"Notes." *A Transatlantic History of the Social Sciences: Robber Barons, the Third Reich and the Invention of Empirical Social Research*. Fleck, Christian. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011. 332–357. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781849662932.0007>>.

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NOTES

Introduction

1. Lepenies named the social sciences the third culture, referring to the well-known two-culture thesis where the sciences are seen as standing in opposition to the humanities and literature (Lepenies 1985). The third culture established the social sciences as a distinct mode of knowledge and practice occupying a place in between the two traditional fields.

Chapter 1 The Building of an American Empire

1. Initially in a 1935 lecture, Walz still subscribes to the German model (Walz 1936), whereas Hartshorne explicitly argues that, with respect to the institutions of American higher education, 'descendants by far outgrew their ancestors' after the First World War (Hartshorne 1946: 9).
2. The second edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary* of 1934 contains the following passage: 'The science and art dealing with homemaking and the relation of the home to the community; theory and practice concerning the selection and preparation of food and clothing, conditions of living, the use of income, the care and training of children, etc. also the study or teaching of home economics, or an academic department concerned with this.'
3. If one sets the value for the United States as 1, in 1910 the values are 0.96 for Germany, 0.93 for France and 0.82 for Great Britain. See Goldin 2001.
4. Data from the *Handbuch der österreichischen Statistik*, various years.
5. There is extensive literature that takes the opposite view, referring to the barred entry opportunities for later immigrants; a representative example is Coser (Coser 1984); by contrast, a quite early study based on an empirical survey of European immigrants can be found in Davie (Davie 1947). Of all German emigrants in these data, 62 per cent left their country in 1933 and 1934, while 54 per cent of Austrian refugees left in 1938 and 1939.
6. This subjective barrier most likely was a question of status rather than age. Former Vienna City Counsellor for Finances Hugo Breitner may serve as an illustration: having come to the United States at the age of sixty-six without a university degree, he seriously considered engaging in a course of studies, as shown by his correspondence with Joseph A. Schumpeter. Schumpeter advised against it. See Joseph A. Schumpeter Papers, Harvard University Archives (cf. Fleck 1997).
7. That only the Anglo-American world (if even that) allows for 'lateral entry' may be in both cases due to the respective cultural maxims (in Britain, it is the idea of fair play that dominates, while American culture rewards the successful outsider). This can, of course, be taken as further evidence for the competitive superiority of these two scientific cultures.
8. One has to bear in mind that the sociologists accounted for in the *Kürschners* are only part of the German-speaking sociologists of the time.

9. Alfred Weber used the term of 'pensioner intellectual' in this context (Weber 1923: 173).
10. No German-language university, for instance, would have accepted someone like Thorstein Veblen as a professor. The most notorious eviction case from an American university, that of W.I. Thomas, illustrates the pattern, as does the non-appointment of Bertrand Russell at the City College in New York – on the grounds of sexual liberalism in the former case, atheism in the latter, both of which would seem to be individual personality traits of a more arbitrary nature than those that would qualify as a reason for eviction from German and Austrian universities. A comparative study of eviction cases could be helpful here, but as far as I know there is no such study.
11. Cf. Sorokin 1933; Holcombe 1933; Biegelow 1933; among others.
12. For applied research in the science and technical domain in the nineteenth century, see Fox and Guagnini 1998; for industrial research, see Serres 1994.
13. For the debate concerning the issue of introducing sociological courses as part of law studies at the 31st Deutscher Juristentag (Annual Convention of German Jurists) in 1912, see Fleck 1990: 60–64.
14. Moreover, rectors did not yield much power, as illustrated by the failed attempt of Eugen Ehrlich, temporary rector of the University of Czernowitz, to introduce research on ethnological jurisprudence at his university; see Fleck 1990: 57–60.
15. In this, I follow the terminology of Anton Blok (Blok 1981: 220–6) who expanded Eric Wolf's ideas on patron-client relations; see Wolf 1999 and Wolf and Silverman 2001.
16. C.H. Becker, *Vom Wesen der deutschen Universität*, 23, as cited in Düwell (Düwell 1971: 55); cf. Wende on how professors were imposed (Wende 1959: 110) and on how sociology was attributed with the role of helping us 'to see the whole picture' (Wende 1959: 126).
17. In addition, Worms headed the Société de Sociologie in Paris and was the editor of the *Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale*, with its more than 50 volumes of French translations of the works of IIS members, among others (cf. Clark 1973).
18. By 1913, 32 ordinary and 14 associated members had already died.
19. As an illustration of the records that provide the basis for the following analysis, see the following examples: 'GUMFLOWICZ (Louis), professeur de sciences politiques à L'Université de Gratz. Vice-Président en 1895'; for an associated member: 'WEBER (Max), professeur honoraire d'économie politique à l'Université d'Heidelberg, membre du bureau de la Société allemande de sociologie' (*Annales de l'institut international de sociologie* 1913).
20. On the concept of 'also-sociologist', cf. Fleck 1990.
21. Among them, the familiar names of the founding generation (see Ross 1991) of American sociology: Charles A. Ellwood, Franklin H. Giddings, Edward A. Ross, Albion W. Small, Lester F. Ward and William G. Sumner, all of whom had also acted, in the early days, as Presidents of the American Sociological Society (today Association) founded in 1905. In addition, there were two other outstanding personalities, namely social psychologist James Baldwin and economist Thorstein Veblen, as well as two former ministers and the longtime President of the Rockefeller Foundation, George E. Vincent, and three professors of sociology, history and political science, respectively, who were less prominent in later times. The first two generations of American sociology are well documented, which allows for a verification of IIS representativity with regard to the United States: Charles H. Cooley was the only one who was not an IIS member.
22. Belgian IIS members, who also showed a very large proportion of members who were established at a university, were much more frequently affiliated with the neighbouring disciplines of economy and law.
23. 'In democratic ages men rarely sacrifice themselves for one another, but they display general compassion for the members of the human race. They inflict no useless ills,

- and they are happy to relieve the griefs of others when they can do so without much hurting themselves; they are not disinterested, but they are humane.' De Tocqueville, A., 'Influence of Democracy on Manners Properly So Called', *Democracy in America*, vol. II, section 3; as quoted in Bremner 1988: 54.
24. Cf. Bremner 1988; Fosdick 1952; Kohler 1991; Lagemann 1983; Lagemann 1999.
 25. The popular American socialist Eugene V. Debbs, for instance, was strongly opposed to Carnegie's library donation. See Bremner 1988 and Lagemann 1989.
 26. There are hardly any studies dealing with the programme officers; cf. the short references to their gate-keeper functions in Coser (Coser 1965: 337–348) and, more recently, some case studies in a special issue of *Minerva* on this theme (Gemelli and MacLeod 2003).
 27. Cf. Coser 1971; Kaesler 1999; Käsler 1976; Ritzer 2000; '50 Klassiker der Soziologie' <http://agso.uni-graz.at/lexikon/index.htm> [accessed 18 October 2010].

Chapter 2 Fellowships and What They Entailed

1. Shortly afterwards, the Carnegie Foundation set up an international fellowship programme (Duggan 1943).
2. As quoted in Bulmer and Bulmer 1981: 362–3.
3. 'Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM) 1924 Annual Report', Rockefeller Foundation (RF), Record Group (RG) 1.2, series (s.) II, folder (f.) 2: 11, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), Sleepy Hollow, New York.
4. For a retrospective summary, see 'Report of the European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial 1923–1928', LSRM, RG 1.2, box (b.) 50, folder (f.) 380, RAC.
5. 'Report of the European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial 1923–1928', LSRM, RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 380, RAC.
6. See the list of the organizations that were members of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC). Besides representatives of the three core disciplines of later years, economics, sociology and political science, members also included historians, statisticians, psychologists and anthropologists.
7. The internal analysis of the fellows of the first five years shows a significant distribution of disciplines: besides the core disciplines of economics, sociology, political science and history there are 'social work and social technology' and, after psychology, law, business administration, anthropology and education, 'General Social Science – Modern' as well as 'General Social Science – Ancient', 'Report of the European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial 1923–1928', LSRM, RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 380, RAC: 19.
8. Memorandum, as quoted in Bulmer and Bulmer 1981: 362–3.
9. This last information (*Reichshandbuch der deutschen Gesellschaft* 1931: 1731) seems somewhat inexact, to say the least, since Schumacher was only one of eleven foreign advisors, a function also fulfilled by two other advisors of the LSRM and the RF, Charles Rist and Luigi Einaudi, respectively.
10. For the German-American exchange of professors, see Brocke 1981.
11. The *Biographisches Wörterbuch zur deutschen Geschichte* refers to this as 'forced retirement' which seems hardly compatible with Oncken's age of seventy-four (*Biographisches Wörterbuch zur deutschen Geschichte* 1974: col. 2074–5).
12. Butler reports that in his first year he used to coordinate selections with three colleagues, among them William Beveridge, which later proved to be unnecessary. 'Memorandum for the Committee on Reorganization by the Memorial's Representative for Great Britain and Ireland, 31 December 1926', LSRM, s. III, Subseries 6, b. 50, f. 529, RAC.

13. 'Social Science European Fellowship Committee 1934–35', 15 April 1931, RF, RG 1.1, s. 717, b. 16, f. 151, RAC.
14. Requirements remained the same in later years, see 'Announcement of fellowships in the social sciences awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation', 3 January 1929, RF, RG 1.2, b. 49, f. 375, RAC.
15. Courses were discontinued after a few years. While all Italians attended language courses, this was deemed necessary by only one out of five Czech, French or Dutch fellows, but by one out of three Austrians and three out of four Germans. 'Report of the European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial 1923–1928', LSRM, RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 380, RAC: 18.
16. 'Memorandum', 29 April 1932, RF, RG 1.2, s. 100 international, f. 376, RAC.
17. Sources differ with respect to quantitative data, for three different reasons: the difference between the date when the fellowship was granted and the date when it actually started (including some withdrawals); the inclusion of other fellows from other Rockefeller foundations, primarily the International Education Board (or the Memorial's special fellowships); and the fact that directories that were published later did not always include individuals who had died or whose whereabouts were unknown.
18. The mean duration of a fellowship in social sciences dropped from almost twenty-two months for the first cohort to only seventeen months for the cohort of 1929/30. 'Memorandum on the administration of the fellowship program on social Science (Analysis)', RF, RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 383, RAC.
19. Among them Voegelin 1928, Myrdal and Myrdal 1944, Huizinga 1930 and Huizinga 1972, where he dealt with the experiences of his stay in the United States, a fact which John V. Van Sickle, an RF officer, found worth mentioning. See his letter to E.E. Day of 30 September 1930, RF, RG 2 General Correspondence (GC), b. 47, f. 387, RAC.
20. This is also suggested by the fact that on the occasion of her second RF fellowship in the United States in 1935, Lawrence Frank, already in charge of research on children at the Memorial, recommended her to researchers in her field. Fellowship Card Bühler, RAC. For support given to research in child psychology, see Lomax 1977; Bryson 2002.
21. The first printed list of fellows in 1932 notes, for instance, with respect to Harold K. Salvesen's position after his fellowship: 'on sub-Antarctic whaling grounds 1928–29, 1929–30, 1930–31. In business.'
22. In the first five years, the proportion of women dropped to 18 per cent; 14 of the 32 women came from Great Britain, 4 from France and the Netherlands, respectively, 3 from Germany, 2 from Austria; all the other countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Switzerland and the United States) nominated one woman, at the most.
23. The age distribution of the fellows in the first five years shows that 43 per cent were younger than 26 years, and another 38 per cent were younger than 32 years. See 'Report of the European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial 1923–1928', LSRM, RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 380, RAC: 23.
24. See Kuznets's autobiographical text <http://nobelprize.org/economics/laureates/1971/kuznets-autobio.html> [accessed 13 October 2010]. Thomas's ASA Presidential Address (Thomas 1952) also includes some autobiographical parts. See also the obituary by Read Bain (Bain 1951) for an idea of the reception at the time.
25. 'Social Science Fellowship Program in Europe Rockefeller Foundation 1924–38', RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 384, RAC.
26. This figure included fellows from Canada (2), South Africa (1), Ireland (6), Wales (5) and Scotland (7), 'Report of the European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial 1923–1928', LSRM, RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 380, RAC: 11.

