (All translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.)

<sup>5</sup> Georg G. Iggers, "Die deutschen Historiker in der Emigration," in *Geschichtswissenschaft in Deutschland*, edited by Bernd Faulenbach (Munich: Beck, 1974), 97.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Th. Walther, "Emigrierte deutsche Historiker in den USA," *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 7 (1984):41.

<sup>7</sup> Very few historians emigrated permanently to countries other than the United States. Dr. Christhard Hoffmann, of the Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung, Berlin, provided me with the names of some historians, or future historians, who emigrated to Great Britain and who did *not* move on to the United States; these historians include Francis Carsten, Victor Ehrenberg, Erich Eyck, Fritz Heichelheim, Wilhelm Levison, Hans Liebeschütz, Gustav Mayer, Alfred Francis Pribram, and Erwin Rosenthal.

<sup>8</sup> Besides Kantorowicz, Rothfels, and Salomon, the *Ordinarius* professors dismissed after 1933 who came to the United States include Eberhard Friedrich Bruck, Guido Kisch, Richard Laqueur, Ernst Levy, Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy, Eugen Täubler, and Ismar Elbogen; the last was an *Ordinarius* professor at the Lehranstalt (later Hochschule) für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

another twenty-two historians were *ausserordentlicher* (associate) professors,<sup>9</sup> *Privatdozenten* (lecturers),<sup>10</sup> or worked in German or Austrian academies, archives, libraries, or research institutes.<sup>11</sup> Finally, a number of individuals had just completed their dissertations when Hitler's policies compelled them to flee Germany.<sup>12</sup>

As the small number of full professors in this group of refugee historians suggests, most of the historians who emigrated after 1933 held marginal positions in the German historical profession. In addition, some older, well-published, leftist historians, whose historical interpretations often clashed with those of their more conservative colleagues, had operated on the fringes of the German historical profession for years. After Hitler's accession to power, Arthur Rosenberg, Veit Valentin, and Gustav Mayer (who emigrated to England) were no longer tolerated even in the marginal posts they had occupied, and they all lost their positions in 1933.

A larger group of young, mostly republican historians who had not yet fully established their careers fled Hitler's Germany; it is this group of historians that has received the bulk of attention in studies on the refugee historians. These historians, many of whom were students of Friedrich Meinecke in Berlin, questioned long-accepted truths of the German historical profession, particularly the predominant historicist methodology and the primacy of foreign policy in historical analysis. The emigration of historians such as Eckart Kehr, George W. F. Hallgarten, and Alfred Vagts represented a great loss for the potential

<sup>9</sup> The *ausserordentlicher* professors were Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Carl Landauer, Otto Neugebauer, Arthur Rosenberg, and Franz Schehl. Because of the insufficient information available on his career, Schehl is not included in the main body of this catalog. See Appendix 1.

<sup>10</sup> The *Privatdozenten* were Hans Baron, Elias Bickermann, Ludwig Edelstein, Dietrich Gerhard, Hajo Holborn, Gerhart Ladner, Otto Maenchen-Helfen, Gerhard Masur, Johannes Quasten, Hans Rosenberg, and Martin Weinbaum.

<sup>11</sup> The historians who were not in the university system include Aron Freimann, director of the Judaica Department at the Frankfurt Municipal and University Library; Raphael Straus, researcher on the history of Jews in Bavaria and editor of the journal *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*; Theodor E. Mommsen, staff member at the Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Frederick C. Sell, professor of history at the Pädagogische Akademie in Kassel; Selma Stern-Täubler, staff member of the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums; Helene Wieruszowski, librarian at the University of Bonn; Hans Julius Wolff, *Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter* (research fellow) at the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* in Munich; Alfred Vagts, affiliated with the Institut für Auswärtige Politik in Hamburg; Ernst Posner and Sergius Yakobson, archivists at the Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv; and Veit Valentin, archivist at the Reichsarchiv.