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27. 'Report of the European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial 1923–1928', LSRM, RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 380, RAC: 23.
28. 'Staff meeting, 24–7 August 1927, Introductory Remarks by Beardsley Ruml', LSRM s. II, b. 3, f. 39, RAC.
29. This and all the following comparisons are based on: Fellowship Cards, RAC and Rockefeller Foundation (1951, 1955, 1972).
30. The Rockefeller Foundation, 'Social Science Fellowships of the Rockefeller Foundation 1924–1932, New York 1933', RF, RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 382, RAC.
31. In addition, assessments are based on reputation scores (from JSTOR analysis), which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.
32. Although Huizinga (Huizinga 1930: 369–70) extensively refers to an unpublished article of hers about her experiences in the United States, as reported by Van Sickle to Day, 30 September 1930, RF, RG 2, GC, b. 47, f. 387. Sir Henry de Waal, Ephrussi-Waal's son, informed me that his mother did not continue her scholarly work, letter to the author, 10 December 2001.
33. John V. Van Sickle, 'Diary', 19 January 1930, RAC.
34. Van Sickle, 'Diary', 19 January 1930, RAC.
35. Her very low reputation score (9) is due to the under-representation of psychological publications in this measurement.
36. John V. Van Sickle, 'Interview with E. Voegelin', 17 October 1933, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705 Austria, b. 5, f. 46, RAC.
37. 'I have tried to make a Sociological survey of Vienna and I have the people. I have tried to interest the Rockefellers but political events in Austria make them hold off' (Kaesler 1991: 129).
38. Tracy Kittredge to Syndor H. Walker, 12 September 1934, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705 Austria, b. 5, f. 46, RAC. According to his Fellowship Card, Voegelin had received \$400 in 1931 and \$500 in 1932 from the RF.
39. 'Fellowship Card Voegelin, note 11/1/58 EWM [Erskine W. McKinley]', RAC.
40. Heberle refers to his SA membership in his notes on his career (Institut für Angewandte Wirtschaftswissenschaft 1938: 83).
41. Oskar Morgenstern, *Tagebuch*, Morgenstern Papers, Rare Book Division, Duke University Library. See Morgenstern 1976 and Leonard 1995, who agree in saying that their close proximity in Princeton, where Morgenstern taught at the University while von Neumann did research work at the Institute for Advanced Study, was a condition for the ideas that made up the book to be elaborated.
42. Van Sickle, 'Diary', 20 October 1931, RAC. Schumpeter did not change his mind, as can be seen in his correspondence with European fellowship candidates and American officers (Schumpeter 1999).
43. Van Sickle–Kittredge, 'Diary', 30 November 1931, RAC. Morgenstern referred to Predöhl and Vossler as examples of those who had been appointed to a professorship after their fellowship.
44. Distribution across the various scientific disciplines was never balanced. In the pre-Second World War period, 40 per cent of all the fellowships worldwide were dedicated to public health and the nurses programme, while the medical and the natural sciences were each allotted one-fifth, and the social sciences and the humanities had to make do with 13 per cent and 7 per cent, respectively (Rockefeller Foundation 1951: Appendix, author's estimation).
45. Selskar M. Gunn (1883–1944) studied at the MIT and Harvard Public Health School, and worked as a bacteriologist and as an expert of infectious disease control in the United States, Europe and, later, in China. He was a RF officer from 1922, head of its Paris office until 1927, Associate Director in Europe of the RF

- Social Sciences Division between October 1930 and the end of 1932, then RF Vice-President in New York.
46. Max Mason (1877–1961) studied mathematics in Göttingen under David Hilbert, received his doctoral thesis in 1903, then taught at MIT, at Yale and at the University of Wisconsin. In the years 1917 to 1919 he was a member of the National Research Council, where he participated in the development of submarine detection devices. After that he taught again in Wisconsin, was President of the University of Chicago from 1925 and head of the Division of Natural Sciences of the RF from 1928. He was the successor of George E. Vincent as President of the RF between 1930 and 1936, and after that served on a supervisory board at the California Institute of Technology, where he retired in 1949.
 47. Letter to Max Mason, no date (c. August 1931), Mason's answer, 11 November 1931, both in RF, RG 12, s. 100 ES international, b. 49, f. 376, RAC.
 48. Their success in establishing themselves seems to have been only temporary. For the Directory of 1950, the RF was unable to establish the whereabouts of the three Czechoslovakians, and Suranyi-Unger had ceased teaching in Szeged and was now at Syracuse University, NY.
 49. 'Social Science Fellowship Program in Europe – Rockefeller Foundation 1924–38', RF, RG 1.2, b. 50, f. 384, RAC.
 50. 'Correspondence, Van Sickle and Mason', 8 and 27 July 1933, RF, RG 1.1, s. 717, b. 16, f. 151, RAC.
 51. In 1929, the 'preferred' maximum age of applicants as stated in the application form was thirty-five years. RF, RG 1.2, s. 100 international, b. 49, f. 375, RAC.
 52. Marschak, Machlup, Schneider and Lutz were included in the *Who's Who in Economics*. Cf. also the biographical articles in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Sills 1968) and the *Times Literary Supplement's* '100 Books of the Century, 6 October 1995.
 53. Term used by E.C. Hughes in a review of Lazarsfeld and Thielens's *Academic Mind*, 'to distinguish the people of small, particular orbits from those of larger identifications and connections'; he calls the latter 'itinerants' (Hughes 1959: 572).
 54. On Willits, see Stapleton 2003.
 55. Van Sickle was aware that the way Strauss was supported was contrary to RF rules. He justifies the procedure by citing all those who supported Strauss. Van Sickle, 'Diary', 19 October 1936, RAC.
 56. 'TBK [Tracy B. Kittredge] Interview with Fürer-Haimendorf, 10 December 1934', RF, RG 2-1934, GC, b. 108, f. 837, RAC.
 57. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, letter to Shepard Stone, 29 June 1959, 'Lazarsfeld Papers', Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York; Fleck 2002.

Chapter 3 Institutional Support in Europe

1. 'Memorandum, Executive Committee and Director to Board of Trustees for the year October 1925 to 30 September 1926', LSRM, s. II, b. 2, f. 16, RAC.
2. 'Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, Final Report Summary of Work 1919–1928 Inclusive', LSRM, s. 2, b. 1, RAC: 10.
3. Edmund E. Day (1883–1951): Ph.D. Harvard 1909; Professor at the Department of Economics, Harvard 1910–23; University of Michigan since 1923; Dean of the School of Business Administration of this university since 1924; Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial since 1927; Director of Social Sciences Division between 1929 and 1937; then President of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
4. Staff Meeting, October 24, 1927, LSRM, s. 2, b. 3, f. 42, RAC.

5. Harold Laski, 'Foundations, Universities and Research', first published in 1928 in *Harper's Magazine*, reprint in Laski, H. (1930), *The Danger of Obedience and Other Essays*, New York: Harper, as quoted in Bulmer 1986: 217; see also officers' reaction, as quoted in Bulmer 1986: 217 and Bulmer and Bulmer 1981: 400.
6. Estimations based on the sums detailed in the 'Memorandum on the situation of research in social sciences in Austria, 1931', RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 4, f. 35, RAC. Erich Voegelin, at the time working as a lecturer with civil service status at the University of Vienna, reported a monthly income of ATS 200, corresponding to \$40. RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 5, f. 46, RAC. Fellowships for RF fellows were \$2,000 per year.
7. Fisher reports that owing to Memorial funds, a chair for political science was established (Fisher 1980: 290–91).
8. Rockefeller Foundation 1932: 282. Support for the International Institute of African Languages and Culture was not taken into account in the present context.
9. Rockefeller Foundation 1930: 224. In 1931, the officers of the Social Sciences Division refused to support this institution on anything but a 'tapering basis': 'the strictly scientific work of the Institute had not come up to expectations', RF, RG 1.1, s. 700, b. 22 A, f. 164, RAC.
10. Beveridge 1939. Similar compilations were published for Austria, the Netherlands and the United States.
11. Due to a lack of sound information on its research programme, the Geneva Research Institute, founded in 1930 and also associated with the League of Nations, has not been taken into account here.
12. Van Sickel, 'Diary', 29 September 1930, RAC. The minutes of a meeting of the officers of the Social Sciences Division of 3 October 1932 note: 'Institute for Economic Research, Paris – the Rist plan. EED [Edmund E. Day] stated that he was still prepared to support an acceptable plan if presented before June 30, 1933. Otherwise, our commitment should be taken off the books.' 'Memorandum', Van Sickel, RF, RG 1.1, s. 700, b. 22 A, f. 164, RAC.
13. Rockefeller Foundation 1933: 243; Rockefeller Foundation 1934: 177; Rockefeller Foundation 1936: 260–1; cf. Lyon 2001.
14. 'Minutes of Office Conference, 6 December 1928', RF, RG 3, s. 904, b. 2, f. 13, RAC.
15. See the detailed overview in 'Social Science Projects in Europe 1935', also including grants-in-aid, RF, RG 1.1, s. 700, b. 22 A, f. 165, RAC.
16. 'Memorandum, Executive Committee and Director to Board of Trustees for the year October 1925 to 30 September 1926', LSRM, s. 2, b. 2, f. 16, RAC.
17. In a letter to Raymond Fosdick, James T. Shotwell reports on his visit to this table: the Professorenrat 'offered them the first chance they had ever had to get together and became a sort of Faculty Club where they learned to know each other and to discuss university problems together to the advantage of the whole university. That is symbolic of the whole situation. We should support the effort to enlarge the point of view of German scholars; keep them busy on their own tasks and not simply spending their time in self-pity as some do, or turning to tasks, commercial, or even of manual labor as in the case of the younger men.' LSRM, s. 3, b. 52, f. 558, RAC.
18. LSRM, s. 3, b. 52, f. 558, RAC.
19. The following account is based on: RF, RG 1.1., s. 717 S Germany, b. 20, f. 187, RAC.
20. The report also reveals that the research had obviously been sponsored for quite a while (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft 1930: 52, 58–60).
21. The annual report of the Notgemeinschaft (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft 1930: 185) states that for five years, the RF had supplied 100,000 RM (Reichsmark) per year, 'the Notgemeinschaft being obliged to continue supplying the same sums as spent to date'.