<sup>12</sup> Individuals who eventually came to the United States who were just at the beginning of potential university careers in Central Europe include Erwin Ackerknecht, Fritz Caspari, Henry Dittmar, Fritz Epstein, Felix Gilbert, George W. F. Hallgarten, Helmut Hirsch, Eckart Kehr, Stephan Kuttner, Golo Mann, Peter Olden, Fritz Redlich, Edgar R. Rosen, Charlotte Sempell, Erika Spivakovsky, George Urdang, Luitpold Wallach, Bernard Dov Weinryb, Hellmut Wilhelm, and Karl A. Wittfogel.

renewal of the German historical profession. In addition, this younger group of historians included Hans Baron, Dietrich Gerhard, Felix Gilbert, Hajo Holborn, Paul Oskar Kristeller, Theodor E. Mommsen, and Hans Rosenberg. Ernst Kantorowicz, Gerhard Masur, and Hans Rothfels, more conservative in both their politics and their approaches to history, round out the core group of well-known historians who emigrated to the United States.

As the pages of this catalog illustrate, however, a great many more historians emigrated than those just mentioned. Many individuals, approximately half of the historians documented in this catalog, first became historians in the United States. This common phenomenon has received little attention in the literature on the emigration, yet it is one of the more salient patterns of refugee biographies, typical not only of the careers of refugee historians, but also of many other professional careers. Some émigrés seized the opportunity of emigration to pursue university careers that had been closed to them in Weimar Germany because of their political leanings and/or their Jewish origins. Other individuals discovered the difficulties of continuing their previous professions and turned to the study of history. These individuals generally had been lawyers, journalists, businessmen, secondary school teachers, and rabbis in Central Europe. The fact that so many refugees changed careers challenges the common notion that American scholarship benefited from what German scholarship lost. The pages of this catalog suggest that this dichotomy of loss and gain was not so simple: when journalists fled Germany or lawyers Austria, the United States won historians, who had backgrounds in journalism or law. As Robert A. Kann, the noted historian of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, once wrote: "I do not know whether I was a good lawyer, but I can say that legal methodology, especially that of Kelsen and Verdross, had a permanent influence on the way I think and on my historical work."<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy had been an *Ordinarius* professor of legal history in Breslau from 1923 to 1933. However, accepting the realities of American academia, Rosenstock-Huessy abandoned legal history for social philosophy; as he once stated in an interview: "My emigration . . . meant that I took up a new field; Americans could not find any use for my original field."<sup>14</sup> Thus the experience of emigration not only determined the choice of refugee historians' professional careers, but also frequently influenced the content of their academic work.

While some refugee historians began their emigrations with short-term teaching positions in France or England, the great majority of them moved to the United States shortly after emigrating. After initial periods of uncertainty and hardship in the last years of the American Depression, most historians found academic or other jobs, although their job searches were often tortuous. While refugee historians' attempts to find college positions were doubtless undermined

<sup>13</sup> Robert A. Kann in an unpublished curriculum vitae for the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1968. Mrs. Marie Kann of Princeton, New Jersey, sent this piece to the author.

<sup>14</sup> *Auszug des Geistes*, edited by Radio Bremen (Bremen: Heye, 1962), 106.

by the Depression, they were also, to a certain extent, complicated by latent or open anti-Semitism. The majority of refugee historians were neither observant Jews (many had been baptized at birth or were only partially of Jewish origin) nor felt themselves to be ethnic Jews, although the experiences of persecution and emigration may have heightened their Jewish ethnic identities.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, Americans essentially accepted Nazi race definitions, and so, in American eyes, the very fact of emigration labeled these individuals Jewish. To their “sorry surprise,”<sup>16</sup> and regardless of their religious affiliations, these refugees were subject to the prevalent anti-Semitism. Toni Oelsner, who published a number of historical articles, never found a teaching position, in part, she believes, because of her Jewish origins:

I applied for years for jobs at Colleges, but I didn't have a Ph.D. I don't know . . . . All of my works are on Jewish topics. Perhaps this is also a reason why I had such a difficult time in getting a college position. On my arrival [Hans] Gerth immediately wrote me: “You have no idea, what sort of anti-semitism exists here, especially here in the Middle West.”<sup>17</sup>

Those refugees who found teaching positions had to accustom themselves to an unfamiliar academic milieu. Refugee historians had to teach many more hours per week than was usual in Europe, received less pay, and suffered a decline in social status. They were cut off from their archival sources and, in many cases, even from decent libraries.<sup>18</sup> They had to learn to lecture and write in a foreign language and in a style more commensurate with American academic conventions. Refugee historians also contended with their own and their families' problems of acculturation, as well as with their gnawing fear concerning the fate of their relatives and close friends stranded in Europe.