22. For budgetary data, see Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft 1930: 198–9. In 1929/30, 10 per cent of Notgemeinschaft expenses were allotted to ‘experimental research’, about double the amount of its administrative costs. About one-third of its funds were spent on ‘individual scientific projects’. On their visits to Berlin, Gunn, Van Sickle and Kittredge were at least twice confronted, among other projects, with the research conducted on twins. Van Sickle notes that Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, ‘is making an interesting study of twins’ but comments on the Institute in general: ‘one did not gain the impression of scientific activity commensurate with the equipment’, 13 January 1931; half a year later, Kittredge reports on the twin study, but refrains from commenting it, Van Sickle–Kittredge, ‘Diary’, 11 November 1931, RAC.
23. In his introduction, Schmidt-Ott dedicates fifteen pages, as usual, to the national sentiments that had of course never been abjured in the preceding years, expressing his ‘high admiration for the Führer’, expatiating on the ‘sacred love of the fatherland’, and promising to persevere in his ‘service to the German people’ (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft 1933: 12, 15). Nevertheless, several references are made, in the same Annual Report, to RF sponsorship; apparently, these passages had already been set up before.
24. While no RF support for ethnogeny is referred to in the otherwise very detailed chronicle of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften (Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science) by Eckart Henning and Marion Kazemi (Henning and Kazemi 1988), support is explicitly reported in the fields of natural sciences and medical research. Hammerstein 1999 does not mention RF support. In Vierhaus and Brocke 1990, RF support is mentioned in passing, but no reference is made to the ‘*Gemeinschaftswerk*’ on German ethnogeny, and Fischer’s Kaiser Wilhelm Institute is likewise neglected. Another voluminous anthology on the history of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society and its Institutes does not refer to either RF support or racial research (Brocke and Laitko 1996). A tabular overview of the receipts of the Notgemeinschaft is given by Zierold 1968: 38–9; RF subsidies, however, are hidden under the category ‘private donations’.
25. Tracy Kittredge, ‘Social Sciences in Germany’, August 1932, RF, RG 1.1, s. 717, b. 20, f. 186, RAC.
26. Van Sickle, ‘Diary’, 27 January 1930, RAC.
27. Van Sickle, ‘Diary’, 17 February 1930, RAC.
28. Van Sickle, ‘Diary’, 15 April 1930, RAC.
29. This was Schmidt-Ott’s title, regularly referred to by the RF officers, Van Sickle, ‘Diary’, 8 January 1931, RAC.
30. Van Sickle, ‘Diary’, 4 July 1930, RAC.
31. This aid is also referred to in the 1932 annual report of the Notgemeinschaft, where the respective activities are for the first time subsumed under the heading of ‘Gemeinschaftsarbeiten auf sozial- und geisteswissenschaftlichem Gebiet’ (collective works in the social science and humanities field): ‘recently, more specifically, more large-scale studies on vital economic and social science issues have been launched, and partly conducted, also with the help of foreign funds’ (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft 1932: 19f).
32. ‘Social Science Projects in Europe’, 30 September 1932, RF, RG 1.1, s. 700, b. 22A, f. 164, RAC: 3.
33. Note of 5 November 1932 in: ‘General Memorandum, Tracy B. Kittredge’s Visit to Central Europe, October 29–November 8, 1932’, RF, RG 2- 1932 GC, s. 700, b. 76, f. 611, RAC. Some of the individuals mentioned also figure in the Annual Report of the *Notgemeinschaft*: owing to RF support, ‘two large-scale research projects on the international economic situation of our time’ could be launched. ‘Under the direction

- of Professor H[erbert] von Beckerath, Bonn, and in cooperation with Professor E[rich] Kaufmann, Berlin, Geheimrat A[lfred] Weber, Heidelberg, Geheimrat [Kurt] Wiedenfeld, Leipzig, and Priv. Doz. [Arnold] Wolfers, Berlin, the conditions for, and forms of, international economic relations are to be subjected to fundamental scientific investigation.' The 'second study is concerned with the springs, effects, and attempts at solution of the critical price development of a number of important world trade commodities. It will be conducted, under the direction of Geheimrat Schumacher, Berlin, in cooperation with Geheimrat Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Hamburg, and others, and with the concurrence of a number of junior researchers' (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft 1932: 21).
34. It would be misleading, however, to take these differences in language use as a manifestation of differences in some vaguely defined national character. Charlotte Bühler, who was born and educated in Germany, overdid her cosmopolitanism to the other extreme. During a meeting with Van Sickle and some Vienna co-professors, she insisted on speaking English although Vienna co-participant Hans Mayer did not sufficiently master this language: 'Mrs. Buhler ... managed to rile me considerably. In the first place, despite Pribram's request that the conversation be in German on account of Mayer, she insisted on speaking English.' Van Sickle to Edmund E. Day, 17 June 1931, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705S, b. 8, f. 75, University of Vienna, Psychological Institute, RAC.
 35. Tracy Kittredge, 'Social Sciences in Germany', RF, RG 1.1, s. 717, b. 20, f. 186, RAC: 8. Quotations that follow are from the same source.
 36. RF, RG 2- 1933, GC, b. 91, f. 724, RAC. As early as in May of 1932, Van Sickle suggested that Gunn should visit Cologne. There is also a note saying that the RF had rejected an application for financial support for the Yearbook. Van Sickle to Gunn, 'Memorandum suggestions for a German trip', RF, RG 2- 1933, GC, s. 717, b. 77, f. 617, RAC.
 37. Similarly already mentioned in Van Sickle, 'Diary', 8 January 1931, RAC.
 38. This is not Edward Y. Hartshorne, Jr, known for his 1937 study *The German Universities and National Socialism*, for which he visited Germany as a SSRC Fellow in 1935/6, but Richard Hartshorne, a geographer and SSRC Fellow in 1931/2 who, during his fellowship term, visited German and Polish geographical institutions and also studied the drawing up of a frontier in Upper Silesia as well as problems of the Polish Corridor. Papers on both subjects were published in *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Geographen* at the University of Leipzig, among others (Social Science Research Council 1951: 158f).
 39. Van Sickle, 'Memo, May 16, 1931, re: Institut für Soziologie, Leipzig, Director Dr. Hans Freyer', RF, RG 2-1931, GC, b. 64, f. 520, RAC.
 40. In a diary note of 8 January 1931, Van Sickle already referred to some Berlin researchers in European ethnology who used this survey technique. The Annual Report of the Notgemeinschaft (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft 1930: 192-93) refers to an 'Atlas of German Ethnology' for which 'almost 40,000 copies' of a questionnaire had been sent to 'representatives of the Church and the educational system, the government and self-administration, the sciences and professional organizations' in 'the whole of the Reich as well as Austria, Luxemburg, Gdansk, and the German-language territories of Czechoslovakia and Transylvania'.
 41. Van Sickle to Gunn, 'Memorandum suggestions for a German trip', RF, RG 2- 1933, GC, s. 717, b. 77, f. 617, RAC.
 42. Both Institutes had been established in 1924 with KWG (Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft) participation, but were not promoted to be full Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes until 1935.
 43. Fehling to Van Sickle, 19 May 1932, RF, RG 1.1, s. 717, b. 21, f. 194, RAC.
 44. In his diary, Van Sickle alludes to brief contacts with psychologists on 8 January 1931: 'Short visit to the Psychologisches Institut of Köhler. Almost desert as most of

- the work goes on in the afternoon.' It could be, however, that the Medical Division of the RF was in charge of German psychologists.
45. Van Sickle, 'Diary', 29 December 1930, RAC.
 46. RF, RG 2-1933, GC, b. 90, f. 724, RAC.
 47. Van Sickle to Day, 29 April 1933, RF, RG 2-1933, GC, b. 91, f. 725, RAC; same source for the quotations that follow.
 48. As is known, the Natural Science Division continued to support German scientists until 1937 (Macrakis 1989; Macrakis 1993).
 49. Alva and Gunnar Myrdal to Van Sickle, 20 July 1933, RF, RG 2-1933, GC, s. 717, b. 92, f. 728, RAC; same source for the quotations that follow.
 50. Myrdal refers here to the German romanticism youth movement of the beginning of the twentieth century, one of the ideological predecessors of Nazism.
 51. For Jessen, see Heiber 1991: 199; Janssen 2000: 153f.
 52. Fellowship Card, Andreas Predöhl, RAC. There is another Kiel scholar whose political activities are not referred to until after 1945: In May 1953, Hans Gerth informed Leland DeVinney that Gerhard Mackenroth had joined the SS in 1933, and soon after, Frederic C. Lane noted in his diary that he had heard that Mackenroth had been in the United States in the 1930s: 'sent over ... (by the Nazis?)'.
 53. Kittredge to Walker, personal letter, 21 September 1937, RF, RG 1.1, s. 700, b. 22 A, f. 165, RAC.
 54. Van Sickle, 'Diary', 24–8 September 1930, RAC.
 55. Van Sickle to Day, 12 August 1930, RF, RG 2-1930, s. 650 GC, b. 47, f. 387, RAC.
 56. Mentioned in Van Sickle's letter to Day, 30 September 1930, RF, RG 2-1930, s. 650 GC, b. 47, f. 387, RAC.
 57. Day to Van Sickle, 9 December 1930, RF, RG 2-1930, s. 650 GC, b. 47, f. 387, RAC.
 58. Day to Van Sickle, 9 December 1930, RF, RG 2-1930, s. 650 GC, b. 47, f. 387, RAC; Gunn suggests hearing Josef Redlich on this project, who was teaching at Harvard at the time.
 59. Day and Van Sickle, telegram, 20 May 1931, RF, RG 2-1931, s. 650 GC, b. 63, f. 515, RAC.
 60. Van Sickle, 'Diary', 31 July 1931, RAC.
 61. RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 4, f. 35, RAC; same source for the quotations that follow.
 62. See list of the members of the committee in Fleck 1990: 161.
 63. Gunn to Mason, 10 February 1932, RF, RG 2-1932, GC, b. 76, f. 611, RAC.
 64. Kittredge, 'Memo', 1 November 1932, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 8, f. 75, RAC.
 65. Cf. Paier 1996: 7–70; Benetka 1995.
 66. Gunn to Day, 3 May 1931, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 8, f. 75, RAC.
 67. Kittredge, 'General Memorandum Visit to Central Europe, October 29–November 8, 1932', RF, RG 2-1932, GC, b. 76, f. 611, RAC.
 68. Kittredge, 'Conversation with Prof. Mises, Paris, March 23, 1933', RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 4, Format 35, RAC.
 69. Van Sickle to Day, 10 October 1933, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 4, f. 35, RAC; same source for the quotations that follow.
 70. Van Sickle to Day, 28 October 1933, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 4, f. 35, RAC; same source for the quotations that follow.
 71. Pribram had very early tried to include Friedrich Engel-Jánosi in the circle of RF beneficiaries, but had failed in his attempt to have him go to Harvard to study some Medici papers. Engel-Jánosi does not mention this episode in his autobiography (Engel-Jánosi 1974) but gives a friendly portrait of Pribram and some descriptions of his students.
 72. Van Sickle to Day, 20 November 1933, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 4, f. 35, RAC.