Employment prospects brightened once the United States entered World War II. Many refugee historians spent the war years in “Wild Bill” Donovan's

<sup>15</sup> The historians of Jewish history are an exception to this generalization. To the best of my knowledge, all first-generation refugee historians of Jewish history were practicing Jews.

<sup>16</sup> In a short autobiographical sketch, Hans Rosenberg uses the phrase “*traurige Überraschung*” and notes the widespread anti-Semitism he found in many college and university communities in the United States. See Hans Rosenberg, *Machteliten und Wirtschaftskonjunkturen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 15–16. In the United States, a surprisingly large number of German-speaking refugees became Quakers, giving rise to the saying “Some of our best Friends are Jews.” The reasons these refugees became Quakers are surely varied, but the important role Quaker relief organizations played in initially settling refugees in the United States, and the fact that in some smaller communities Quakers represented the town elite, presumably influenced refugees' decisions concerning religious affiliation. Many of the German-speaking refugees, including some refugee historians and/or their widows, spent or are spending their last years in Quaker old-age homes.

<sup>17</sup> “Bloch hielt einen Vortrag über Träume vom besseren Leben.’ Gespräch mit Toni Oelsner,” in *Die Zerstörung einer Zukunft. Gespräche mit emigrierten Sozialwissenschaftlern*, edited by Mathias Greffrath (Frankfurt/M.: Campus, 1989), 202.

<sup>18</sup> Walther, “Emigrierte deutsche Historiker,” 46.



Office of Strategic Services (OSS); some worked in other government intelligence agencies or served in the United States Army. Toward the end of the war, Congress passed the GI Bill, which helped war veterans finance their college educations. This bill indirectly aided the great expansion of American college and university positions and, in turn, created jobs for refugee historians. The promising job market allowed not only historians who were trained as historians in Germany, but also individuals who wished to become historians, to begin university careers in the United States. In the postwar period, interest in European history, and especially in the causes underlying Germany's odious submission to Hitler and the onset of the cold war, intensified. Because there were not enough American-trained historians of European history, many small colleges needed to reach beyond traditional American academic channels to find individuals capable of teaching European history. Personally touched by recent European history, refugee academics were more than willing to fill this role. At the same time, however, colleges often expected the refugees to teach a variety of subjects, and probably hired these refugees because of their versatility in teaching not only history, but also foreign languages, political science, international relations, or whatever else a college or university needed. There are many cases of refugee historians teaching more than just history; for example, Ernst Levy was a professor of history, political science, and law, and Hellmut Wilhelm was a professor of Chinese history and literature at the University of Washington in Seattle.

One group of historians was not able to integrate themselves fully into American academia: woman historians.<sup>19</sup> Only two female historians, Selma Stern-Täubler and Helene Wieruszowski, are generally mentioned in the literature on refugee historians. Selma Stern-Täubler emigrated with her husband, Eugen Täubler, to Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, where she eventually became the first archivist of the American Jewish Archives; Stern-Täubler is best known for her four-volume *Der preussische Staat und die Juden*.<sup>20</sup> Helene Wieruszowski held professorships for years at Brooklyn and City Colleges in New York City. At Brooklyn College, her fellow émigrés Emmy Heller and Charlotte Sempell also taught on a less regular basis. Erika Spivakovsky has never held a teaching job in the United States, but she has published several books and many articles on the Spanish Renaissance; she was also a fellow of the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study for several years. These five women are the only female historians documented in this catalog. The reasons most of them did not become full-time professors are surely many: in some cases, the need to support their families

<sup>19</sup> For a general account of female Austrian academics in the emigration, see Edith Prost, "Emigration und Exil Österreichischer Wissenschaftlerinnen," in *Vertriebene Vernunft I. Emigration und Exil Österreichischer Wissenschaft 1930–1940*, edited by Friedrich Stadler (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1987), 444–470. No historians appear in this account.

<sup>20</sup> Selma Stern-Täubler, *Der preussische Staat und die Juden*. Part 1 (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1925. Reprint. Tübingen: Mohr, 1962). Part 2 (Berlin: Schocken, 1938. Reprint. Tübingen: Mohr, 1962). Part 3 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1971). Part 4 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1975).

immediately after emigration meant that these women could not afford the luxury of waiting to find jobs in history;<sup>21</sup> in other cases, American administrators resisted hiring female historians; finally, some of these women may have chosen to care for their families first and to be historians second. In her obituary of Emmy Heller, Wieruszowski wrote: "As the wife of a Jewish doctor and the mother of three children she could not devote herself entirely to her academic work and thus had to struggle for a career in her new, foreign surroundings."<sup>22</sup> More pointedly, Charlotte Sempell has written:

I became adjunct professor in 1947, i.e. in the beginning I was only an instructor at the fabulous pay of \$3.25 an hour. [I] stayed in [the] evening because I had two young children, [and] later the opportunities shrank and at [sic] that period, the fifties, a married woman in a male-dominated field like history had no chance.<sup>23</sup>

After the war, very few historians who had sought refuge in the United States returned permanently to university positions in the Federal Republic of Germany, and no refugee historians returned to the German Democratic Republic. The refugees remained in the United States for a variety of professional and personal reasons. The West German historical profession, while making some halfhearted attempts to bring the émigrés back to Germany, did little to make them feel welcome in their native country. In addition, refugees feared losing their recently acquired United States citizenship and were uneasy at the prospect of once again uprooting their families. Hans Rothfels was the only émigré historian who accepted a permanent call to a German university in the early 1950s; he returned to Tübingen. In addition, Golo Mann briefly held a chair in political science in Stuttgart in the early 1960s. Friedrich Engel-Janosi chose to return to the University of Vienna in the late 1950s as an *Honorary professor* (honorary professor), a decision he describes as a mixed blessing in his memoirs.<sup>24</sup> Other refugee historians accepted guest professorships or divided their time between the two continents. Hans Rosenberg first held seminars at the newly founded Free University in West Berlin in 1950–1951, and Dietrich Gerhard combined his professorship at Washington University in St. Louis with spending half of each

<sup>21</sup> Dr. Sibylle Quack, in her research on women in the emigration, has found that married women with academic degrees often supported their families with unskilled work, whereas their husbands retrained or reestablished themselves in professional or academic work. After their husbands had begun their careers in the United States, these women found themselves unable to pursue their earlier professional or academic interests. See Sibylle Quack, "Everyday Life and Emigration: The Role of Women," in *An Interrupted Past*, 102–108. See also Prost, "Emigration," 459–461.

<sup>22</sup> Helene Wieruszowski, "Emmy Heller," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 15 (1959):612. The original sentence reads: "Als Frau eines jüdischen Arztes und Mutter dreier Kinder musste sie ihre Lebensarbeit dem Berufskampf in der Fremde opfern."

<sup>23</sup> Letter to author, dated April 24, 1989.

<sup>24</sup> Friedrich Engel-Janosi, . . . *aber ein stolzer Bettler. Erinnerungen aus einer verlorenen Generation* (Graz: Styria, 1974), 294–295.

year in Cologne and later at the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte in Göttingen. Other historians, such as Fritz Epstein and Hans Rosenberg, satisfying the wishes of their wives, returned to Germany to spend their last years and to pass away in their native countries. Finally, a number of refugee historians who wished to return to German-speaking Central Europe, but who felt uncomfortable at the prospect of living in Germany or Austria, made their homes in Switzerland. Golo Mann has lived for years in Kilchberg (near Zurich); Erwin Ackerknecht taught in Zurich; and both Guido Kisch and Ernst Levy lived in Basel.