Notes

73. Van Sickle to Walker, 1 December 1933, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 4, f. 35, RAC.
74. Day to Van Sickle, 20 January 1934, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b. 4, f. 35, RAC.
75. Engelbert Dollfuss, Austrian chancellor in 1932–4, established an authoritarian government in 1933 and was assassinated during a Nazi putsch in July 1934.
76. Van Sickle to Day, 24 January 1934, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b.4, f. 35, RAC.
77. Van Sickle to Day, 10 March 1934, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b.4, f. 35, RAC.
78. Walker to Van Sickle, 26 March 1934, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b.4, f. 35, RAC.
79. Van Sickle, 'Memo: The Status of the S[ocial] S[ciences] in Vienna, April 12, 1934', RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b.4, f. 35, RAC.
80. In October 1937, \$18,000 granted for the years 1938–40 were revoked 'since it is apparent that the conditions under which the grant was made no longer exist' (Rockefeller Foundation 1937: 256f).
81. Kittredge to Walker, 10 March 1938, RF, RG 1.1, s. 705, b.4, f. 35, RAC.

Chapter 4 In the Shadow of Nazi Rule: Two Generation Units of Social Scientists

1. These were: Jakob Baxa, Hermann Roeder and Oskar Paul Hausmann.
2. The group who reported sociology as their only affiliation also included some eminent Nazis such as Franz Jerusalem, Hans L. Stoltenberg and Andreas Walther; sociology as the first of several disciplinary affiliations was reported by Willy Gierlichs, Leopold von Wiese, Johann Plenge, Max Rumpf and Karl Heinz Pfeffer.
3. The following journals were analyzed: *Archiv für angewandte Soziologie*, *Archiv für Rechts- und Wirtschafts- oder Sozialphilosophie*, *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, *Ethos*, *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, *Kölner Vierteljahrshäfte für Soziologie* (later: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*), *Soziale Welt*, *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft*, *Volksspiegel*, *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, *Zeitschrift für Nationalökonomie*, *Zeitschrift für öffentliches Recht*, *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (later: *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*), *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie* (later: *Sociologus*), *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, *British Journal of Sociology*, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, *International Postwar Problems*, *Human Relations*, *Journal of Economic History*, *Journal of Social Issue*, *Journal of Social Philosophy*, *Science and Society*, *Social Compass*, *Social Forces*, *Social Problems*, *Social Research*, *Sociometry*, *Sociological Analysis* (formerly *American Catholic Sociological Review*), *Sociological Review*, *Sociology and Social Research* (formerly the *Journal of Applied Sociology*) and the *Sociological Review*.
4. In their analysis of Nobel laureates in physics and chemistry, Crawford, Heilbron and Ullrich (Crawford *et al.* 1987) also used a place-of-residence criterion, but opted for a much longer period of eight years. Due to the political discontinuities, a period of this length was ruled out in the present context.
5. One might argue that the mere fact of having been to Gymnasium (upper secondary school) would influence future intellectual development, but since at the time the upper secondary school curriculum surely did not show any particular openness towards the social sciences, there is no reason to pursue this hypothesis.
6. For instance, in 1931, Ludwig von Mises and Erich Voegelin chose sociology as their disciplinary affiliation whereas Othmar Spann, Adolf Günther and Hans Kelsen opted for other disciplines (*Kürschners Deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender* 1931).
7. It is not always possible, in an individual case, to be unambiguous about who is to be considered an Austrian or a German. The Wittebur sample, for instance, includes the names of eight sociologists (Franz Borkenau, Martin Buber, Emerich Francis,

- Friedrich O. Hertz, Hans Kelsen, Emil Lederer, Ernest Manheim and Karl Pribram) who are labelled dual nationality in the journal sample. Forty-six of the Germans included in the Wittebur sample are also to be found in the ISL sample below.
8. There are four groups: first, those who are seen by some as having made some literary contributions to the discipline but who would never have seen themselves as professional sociologists – among them Otto Bauer, Hermann Broch and Elias Canetti; second, those who were only for a short time engaged in the field and left sociology either of their own free will, or of necessity – for instance Gisèle Freund, Otto Leichter, Nina Rubinstein and Elisabeth Zerner; third, those who taught sociology at minor colleges but published next to nothing and were, therefore, not found by either the journal search or the other samples, their names rather turning up quite by accident; fourth, the group of non-affiliated scholars is, at any rate, not clearly delimited and, therefore, invites extension.
 9. My thanks are to Professor Fritz Ringer for letting me have a copy of this data set.
 10. This is not without a piquancy for the history of sociology, considering that Max Weber, who in his writings advised German bourgeois to give up this relic of feudalism, was not only a member of a duelling fraternity but tried to live up to the duelling code of honour even at a rather advanced age.
 11. Wehler (Wehler 2003: 500) reports the proportions of Jews, as defined by their religious affiliation, as 11 per cent for doctors and 16 per cent for lawyers, and emphasizes that these numbers, published in June 1933, may already have been reduced by the first wave of emigrations.
 12. Of course, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 1972 also reports this kind of data, but due to its age and to the small number of references to sociologists, it was not very helpful.
 13. The seven female emigrants whose names appear in the ISL are Hannah Arendt, Ida Berger, Rose Laub Coser, Marie Jahoda, Viola Klein, Anna Siemsen and Mathilda Vaerting. The eleven non-emigrant females, with the exception of Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, are of comparatively little renown.
 14. Two other 'marginals' were Götz Briefs and his Institut für Betriebssoziologie (Institute for the Sociology of Industrial Relations), established in 1928 at the Technical University of Berlin, and Carl Dunkmann who, while only acting as a lecturer at the Pädagogische Hochschule (Teacher Training College) was head of a private institute after 1918 and excelled as an author of textbooks in the late 1920s (cf. König 1987: 258 ff; Stölting 1986).
 15. The title of one of Peter Gay's books, *Freud, Jews, and Other Germans: Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture* (Gay 1978), is misleading in this respect.
 16. The proportion of those with a 'non-educated lower middle-class' background in the small group of individuals with dual nationality is in line with Ringer's findings, suggesting a positive correlation between a certain degree of economic security and the readiness to migrate.
 17. See Schmeiser (Schmeiser 1994: 378, Appendix II, Table 2) who regrouped and recomputed the data of the Göttingen Survey. Ringer (Ringer 1993), based on the same data set, reports slightly higher values, probably because he uses the data collection dates of the Göttingen Study as a reference while Schmeiser's analyses are based on the *Habilitation* dates.
 18. It could, on the other hand, be argued that there is no problem at all: since the twentieth century saw a considerable increase in life expectancy, a recalculation of the phases of people's lives according to the average life expectancy around 1900 would very likely show that, at the time, the mid-life years of the average Central European were not much above the average age of young men reaching the status of assistant professor. However, since there are no data that show the life expectancies for

- different occupational groups, this view cannot be further exploited. An approach that uses age data that are referred to the life expectancies of the respective social strata and occupational groups (rather than basing its analysis on units of calendar time) seems nevertheless worth considering.
19. Ferber categorizes the following disciplines as social sciences: sociology, social sciences and social policy, sociology and economics, industrial research and occupational safety, political science and journalism (Ferber 1956: 192).
 20. Only first doctoral degrees taken in Germany and Austria were included in this analysis; degrees taken by emigrants after emigration were not included.
 21. Interview with Machlup, as quoted in Craver 1986a: 24.
 22. For Neurath's activity in the Munich Soviet Republic, see Cartwright *et al.* 1996.
 23. Many contemporary observers mention in passing the youthful age of the brownshirts who dominated the German universities after 1933 (Hartshorne 1946: 11).
 24. Germanist Hans Schwerte who, under his real name Hans Ernst Schneider, had been one of the commanders in the SS organization 'Ahnenerbe' during the Nazi period, is perhaps the most illustrious example.
 25. Siegert 1971. The fate of Edgar Zilsel and his efforts to obtain his *Habilitation* may have kept others from trying.
 26. Albert Müller points out that according to Austrian *Habilitation* regulations, the first step to be taken was an examination of the candidate's personal aptitude, which implied that one could be rejected for any number of bizarre reasons (Müller 2000).
 27. One of the rare exceptions is the autobiography of Austrian historian Friedrich Engel-Jánosi (Engel-Jánosi 1974). Letters provide another rich source of information, of course.
 28. Letter to Walter C. Langsam, Department of History, Columbia University, 10 May 1938, Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, Engel-Jánosi File, New York Public Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Division, New York.
 29. These are Adorno, Arendt, Freud, Hayek, Heider, Hintze, Lazarsfeld, Lorenz, Lewin, Mannheim, Polanyi, Schumpeter, Schütz, Simmel and Weber.
 30. Due to the availability of an electronic version of the *International Encyclopedia of the Social & and Behavioural Sciences*, searching was easier here than in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, where the index for the seventeen main volumes was used (excluding the two supplements); references in a biographical context or in articles dealing with specific schools or currents were ignored, as well as references to titles of works. This approach somewhat discriminates against schools and against individuals who were part of a close-knit personal network or had published outstanding monographs.
 31. This index consists of combining the nominal information provided in the two biographical reference works with the logarithmized values for the number of index notations in the two encyclopedias, the range of which was between 0 and 88 for the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* and between 0 and 256 for the *International Encyclopedia of the Social & and Behavioural Sciences*.
 32. For details, see <http://www.jstor.org/> [accessed 16 October 2010].
 33. Between four and twelve journals are dedicated to each of the following disciplines: African American studies, anthropology, Asian studies, ecology, economics, education, finance, history, literature, mathematics, philosophy, political science, population studies, sociology and statistics. The biggest systematic gap is the lack of psychological journals.
 34. <http://fsearch-sandbox.jstor.org/about/selected.html> [accessed 26 April, 2007].
 35. Typos and spelling errors in names are not decipherable, just as in the SCI and SSCI, but this can to a certain degree be compensated for by using alternative inputs,

which was done when there was a known change of name or when specific typos could be expected; the JSTOR search routine has an advantage over the SCI/SSCI routines of automatic data caption.