What particular contribution did the refugee historians make to the field of history? Perhaps their most important contribution was to the postwar German historical profession. The émigré historians provided personal and intellectual links to those historians of the Weimar period who had examined German history more critically; for example, Arthur Rosenberg's studies of Germany from 1871 to 1930 offered a critical interpretation of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century German history unique in the German historical profession.<sup>25</sup> In a sense, refugee historians such as Rosenberg (who died in 1943) kept critical traditions of German historiography alive between 1933 and 1945. Thereafter, by passing these traditions on to a younger generation of German historians, the refugees played a role in the critical reevaluation of German history that took place in the German historical profession in the early 1960s; Hans Rosenberg (no relation to Arthur) was perhaps the most influential refugee historian in this process. Once the Fischer Controversy, a dispute concerning Germany's culpability for the outbreak of World War I, allowed new, more critical approaches to German history, the works of some refugee historians were "rediscovered" and reissued. Hans-Ulrich Wehler's 1965 publication of a collection of Eckart Kehr's essays, *Der Primat der Innenpolitik*, is often seen as a catalyst in the turn to social history taken by much of the West German historical profession in the mid-1960s.<sup>26</sup>

In the United States, the contributions of the refugee historians were quite varied: some influenced generations of students by their teaching; others wrote influential interpretations of modern German history; and still others contributed to or even introduced less well-known fields of history to the United States. Those historians whose primary contribution was the teaching of European history generally taught at small colleges in the United States, far from the metropolitan areas where the German-speaking émigré population was concentrated. These individuals, while often members of the American Historical Association, were unable to publish extensively, and in some cases did not publish at all. They

<sup>25</sup> See Arthur Rosenberg, *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Republik 1871–1918* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1928). In English as *The Birth of the German Republic, 1871–1918* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931); and Arthur Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Deutschen Republik* (Karlsbad: Graphia, 1935). In English as *A History of the German Republic* (London: Methuen, 1936).

<sup>26</sup> See Eckart Kehr, *Der Primat der Innenpolitik*, edited by Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965). In English as *Economic Interest, Militarism, and Foreign Policy*, edited by Gordon A. Craig (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

simply focused their energies on teaching and were often highly successful. Refugee historians' success in teaching rested on their intellectual and moral strengths; their sometimes quirky personalities; their exotic yet well-rounded backgrounds; and their often dramatic personal histories. As one student comment used to determine the Excellence in Teaching Award at Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, illustrates:

[Dr. Gaupp] certainly has command of his subject and is enthusiastic. Through relating his personal experiences to us, he brings about interest and enthusiasm in us. . . . I have never known a person in any field who is so fair toward students, their progress, history, or life. He is truly a wonderful teacher and person.<sup>27</sup>

The extent to which students of refugee historians praise their former teachers in conversations, in correspondence found in archives, and in published tributes suggests that refugee historians often made their contribution to American learning in personal yet unquantifiable ways.

In comparison to the influence exercised by refugee political scientists and refugee sociologists on their fields, the influx of refugee historians had only a limited impact on the American historical profession as a whole. Indeed, it may well be that political scientists such as Franz Neumann and Hannah Arendt were more influential on the historical profession in the United States than the refugee historians themselves. The refugee historians did not introduce dominant paradigms or methodologies to the American historical profession. Even though Hajo Holborn was elected the first foreign-born president of the American Historical Association, the refugee historians' influence on the American historical profession remained circumscribed; this may, at least in part, be attributed to the fact that no refugee historian wrote extensively in the field of American history.

However, the refugee historians exerted considerable influence on the study of German history in the United States. Those who worked in the field of modern Europe wrote sweeping, general works on Germany's development that are still read and discussed today. These works, such as Hajo Holborn's three-volume *A History of Modern Germany*,<sup>28</sup> attempt to analyze the German traditions that led to National Socialism and, at the same time, to explain why democratic traditions did not take root in Germany before 1945. Most of the refugee historians, in one way or another, were proponents of some form of the *Sonderweg* thesis: in the course of its history, Germany had departed from the path of western development and so was unable to forge and maintain a strong parliamentary democracy. However, the refugee historians approached these issues

<sup>27</sup> This comment was taken from the small amount of material on Frederick E. Gaupp found in the archives of Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, and sent to the author on June 12, 1989.

<sup>28</sup> See Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany*, 3 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1959–1969).

in very different ways; there was never a coherent school of refugee historiography.<sup>29</sup>

As a group, the refugee historians of modern Europe brought certain skills and interests to the United States: they were well trained in the use and edition of primary source materials and taught these skills to their American colleagues. In addition, they were much more expert in military and diplomatic history than their American counterparts. At the same time, the refugee historians were also influenced by their stay in the United States. As Fritz Stern has remarked, the refugee historians became "more empirical, less dogmatic, [and] more attuned to the social realities that their former traditions had tended to neglect."<sup>30</sup> Many of the refugee historians moved away from *Geistesgeschichte* (intellectual history) and toward social and economic history informed by the social sciences.

The influx of refugee historians also brought many historians expert in less common fields of history: Renaissance studies, Jewish history, the history of Roman and canon law, and the history of medicine. Historians of these fields, although documented in the *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Émigrés, 1933–1945*,<sup>31</sup> are seldom discussed in more general works on refugee historians. Yet these historians greatly expanded, and in some cases introduced, their historical specialties to this side of the Atlantic. Hans Baron, Felix Gilbert, and Paul Oskar Kristeller made important contributions to the field of Renaissance studies in the United States.<sup>32</sup> Franz Michael, Hellmut Wilhelm, and especially Karl August Wittfogel were active (and controversial) in the field of Chinese history.<sup>33</sup> Erwin Ackerknecht and Ludwig Edelstein expanded the field of the history of medicine, George Urdang that of the history of pharmacy in the United States.<sup>34</sup>

In several cases, the refugee historians of law introduced their fields of research to the United States. These historians, some of whom were world-famous in their specialties, faced uphill battles in convincing skeptical university administrators that their seemingly obscure fields deserved university backing. Several of these refugees were historians of Roman law, the system on which the

<sup>29</sup> See Bernd Faulenbach, "Der 'deutsche Weg' aus der Sicht des Exils. Zum Urteil emigrierter Historiker," *Exilforschung* 3 (1985):11–30.

<sup>30</sup> Fritz Stern, "German History in America, 1884–1984," *Central European History* 19 (1986):131–163, 155.

<sup>31</sup> *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Émigrés, 1933–1945*, edited by Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder, 3 vols. (Munich: Saur, 1980–1983).

<sup>32</sup> Other historians of medieval and Renaissance history who emigrated to the United States are Emmy Heller, Ernst Kantorowicz, Gerhart B. Ladner, Theodor E. Mommsen, Erika Spivakovsky, Martin Weinbaum, and Helene Wieruszowski.

<sup>33</sup> Helmut Callis also taught Asian history.

<sup>34</sup> Henry Sigerist, who came to the United States in 1932, and Oswei Temkin, who came in 1933, were perhaps the most influential historians of medicine in the United States. For reasons explained in Appendix 1, these German-speaking historians of medicine are not included in this catalog.

German legal system is based. They found that their specialty inspired little interest in the United States because the American legal system stems from the common law tradition. Among the refugee historians of law are Eberhard Friedrich Bruck, Ernst Levy, and Hans Julius Wolff, all historians of Roman law; Guido Kisch, a historian of medieval German law; and Stephan Kuttner, a historian of canon law.<sup>35</sup> Despite their arduous experiences in finding positions in the United States, the historians of Roman law helped make the field known in the United States, and Stephan Kuttner, the historian of canon law, virtually single-handedly established his field in the United States. Kuttner taught canon law at Catholic University of America, at Yale University, and at Berkeley; he founded and has remained president of the Institute of Medieval Canon Law since 1955; and he cofounded the journal *Traditio* and its offshoot, the *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*.

Not surprisingly, aside from historians of modern Europe, historians of Judaism make up the largest subgroup of historians who came to the United States after 1933. With the emigration of these historians, the field of Jewish history, except for scurrilous “research” done by Nazi historians, literally disappeared from Germany. The study of Jewish history in the United States was established before Hitler came to power, but the arrival of the émigré historians greatly expanded this field. Refugee historians of Jewish history included in this catalog are Ismar Elbogen, Aron Freimann, Rudolf Glanz, Guido Kisch, Adolf Kober, Adolf Leschnitzer, Hanns Reissner, Selma Stern-Täubler, Raphael Straus, Eugen Täubler, Luitpold Wallach, Bernard D. Weinryb, and Mark Wischnitzer.<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, none of these historians did extensive research on the Holocaust in the postwar period.