36. Only after completing my data collection did I become aware that there are two scholars by the name of Karl Pribram and, what is more, both of them are Vienna-born social scientists: psychologist Karl Harry Pribram and economist Karl Emanuel Pribram. Only the latter is included in our sample.
37. A comparative analysis of the Periodical Content Index (PCI), which covers not only English-language journals, but also many German-language journals, results in more names of non-emigrants, or of emigrants who did not go to the United States. In this context, Franz Ronneberger, Walter Ullmann, Richard Thurnwald and Kurt Blaukopf are nearer to the top forty. The PCI search, however, does not allow for distinctions to be made between different kinds of texts. As a result, busy reviewers such as Eduard Reut-Nicolussi, Otto Weinberger, Emanuel Hugo Vogel and Wladimir Eliasberg can boast rather advanced rankings.
38. Eight demographic and eleven statistic journals were included in JSTOR, but only nine sociological, ten philosophical and thirteen economic journals. Sociological journals that were not included at the time of the research are, for example, *Social Forces*, *Sociology and Social Research*, *Social Research* and a number of more recent journals such as *Social Problems*.
39. The means of the three indices are 1.1 for the citation index, 0.76 for the recognition index and only 0.34 for the publications index. Due to the weighting, the mean of the publications index is now 0.69. The standard deviation is 1.7 for the citation and the weighted publication indices and 1.4 for the recognition index.
40. The most famous user of this procedure is probably Bourdieu (cf. Bourdieu 1982; Bourdieu 1988). Current controversies among the proponents of correspondence analysis cannot be dealt with in the present context.
41. Technically speaking, variables with an inertia of < 0.15 were not taken into account. Although the data points are not shown in the diagrams, the variables were included in the computation of that space.

Chapter 5 The Radio, Adorno and the Panel

1. Cf. Dahms 1994: 150–53. With Benjamin as a co-author, Adorno wrote a report on the discussions between the logical positivists and the representatives of critical theory, reproduced in Adorno 2003a: 560ff.).
2. Handwritten copies of both telegrams in Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton 1, AGSÖ; same source for the letters quoted in the following.
3. Buxton gives a short outline of Marshall's life and career (Buxton 2003).
4. Cantril to Marshall, 27 August 1937, and DeWitt C. Poole, Director School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton, to Marshall, both in RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 271, f. 3234, RAC.
5. On some of PFL's letters bearing the letterhead of Office of Radio Research, Princeton University, there is a stamp at the bottom reading 'Please address your replies to Dr. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Research Center at the University of Newark, Newark, New Jersey', RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 271, f. 3234, RAC.
6. Cantril to Marshall, September 29, 1937, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 271, f. 3234, RAC.
7. At the beginning of December 1937, PFL met with John Dollard to discuss the 'application of his life-history work to our project', PFL to John Marshall, 7 December 1937, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 271, f. 3234, RAC.

Notes

8. PFL acknowledges it in his memoirs (Lazarsfeld 1969: 310), and others frankly said as much; see Bernard Berelson, as quoted in Morrison (Morrison 1998: 66).
9. The first letter to John Marshall, 21 October 1937, unambiguously states: 'The author [of the Vienna study on Voice and Personality], by the way, is now in this country, partly as assistant to Professor Lynd, and partly as Mrs. Lazarsfeld.' RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 271, f. 3234, RAC.
10. I could not find any previous reference to this term. Should this turn out to be another example of multiple discovery, one can at least say that PFL himself forgot his discovery, since he never again mentioned it.
11. In the memoirs, PFL notes that he had not been concerned with psychoanalysis before, which seems rather unlikely (see Fleck 1990: 226, n. 8), and that further participants were Karen Horney, Harry Stack Sullivan, John Dollard and Erich Fromm (Lazarsfeld 1969: 319–20).
12. PFL to Louis Wirth, 15 November 1937, and PFL to Fritz Redl, 'List of those to be invited to meeting Sunday, 28 November', 18 November 1937, both RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 271, f. 3234, RAC.
13. The \$20 remuneration was offered to the Chicago social scientists and to the psychoanalysts; the latter, however, were unwilling to sacrifice more than one evening for this amount (Lazarsfeld 1969: 320).
14. In November 1937, he had informed Marshall that he was preparing a 'sixty-page memorandum on the motivation of radio listening', to be completed by the end of the year, which was to serve as the 'theoretical framework for the Princeton Study'.
15. PFL Memo to Cantril and Stanton, 1 January 1938, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton Program, AGSÖ; a version in a somewhat different style, sent to Horkheimer in January 1938, is kept in the Max-Horkheimer-Archiv, Korrespondenz mit Lazarsfeld, Archivzentrum der Universität Frankfurt: 153–66; subsequent quotations from the latter.
16. In the final version of the memorandum, the first sentence reads as follows: 'But if our experiment lead to some commonly accepted standards, it may be possible to develop a panel method by which non-commercial broadcasters can maintain contact with a representative group of listeners. They can then get some ideas of the extent of and reasons for the acceptance of programs in spite of the difficulty which the average person has in expressing himself with any degree of reliability in this field' (Horkheimer Archiv, Lazarsfeld Korrespondenz: 156).
17. Marshall talk with PFL, 17 November 1937, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 271, f. 3234, RAC.
18. In a letter to PFL, John Marshall argues that, as far as he can remember, Lasswell had used this formula in public for the first time in the Communication Seminar he had organized in 1939/40, letter to PFL, 12 January 1969, RF, RG 2, s. 200 GC, f. Columbia University, RAC. For the Communication Seminar, see Morrison 1978b.
19. PFL to Stanton, 10 November 10 1937, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton V: Stanton (1936 and 1937), AGSÖ.
20. Max Horkheimer to Theodor W. Adorno, 22 October 1936 (Horkheimer 1995a: 686). In print, the dissociation is rather toned down: 'Differences in theoretical outlook come second here (in studies by specialists pertaining to issues of social research) to the elucidation of certain facts' (Horkheimer 1937).
21. Adorno 2003a: 440; cf. Wiggershaus 1986: 266. In 2010, this would be a monthly salary of \$6,000.
22. PFL Memo to Cantril and Stanton, 15 December 1937, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton, AGSÖ.
23. Alice Maier, Horkheimer's secretary of many years, remembers that he 'used to reflect very thoroughly on each word, sometimes not dictating a single word within two hours' (quoted in Wiggershaus 1986: 297).

24. In both Wiggershaus 1968 and Dahms 1994, his offer to Adorno is only seen from this point of view.
25. PFL to Adorno, 29 November 1937, Horkheimer Archiv, Lazarsfeld Korrespondenz, Blatt 181f. Same source for the following quotation.
26. Adorno to PFL, 24 January 1938, copy in: Horkheimer Archiv, Korrespondenz Adorno, f. 351. Same source for the quotations that follow.
27. Thus, the President's Review of the RF for 1939 says: 'The publication of the Princeton reports ... will test the expectation which led the Foundation to contribute toward this project, i.e., that knowledge of what radio is doing for its audience should be basic in any effort to increase still further public service' (Rockefeller Foundation 1939: 66).
28. In the course of his participation in the PRRP, Adorno sought to charge other collaborators with the empirical verification of his ideas; however, in his autobiographical text on his experiences in the United States, he reports that he had failed to win them over: 'But rather than helping me to translate my problem in research tools, of however limited a nature, he [Gerhard Wiebe, who had been assigned to him as an American musician and expert in social research] wrote a kind of protest memorandum in which he, not without a certain pathos, opposed his scientific world view to what he felt to be wild speculation on my part' (Adorno 1981: 310).
29. See Adorno 1986b: 793ff.
30. PFL to Adorno, 2 February 1938, Horkheimer Archiv, Korrespondenz Lazarsfeld: 168–9. Same source for the quotations that follow.
31. Memo PFL to Cantril and Stanton, 15 December 1937, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton, AGSÖ.
32. Memo PFL to Cantril and Stanton, 16 May 1938, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton Cantril and Stanton (1938), AGSÖ.
33. Contrary to what Wiggershaus suggests (Wiggershaus 1986: 272f.) and Dahms affirms (Dahms 1994: 240ff.), this first conflict did not put an end to their collaboration.
34. Memo from PFL to Cantril and Stanton, 7 November 1938, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton Cantril and Stanton (1938), AGSÖ.
35. PFL to Marshall, 7 November 1938, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 271, f. 3236, RAC.
36. Memo PFL to Cantril and Stanton, 8 September 1939, which included a draft of a dismissal notice for Rorty (in quite friendly wording), which PFL wanted both co-directors to read before dispatching, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton Cantril and Stanton (1939), AGSÖ.
37. Cantril to PFL, 28 March 1938, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton VI, AGSÖ.
38. Undated letter, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton I: Cantril and Stanton (1938), AGSÖ, and Horkheimer Archive, Adorno Korrespondenz: 288–95. A copy of Adorno's 161-page typescript entitled 'Memorandum. Music in Radio', of 23 June 1938, is to be found in the Paul F. Lazarsfeld Archive in Vienna, including PFL's marginal notes, quoted in detail by Dahms (Dahms 1994: 241–5).
39. Horkheimer to PFL, 12 July 1939, PFL to Horkheimer, 18 July 1939, Horkheimer Archive, Lazarsfeld Korrespondenz: 145–6.
40. Memo PFL to Cantril and Stanton, 5 February 1938, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton I: Cantril and Stanton (1938), AGSÖ.
41. Memo PFL to Cantril and Stanton, 9 June 1938, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton I: Cantril and Stanton (1938), AGSÖ.
42. PFL to Cantril, 8 August 1937, Lazarsfeld Microfilm 1, f. Princeton, AGSÖ.
43. When the book was published in 1940 by Princeton University Press, the authorship was indeed given as 'Hadley Cantril with the assistance of Herta Herzog and Hazel Gaudet'. Except for a footnote, PFL does not refer to the dissent on authorship in his memoir (Lazarsfeld 1969: 313, n. 54).