One refugee, Adolf Leschnitzer, was instrumental in reestablishing the study of German-Jewish history in postwar West Germany. Although he taught German and Slavic languages at City College in New York, Leschnitzer was the first lecturer on the history of German Jews at a postwar German university. Leschnitzer began lecturing at the Free University in 1952 and spent part of each year in Berlin until 1972. In this capacity, he helped train a whole generation of German scholars of Jewish history.

The impact that refugee scholars of Jewish history had in the United States cannot be discussed without reference to Salo Baron (1895–1989), who ultimately became the doyen of Jewish history in the United States. Baron emigrated to the United States in 1926 and initially taught at the Jewish Institute of Religion.

<sup>35</sup> Adolf Berger, Ernst Rabel, and Rafal Taubenschlag were also refugee historians of law. For reasons explained in Appendix 1, these historians are not included in this catalog.

<sup>36</sup> Hermann Dicker, Ernest Hamburger, and Arnold Wiznitzer also worked on topics of Jewish history. For reasons explained in Appendix 1, these individuals are not included in this catalog. Dr. Christhard Hoffmann, of the Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung in Berlin, is currently working on the historians of Jewish history who emigrated to the United States.

Thereafter, he taught at Columbia University from 1930 until his retirement in 1963. Like a number of other German-speaking academics who came to the United States before 1933, Baron was quite instrumental in placing refugee scholars in the United States after 1933. He knew the German refugee historians of Judaism personally or, at the very least, by reputation, and so was extremely convincing in his attempts to find employment for them. In addition, as editor of *Jewish Social Studies*, Baron was able to help many refugee historians of Jewish history establish their reputations in the United States.

Baron's career raises the issue of whether a significant transatlantic intellectual transfer would have occurred even without Hitler's intervention in the mid-1930s. In the 1920s and early 1930s the increasingly international character of the scholarly community meant that American university professors were familiar with their German counterparts and that American universities were hiring German academics. Needless to say, the compulsory emigration of German-speaking scholars after 1933 hastened this process of international intellectual transfer, but it is likely that a significant migration of ideas would have occurred regardless of Hitler's academic policies. The presence of German scholars on the American academic scene before 1933 also makes it somewhat difficult to isolate the refugees' intellectual contributions to American learning after 1933.<sup>37</sup> No systematic studies have been made on the role that German scholars, such as Baron, who came to the United States before 1933, played in aiding refugee scholars after 1933; nor are there studies on how academic immigrants of the 1920s and early 1930s influenced their fields of study in the United States.

Who, then, are the refugee historians included in this catalog? The historians included are—besides the historians of modern Europe, who make up the bulk of this catalog—historians of Jewish and other religions' histories, historians of economics and law, historians of medicine, and historians of Oriental and ancient peoples. To the best of my knowledge, no historians of science other than of medicine and mathematics, and no historians of the Americas, emigrated to the United States. However, not all "historians" in the broad sense of the term could be accommodated: historians of art, literature, and music are not documented, nor are individuals who studied Assyriology or Egyptology covered in this catalog.

What criteria governed the inclusion of refugee historians? Given the uncomfortable fact that individual lives seldom fall into neatly arranged categories, there is often an element of arbitrariness in the inclusion or exclusion of certain historians. Nonetheless, in the process of preparing this catalog, criteria were

<sup>37</sup> Henry Sigerist, perhaps the leading historian of medicine of his generation, came to Johns Hopkins University in 1932. Sigerist was not only tremendously influential in the study of the history of medicine in the United States, but also, like Salo Baron, was able to help refugee historians of medicine after 1933. Sigerist arranged for both Erwin Ackerknecht and Ludwig Edelstein to come to Johns Hopkins. For more on Sigerist, see Appendix 1.