44. Cantril's letter of 26 January 1939 is extensively quoted without a further source in Morrison (Morrison 1976: 217–18) and, more succinctly, in Rogers (Rogers 1994: 279), who gives Columbia University's Butler Library as the source. Morrison also mentions that the only question PFL refused to answer in his interviews with him was the one pertaining to the reason for his split-up with Cantril. The FBI file on PFL includes several statements: Hadley Cantril and other colleagues were interviewed on PFL by the FBI and were very outspoken on his behaviour towards women. Although as a rule the FBI obliterated the names of its informants or respondents, there is at least one document (dated 18 June 1951) where Cantril is explicitly cited: 'Dr. Hadley Cantril stated that in 1938 [redacted] and he had a dinner engagement with the applicant and [redacted] and were to meet at the applicant's apartment a little before Mr. Cantril. Applicant put his arm around [redacted] and "his hands started to roam."' And so on. What this has to do with PFL's loyalty to the United States, explicitly confirmed by Cantril, is anybody's guess. Cantril's characterization of PFL as a 'Viennese Romeo', however, which is also recorded, is interesting at least for the biographically minded. I thank Professor Mike Keen of Indiana University, South Bend, for letting me have a copy of PFL's FBI file.
45. 'Final Report' in RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC.
46. Marshall to PFL, telegram, 16 March 1939, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC, as quoted by Morrison 1998: 79.
47. The choice of a commercial publisher, which promised to reach a larger public, is likely to have also given some satisfaction to PFL, since Cantril's *Invasion From Mars* had been published by his own university press (Lazarsfeld 1969: 329, n. 79).
48. PFL felt obliged to include a footnote on the problem of reanalysis in his introduction: 'It should be stressed that the re-analysis of a study made by another agency is not at all equivalent to quoting a published result. Such an analysis may be as laborious as the original, and may be more difficult because the material has been collected for other purposes. Refined means of analysis, which would have been unnecessary if the field work had been done for the immediate problem in question, must sometimes be used. The difference is merely financial, inasmuch as the field work does not have to be paid for again. Wherever such a re-analysis is reported here, therefore, the reader will have to dissociate the responsibility for the field work, which lies with the co-operating agency, from the responsibility for the analysis and interpretation, which rests with the Office of Radio Research' (Lazarsfeld 1940: xvii, n. 3).
49. In a way, this brings to mind Pierre Bourdieu's theory of differential endowment with capital, where the underlying idea similarly postulates relations of exchange among different types of capital (Bourdieu 1982).
50. Only the sub-studies that had been conducted in collaboration with a book club included a four-step classification based on an index that aggregated several variables.
51. Given the format of 'Who Wants to be a Millionaire?', which is part of television programming in many countries today, the topicality of this study seem unbroken.
52. Adorno told his parents that on 1 November 1939, he was scheduled to report 'on my Music study, in the project, before a number of representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation' and asks them to 'keep fingers crossed' for him (Adorno 2003b: 41).
53. Besides Robert Havighurst and the director of the Humanities Branch of the RF, David H. Stevens, PFL had considered inviting Lynd, Lasswell and the English Anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer (who had been charged by Marshall to read, and comment on, the radio book) as potential guests, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 223, f. 2672, RAC. On the Communication Research Seminar cf. Morrison 1978b.
54. There seem to be different versions since in Lazarsfeld (Lazarsfeld 1940: 181–2, n. 31) there is a quotation from a manuscript by Adorno similarly entitled 'Elements of a

- Social Critique of Radio Music', which is not included in the version that I used, found in the RF archives. A later publication is Adorno 1945.
55. This study is mentioned by Lazarsfeld (Lazarsfeld 1940: 113).
 56. Adorno to Benjamin, 13 September 1937: 'This also ... spares you certain things such as ... reading articles by Neurath and Lazarsfeld' (Adorno 1994: 273).
 57. This perspective was not alien to the one adopted by PFL; in a 1948 text that has since become canonical (Katz 2003: 12–38), PFL and Merton proposed a phrasing that was rather close to Adorno's axioms, namely that, 'mass media undoubtedly serve many social functions which might become the object of sustained research'.
 58. PFL to RF, 22 December 1939, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3242, RAC.
 59. PFL to Marshall, 27 December 1939, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3242, RAC.
 60. Emphasis added.
 61. 'Plugging' was the term used for the selection of the music to be broadcasted and for the influence the record companies tried to bring to bear on this selection. See Adorno's version (Adorno 1941b: 27).
 62. Gorer memorandum to Marshall, 2 January 1940; Siepmann to Marshall, 12 December 1940, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC.
 63. Marshall memorandum, 5 January 1940, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC.
 64. PFL to Marshall, 13 March 1940, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 222, f. 2661, RAC.
 65. PFL to his parents, 3 March 1940 (Adorno 2003b: 69). The musical education programme seems actually not to have materialized as soon as that, but in the spring of 1940 Adorno apparently gave 'introductory lectures to the modern concerts of this station' (Adorno 2003b: 81). The manuscripts underlying these lectures can be assumed to be those published in the collection of his complete works, Adorno 1984.
 66. Marshall, 'Memo Dr. Theodore Adorno', 19 June 1941, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC; handwritten approval of this procedure by Marshall's boss Stevens, cf. Morrison 1976: 308.
 67. Eisler benefited from long-term support by Marshall's Division, Marshall, 'Diary', RAC.
 68. Adorno's three biographers all belong to the latter type, since they published voluminous studies for his centennial, though these were exclusively based on material provided by people more or less close to Adorno: Claussen 2003; Jäger 2003; and Müller-Doohm 2003. For a 'Theorie der Halbbildung' (Theory of Semi-Education), see Adorno's 1959 essay under this title (Adorno 1972b: 96–7).
 69. PFL to Bernard Bailyn, 7 February 1968, Lazarsfeld Papers, b. 1A, Columbia University.
 70. Cf. Geertz 1988. In doing so, Adorno repeatedly loses his geographical bearings, for instance when he alternately refers to the United States with 'here' and 'over there'.
 71. Both were PRRP collaborators, and both were secretaries only for a certain time. Rose Kohn Goldsen later became a professor at Cornell University, and Eunice Cooper, who assisted Adorno with more than just secretarial work (see Table 5.1), later collaborated on the 'Studies in Prejudice' (see Chapter Six).
 72. 'The Frankfurt school has played a considerable role in recent student protests. Perhaps it is worthwhile to listen to the way the debate sounded in a more detached context' (Lazarsfeld 1972: x).
 73. Adorno had used this term previously in *The Authoritarian Personality*, in the slightly modified form of 'administrative ideology', for characterizing Nazi scientists such as Erich Jaensch (Adorno *et al.* 1950: 748, n. 1), and, later, with a positive connotation, in an article on the state of German sociology in 1959 ('Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der deutschen Soziologie', in Adorno 1972c: 506) and, ironically, in Adorno 1976: 182.
 74. See Adorno's letters to his parents of 22 January 1942 and 12 February 1942 (Adorno 2003b: 126–9).

Notes

75. PFL to Marshall, 9 June 1941 and 17 June 1941, containing the enclosures, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC. In a letter to Horkheimer, Adorno tells him of this invitation, calls the editor an 'East European Jew and busybody who has the advantage of not pretending to any expert knowledge whatsoever', and reports that he would be made an associate director, which 'would be rather favorable for a number of things, especially in California'. The greater work he shared with Horkheimer, however, would not suffer from this.
76. 'Marshall Interview with Dr. Theodore [!] Adorno', 19 June 1941. PFL had suggested granting Adorno \$3,000, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC. Later, Marshall could not recall ever having objected to Adorno, but gave 1938 as the date of the refusal. John Marshall to PFL, 12 January 1969, RF, RG 2, s. 200 GC, f. Columbia University, RAC. \$1,000 is about \$15,200 in 2010.
77. PFL to Marshall, 29 February 1940, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC.
78. The proposal was also submitted to the RF, see PFL to Marshall, 18 June 1940, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC.
79. Marshall interview with PFL, 26 June 1944, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 222, f. 2666, RAC.
80. In his final report on the Princeton phase and the first one-and-a-half years of the Columbia phase of the Radio Research Project, Marshall erroneously gives June 1940 as the date of the appointment, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC.
81. The first account was given by journalist Morton Hunt, who published it in the same year as part of a portrait of Merton (Hunt 1961). Morrison (Morrison 1976: 229–34) could also rely on interviews with PFL (identically in Morrison 1998: 87–8; see also Merton 1998). MacIver briefly refers to the affair in his autobiography (MacIver 1968: 141); on his role in the department, see Halas 2001.
82. Lazarsfeld thought that a letter of recommendation from Stouffer had been of great importance (Lazarsfeld 1969: 301). It seems doubtful, however, that the latter's word would have been able to convince the sceptics, since it was known that Stouffer and PFL were friends. MacIver apparently had temporarily entertained the idea of giving the position to a member of the Frankfurt School (Wiggershaus 1986: 312).
83. In the interview that Morrison conducted with PFL, which he quotes at length in his doctoral thesis, PFL claims to have received only \$4,500 (Morrison 1976: 229).
84. 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences' (Thomas and Thomas 1928: 572). For the context in which this theorem was formulated, and for elucidating why this theorem is attributed only to W.I. Thomas and not also to Dorothy Thomas, see Merton 1995a.
85. See the classical article by Merton (Merton 1936).
86. Virtually all the manuscripts of his lectures that have been preserved begin with an anecdote aimed at disarming the public, expounding on his accent and his role as an outsider. In most cases, PFL would say that he had not arrived here with the *Mayflower*, as everybody could hear.
87. In the spring of 1941, the two of them had many talks to this effect, see notes in RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, f. 2662 and 266, RAC.
88. Marshall, interview with Robert Lynd, 21 April 1941, RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 222, f. 2663, RAC.
89. RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 272, f. 3243, RAC. Same source for the quotations that follow.
90. The BASR bibliography (Barton 1977) does not specify the titles that were published with PFL as an editor but had not been written within the PRRP, ORR or BASR.
91. File 1. 1. 230 Lazarsfeld, University Archives, Columbiana Library, Columbia University, Low Memorial Library. \$25,000 is about \$370,000 in 2010.
92. PFL to Cantril and Stanton, 5 December 1938, Lazarsfeld Microfilm, f. Princeton II: Stanton, AGSÖ; Lazarsfeld 1969: 328. Similarly, the correspondence accompanying

the protracted genesis of the study conducted by Komarovsky contains indications that PFL's role was not only that of a project supervisor: PFL to Pollock, 26 January 1938, Horkheimer Archiv, Lazarsfeld Korrespondenz: 172.

93. Personal communication by Robert K. Merton, New York.

94. RF, RG 1.1, s. 200, b. 222, f. 2666, RAC.

Chapter 6 The History of an Appropriation

1. Lazarsfeld could not know that, at the same time, Adorno suggested to Horkheimer 'to let Lazarsfeld have the Journal, for trash, fillers, and success' as long as they could be sure that the contributions of the members of the Institute were published. Adorno to Horkheimer, 30 July 1941 (Horkheimer 1996a: 112).
2. For a detailed description of Horkheimer's film projects, see Koch 1992.
3. Horkheimer to Franz Bischofswerder, 25 October 1939 (Horkheimer 1995b: 652); Horkheimer to Franz Neumann, 13 August 1941 (Horkheimer 1996a: 125ff). For the Warburg dynasty, cf. Chernow 1994.
4. Horkheimer's notorious ambivalence is expressed in a letter to Löwenthal: 'If the Committee would give us \$50,000, it could expect us to expand our activities and an extended stay of mine in New York. But for \$10,000 ... it can expect nothing but a careful work [in contrast to Neumann's outline] and a religious adherence to the budget.' Horkheimer to Leo Löwenthal, 31 October 1942 (Horkheimer 1996a: 370).
5. 'Memorandum on a Research Project on Anti-Semitism prepared for the American Jewish Committee by the Institute of Social Research', RG 347.17.12, AJC Records, Gen – 12, b. 58: Institute of Social Research, YIVO. Same source for following quotation, cf. Horkheimer 1941.
6. David Rosenblum to Frederick Pollock, 3 March 1943, AJC Records, b. 58: Institute of Social Research, YIVO.
7. Memorandum A.G. Duker to Mr Trager, 18 November 1942, AJC Records, b. 17: Studies in Prejudice, YIVO.
8. David Rosenblum to Frederick Pollock, 3 March 1943, AJC Records, b. 58: Institute of Social Research, YIVO.
9. Horkheimer to Neumann, 13 August 1941 (Horkheimer 1996a: 125–7).
10. At any rate, Adorno more than once reported with enthusiasm on the 'Jewish project', or 'my project', to his parents, as well as on the fact that 'we take great care to be on good terms with our Jewish bigwigs' (Adorno 2003b: 186–9).
11. Horkheimer to Herbert Marcuse, 14 July 1943 (Horkheimer 1996a: 463). In this letter, Horkheimer also mentions that he had been reading up on the 'silly psychological literature'; he did not believe in psychology – this term, for him, was an equivalent 'for anthropology and anthropology for the theory of man'.
12. Frederick Pollock to Richard C. Rothschild, 9 August 1943, AJC Records, b. 58: Institute of Social Research, YIVO. Rothschild had succeeded to David Rosenblum, deceased in the summer of 1943 as Director of Research of the AJC.
13. Horkheimer to Morris D. Waldman, 30 December 1943, Supplement, AJC Records, b. 58: 2: Institute of Social Research, YIVO. Reprinted in Horkheimer 1996a: 520–22. Same source for the quotations that follow.
14. In a letter to his parents, Adorno reports that while in the 'some 150 pages of the typescript on anti-Semitism, very little is said ... on anti-Semitism in the stricter sense, I have as systematically as possible described all the typical tricks and feints of fascist propaganda, and categorized them by keywords, so they can be ... easily identified and be done with' (Adorno 2003b: 225).

Notes

15. The results of the survey as reported in Cantril (Cantril 1978: 384–5) suggest, at any rate, that in the United States, anti-Semitism was less strong in the Western regions than at the East Coast, but more common in the bigger cities than in rural communities (cf. Dinnerstein 1994).
16. Horkheimer to Pollock, 19 November 1943 (Horkheimer 1996a: 499).
17. As late as 1966, Adorno still wanted 'to study those who were guilty of Auschwitz, using all the methods that science can provide, specifically subjecting them to many years of psychoanalysis ... in order to bring to light, if possible, how a human being comes to be like this ... it may then be possible to come to a number of practical conclusions to make sure that this will never happen again', 'Erziehung nach Auschwitz' (1966), in Adorno (1971).
18. Pollock to AJC, 14 June 1944, AJC Records, b. 58: Institute of Social Research, YIVO; clues to the deficiencies of the working papers are in Horkheimer 1996a.
19. See the thirty-nine-page typescript by Else Frenkel-Brunswik, in: AJC Records, b. 18: Studies in Prejudice, YIVO. This was, most likely, 'Some personality factors in anti-Semitism' (later published, under the same title, in *Journal of Psychology*, 1945, 20: 271–91); see Else Frenkel-Brunswik Papers, Signatur 25/4, AGSÖ.
20. On 30 November 1943, the new Executive Director of the AJC, John Slawson, thanked Pollock for his letter explaining the issues at stake in the Anti-Semitism Project, AJC records, b. 58: Institute of Social Research, YIVO.
21. Sonnert and Holton report that the second generation of Jewish immigrants from Central Europe excelled its counterparts from Eastern Europe. They explain these differences in occupational and related successes with regard to differences in their furnishings with cultural capital (Sonnert and Holton 2006).
22. Myrdal's study that had been commissioned by the Carnegie Corporation and was first published in 1944 under the title *An American Dilemma*, immediately meeting with a lively response (Myrdal 1962; cf. Turner and Turner 1990; Turner 2001).
23. AJC records, b. 17: Scapegoats and Stereotypes, YIVO.
24. Horkheimer to Slawson, 10 June 1944, AJC records, b. 58: Institute of Social Research, YIVO. This sum is the equivalent of \$1.2 million in 2010.
25. AJC records, General 12, alphabetical files 1933–162, Horkheimer, Dr. Max, YIVO.
26. Horkheimer to Adorno, 13 November 1944 (Horkheimer 1996a: 604).
27. Horkheimer, as recorded in the 'Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Scientific Research, 24 January 1945, AJC records, b. 23: Advisory Committee, YIVO.
28. Horkheimer to Adorno, 13 November 1944 (Horkheimer 1996a: 604).
29. 'Report of the Department of Scientific Research and Program Evaluation' (probably written in the summer of 1947), AJC, AJC records, b. 24: Reports 45–8, YIVO.
30. Memorandum, Max Horkheimer to John Slawson, 22 May 1947, AJC Gen – 12, b. 57: Horkheimer, Max, YIVO.
31. This is also quite manifest in the list of the institute's collaborators as presented in its publication *Ten Years on Morningside Heights: A Report on the Institute's History 1934 to 1944*: the only remaining members now were Adorno, Horkheimer, Löwenthal, Pollock, Felix Weil and Karl A. Wittfogel, as well as Research Associates Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Arkadij Gurland, K. Wilhelm Kapp, Daniel Levinson, Paul Massing and Josef Soudek, and Consultants Herta Herzog and R. Nevitt Sanford. Kirchheimer, Marcuse and Neumann were 'in Government Service'. Collaborators of the first Anti-Semitism Project, such as Langerhans, are not included in the list (Institute of Social Research 1945).
32. In a letter to Flowerman, Horkheimer instructs him that, 'in order to avoid confusion, you address any correspondence concerning our West Coast projects either to him [i.e. Adorno] or myself', 17 November 1945, AJC records, b. 23: Horkheimer, Dr. Max AD 45–48, YIVO.

33. Horkheimer to Löwenthal, 6 February 1946 (Horkheimer 1996a: 695).
34. Memorandum, Flowerman to Horkheimer: 'Relationship between Dr. Horkheimer and Dept. of Scientific Research', 20 January 1948, AJC records, b. 23: Horkheimer, Dr. Max, YIVO.
35. He much later claimed that his wife had been unable, for health reasons, to tolerate the New York climate and that it was for her sake that they had moved to California, Horkheimer, 'Additional Remarks on my Stay in Germany in the years 1950 to 1962', AJC records, Gen – 12, b. 57: Horkheimer, Max, YIVO.
36. 'Meeting of the Committee on Scientific Research', 4 February 1946, AJC records, b. 23: Advisory Committee, YIVO.
37. In a letter to Löwenthal, 24 July 1944, Horkheimer expressed the hope that the institute would later profit from what Löwenthal would learn in the BASR (Horkheimer 1996a: 565).
38. Personal communication by Daniel Bell, Cambridge, MA, September 1993.
39. In his letters, Horkheimer speaks disparagingly of Lewin. This also shows that he saw Lewin as a rival. Horkheimer to Adorno, 24 November 1944 (Horkheimer 1996a: 607).
40. For detailed information on the film project, see Koch 1992.
41. As late as in 1949, Lazarsfeld argued that this project had only been postponed (Lazarsfeld and Stanton 1949: xviii).
42. Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Scientific Research, 22 February 1945, AJC records, b. 23: Advisory Committee, YIVO.
43. In October 1942, Horkheimer once again estimated the costs at 'no less than \$100,000', 'Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Scientific Research', 24 October 1945, AJC records, b. 23: Advisory Committee, YIVO.
44. 'Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Scientific Research', 22 February 1945, AJC records, b. 23: Advisory Committee, YIVO.
45. 'Minutes AJC Meeting of the Scientific Advisory Council', 3 November 1945, AJC records, b. 23: Committee on Scientific Research, YIVO.
46. Jahoda to Lazarsfeld, 12 December 1945; same wording in the letters to all the other six members of the original Advisory Committee, AJC records, b. 23: Committee on Scientific Research, YIVO.
47. Jahoda to Horkheimer, 21 November 1945 (Horkheimer 1996a: 668).
48. Horkheimer to Jahoda, 28 November 1945 (Horkheimer 1996a: 675–6).
49. Löwenthal to Horkheimer, 3 December 1945 (Horkheimer 1996a: 682).
50. See letters to and by Jahoda in Max Horkheimer Archiv, Korrespondenz Jahoda: 166–79. In his autobiographical text that was published posthumously, Shils is even more severe, accusing the authors of TAP of having been 'favorably disposed to totalitarian ideology' (Shils 2006: 91).
51. AJC records, Gen 10, b. 20: f. Finances, YIVO.
52. Else Frenkel-Brunswik Papers, AGSÖ Signature 25/5.
53. For a contemporary overview, see Allport 1935.
54. In an interview in 1992, Levinson is unequivocal about this: 'See, what Nevitt and I did was more standard academic psychology' (Levinson 1992).
55. Horkheimer to Marcuse, 17 July 1943 (Horkheimer 1996a: 463–4).
56. 'He [Horkheimer] said, if you wanna do a project we'll pay for it, if Adorno was in it' (Levinson 1992).
57. Horkheimer's idea of the methodological utility of these indirect instruments, however, was rather strange: 'If any indirect questionnaire is used with any social group, we must assure ourselves that the indirect questionnaire indeed measures anti-Semitism in this group. Therefore, there must always be a sufficient

- number of intensive or at least abbreviated interviews with members of the group. This will enable us to compare the correlations between these interviews and interviews in other social groups with the correlations between the results obtained by the indirect questionnaire in the first group with the results obtained by the indirect questionnaire with any second group. If we do not constantly control our findings through the indirect questionnaire by this or other methods, the results will certainly not be recognized as scientific.’ Horkheimer to Adorno, 11 October 1945 (Horkheimer 1996a: 661–2).
58. Memorandum from Adorno ‘re: case interviews and typology’, AJC records, b. 18: Berkeley study: interviews 44–5, YIVO.
 59. To his parents, Adorno explained his work as follows: ‘Typology literally means the theory of types, and it is understood to be the division of a field or a group of individuals according to prevalent types. Mine, thus, is a listing of the basic psychological types of anti-Semites’ (Adorno 2003b: 334).
 60. Horkheimer to Adorno, 11 October 1945, AJC records, b. 18: Berkeley study: interviews 44–5, YIVO, reprinted in Horkheimer 1996a: 656–8.
 61. In a long-winded footnote, Adorno then criticized Jaensch from yet another point of view, arguing that the latter had defined the anti-type by its tendency to synesthetics. Apprehending sounds when looking at pictures and vice versa was a characteristic sign of decadence, in particular in Baudelaire. Wasn’t it typical for the Nazis to choose someone as their arch-enemy whose entire attitude was characterized by ‘rebellion against stereotypy’? Reversing an *ad hominem* argument into a *pro hominem* argument, however, is not yet an objective justification.
 62. ‘Memorandum to Berkeley group from Adorno re: book plan’, 2 October 1946, AJC records, b. 18: Studies in Prejudice, YIVO, emphasis in the original.
 63. Interview with Marie Jahoda, 11 November 1992, interviewers: Hans-Joachim Dahms and Christian Fleck, AGSÖ; parts of this interview were published in Dahms 1996.
 64. Sanford to Slawson, 31 January 1946 and 8 February 1946. The second letter, stressing that Slawson should by no means take his first letter to say that there was any opposition between the Berkeley group and the institute, was presumably written due to an intervention by Horkheimer, AJC records, b. 58: Institute of Social Research, YIVO.
 65. Horkheimer to Löwenthal, 6 February 1946 (Horkheimer 1996a: 694).
 66. Horkheimer to Else Frenkel-Brunswik, 4 April 1946, AJC records, b. 18: Studies in Prejudice, YIVO.
 67. Flowerman to Horkheimer, 14 December 1949, AJC records, b. 20: Studies in Prejudice, YIVO. The reviews referred to in the letter are: a review by Carey McWilliams of Löwenthal and Guterman’s *Prophets of Deceit*, and a review by Thomas Mann, at Horkheimers’ request, of Massing’s *Rehearsal of Destruction*, both published in the *New York Times Literary Supplement*. In the same year, McWilliams published *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America*, and a note in the *American Sociological Review* announced the reopening of the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, with reference to the work done in exile.
 68. Horkheimer to Adorno, 29 December 1949 (Horkheimer 1996b: 82).
 69. Horkheimer to Flowerman, 9 January 1950, AJC records, b. 20: Studies in Prejudice, YIVO. Cf. Horkheimer to Slawson, 2 February 1950 (Horkheimer 1996b: 95).
 70. The roots of this legend can be traced back to Max Horkheimer’s writings.
 71. Horkheimer to Marc Vosk, 7 April 1953, AJC records, Gen – 10, b. 20, f. German version, YIVO.

Chapter 7 Reconnaissance Expeditions, Reconstruction Support and the Rare Return

1. Havighurst wrote two reports on this: 'Report, November 1947', and 'Recommendations for Program in Germany and Austria, November 1948', both in RF, RG 1.2, s. 700, b. 11, f. 95 and 96, RAC.
2. Philip E. Mosley (1905–72), Ph.D. Harvard, 1933, professor of history at Cornell University between 1936 and 1942, worked at the State Department until 1942; after that, professor of international relations and director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University; worked for the Rockefeller Foundation between 1947 and 1951; and, later, had an important role in the Council on Foreign Relations.
3. Norman S. Buchanan (1905–58), Ph.D. Cornell, 1931, Canada-born economist, was a professor at Cornell, Colgate University, University of California, and a guest professor at Columbia University before being appointed, in 1947, associate director of the Social Sciences Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. From 1950 onward, he was again a professor at the University of California.
4. Even earlier, John D. Rockefeller III had visited Europe, as had, in the beginning of 1947, another RF emissary. Both wrote reports on their visits, which however dealt with educational institutions rather than the social sciences.
5. Buchanan obviously referred to the consequences of the so-called Second Control Agreement enacted by the four powers, which significantly facilitated Austrian governmental action.
6. Buchanan, 'Diary', 11–16 July 1947, RAC.
7. Lowie 1954 contained some remarks on the particularities of Austrian national character.
8. Robert J. Havighurst, 'Report 1947', RF, RG 1.1, s. 700, b. 11, f. 96, RAC: 62. Same source for the quotations that follow.
9. Robert S. Morison, 'Memorandum re: Germany', 20 November 1947, RF, RG 1.2., s. 700, b. 10, f. 83, RAC. Same source for the quotations that follow.
10. For instance in Buchanan, 'Diary', 11–15 July 1947, where he described the assistant of the head of the USFA Education Department as having 'moderate capacity but probably hard-working'.
11. Lowie was similarly disconcerted by this obsession with titles (Lowie 1954: 77–9).
12. Warren Weaver (1894–1978), Ph.D. University of Wisconsin, 1922, professor of mathematics, was offered the post of a director of the RF Division of Natural Sciences in 1932, which he held until 1955 when he became Vice-President of the Rockefeller Foundation. During his time at the RF, he rendered great service to the advancement of molecular engineering. See his autobiography (Weaver 1970) and the article by Kohler (Kohler 1976).
13. Joseph H. Willits (1889–1979), Ph.D. University of Pennsylvania, 1916, from 1921 professor at the Department of Industrial Relations of this university, later Dean at Wharton School of Finance and Commerce; director of the Division of Social Sciences at the Rockefeller Foundation between 1939 and 1954 (cf. Stapleton 2003).
14. Willits, 'Memorandum RF and Germany', 24 November 1947, RF, RG 1.2., s. 700, b. 10, f. 85, RAC.
15. Weaver, 'RF, Germany, and WW', 1 December 1947, RF, RG 1.2., s. 700, b. 10, f. 85, RAC. Same source for the quotations that follow.
16. Lowie reported 'constantly encountered bitterly references' which he had already been confronted with during his field studies in Germany in 1950/51 (Lowie 1954: 348; cf. Gerhardt 2005).

Notes

17. See Lederer 1995; Speier 2007; cf. Horkheimer *et al.* 1981.
18. Staley pointed out that, in the first years, only a marginal part was dedicated to support for research projects, and argued that until 1950, the RF acted as an extension of the occupation authorities, not (re-) engaging in the promotion of science until later (Staley 1995).
19. 'Rehabilitation Program', RF, RG 1.2, s. 700, b. 10, RAC.
20. Havighurst, 'Diary', 20 September 1948, RF, RG 1.2, s. 700, b. 11, f. 92, RAC.
21. Havighurst, 'Diary', 23 September 1948, RF, RG 1.2, s. 700, b. 11, f. 92, RAC.
22. Edward Francis D'Arms (1904–91), Ph.D. Princeton University, 1936, Rhodes Scholar in England, from 1932 onwards, chairs in ancient philology at Vassar College, NY, the University of Minnesota, the University of Colorado, head of the Education and Religious Policy Division of the US War Department in 1946, between 1947 and 1957 assistant director of the Division of Humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation, associate director as of 1950, from 1957 onwards, at the Ford Foundation, charged with the Humanities and Arts Programme.
23. D'Arms 'Diary', 17 November 1947, RAC.
24. Havighurst, 'Recommendations IX', 3, RF, RG 1.2, s. 700, b. 11, f. 95, RAC.
25. Willits, 'Diary', 1 March 1951, RAC.
26. It may have contributed to the failure of the book project that Hughes, as an illustration of his approach, provided the editor with a chapter entitled 'Innocent abroad, 1948 or How to behave in occupied Germany'. The editor misconstrued the text as a moral treatise on guilt and forgiveness. Everett C. Hughes Collection, b. 100, f. 6 and 7, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Department of Special Collections. The trial chapter was published in 1948 in a journal by the name of *Christian Century*. I owe this reference – as well as a number of others – to the masters thesis of Dirk Raith (Raith 1999).
27. Hughes, 'Germany Memorandum 1948', Hughes Collection, b. 100, f. 1.
28. Hughes, 'Frankfurt Diary', 12 April 1948, Hughes Collection.
29. Hughes, 'Memorandum on university, students', Hughes Collection, b. 100, f. 5.
30. Hughes, 'Diary', 14 April 1948, Hughes Collection.
31. Hughes, 'Diary', 4 May 1948, Hughes Collection.
32. Lowie reported similar experiences with shy Germans (Lowie 1959).
33. Hughes, 'Diary', 25 May 1948, Hughes Collection.
34. Hughes, 'Diary', 18 July 1948, Hughes Collection.
35. Hughes, 'Memorandum on university', Hughes Collection, b. 100, f. 4.
36. Hughes, 'Diary', 2 April 1948, Hughes Collection.
37. Hughes, 'Diary', 25 May 1948, Hughes Collection.
38. Hughes, 'Memorandum on proposed Mss. on Germany', Hughes Collection b. 100, f. 6.
39. That the paper was never published may also have to do with a characteristic of Hughes's which he later explained in a letter to his friend David Riesman: writing field notes was so important for him that he later tended to forget, as often as not, to rework them into a regular academic publication. David Riesman Papers, correspondence with Everett C. Hughes, Harvard Archives.
40. 'Memorandum on Conditions and Needs of the University of Vienna', F.A. Hayek to Henry Ford II, 12 February 1955, copy under Grant number 63–193, Microfilm reel 2574, Archive of the Ford Foundation (FF) (cf. Fleck 2000).
41. Peter R. Hofstätter, Walter Toman and Slatko Zagoroff, a Bulgarian. Two other postwar emigrants, economist Louise Sommer, who worked in Switzerland, and former concentration camp prisoner Roman Rosdolsky, left Europe.

42. Since even late homecomers could have a decisive impact, as was the case for Paul Neurath with respect to statistics in sociology, the local backwardness of the home countries is only further emphasized.
43. If one restricts the analysis to those who were still alive during the Nazi period, the median age was forty-six years for a regular (German or Austrian) professorship and forty-seven years for the position of a (US) full professor.
44. Hayek, 'Report on visits to Austria and Switzerland, July and August 1948', RF 1.1, series 700, b. 2, f. 15, RAC.
45. The Kaiser-Wilhelm- (later: Max-Planck-) Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht (Institute for International Law) was transferred to Heidelberg; the Institute for German History was refounded in Göttingen, in 1956, as Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte (Max Planck Institute for History); and the Institut für ausländisches und internationales Privatrecht (Institute for Foreign and International Private Law), having been evacuated to Tübingen in 1944, was re-established in Hamburg in 1956.
46. Her doctoral thesis was published soon afterwards as 'Die Selbstverwaltung der Gefangenen' (Auto-administration among prisoners) (1927), *Hamburgische Schriften zur gesamten Strafrechtswissenschaft*, vol. 12, Mannheim: Bensheimer.
47. Biographical information based on Liepmann's Fellowship Card, RF, RAC.

Chapter 8 Red Threads

1. This includes the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Great Britain (Maddison 2001: 185).
2. Between 1880 and 1913, the US part of worldwide industrial production doubled, rising from 15 per cent to 32 per cent. Index figures for the total industrial power of the states in question highlight the fast rise of the United States. In 1900, the figure was 100 for Great Britain and, even then, 128 for the United States, while the figures for the other powers were: 71 for Germany, 47 for Russia, 37 for Austria, 26 for Austro-Hungary, 14 for Italy and 13 for Japan. Hardly one decade later, at the beginning of the First World War, Germany had reached 138 and had thus outperformed Great Britain (127), but the United States figure was 298 even then (57 for France, 77 for Russia, 41 for Austro-Hungary, 22 for Italy, 25 for Japan (Kennedy 1989: 311).
3. Those concerned about national pride might of course insist that the two persons identified as 'Austrians' in the present context, Charlotte Bühler and Oskar Morgenstern, were Germans by birth and, in the case of Bühler, had even done the major part of her training in Germany; against this view, I can only point out that the attribution to the two German-language cultures has in the present context been based on their residence at the time or, as the case may be, on the time they stayed in one or the other of these countries.