

Philanthropic American Foundations and German Social Sciences in the Inter-War Period

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The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM) and the Social Science Division of the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) supported by considerable means the development of German social sciences in the inter-war-period. In my doctoral dissertation¹ I analyze the institutional support received by several German universities and institutes and the fellowships awarded to German social scientists between 1924 and the beginning of the Second World War. The Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), Sleepy Hollow, preserves important archival material about these activities. During my research stay in the summer of 2010, I primarily consulted the records in LSRM, Series 3.06, the RF files dealing with Germany (RF, RG. 1.1, series 717), the records about the European fellowship program in RG 1.2, 100 ES International and the diary of the RF officer John Van Sickle (RG 12.1 Diaries). The consultation of these records allowed me to make significant progress in my dissertation project.

The LSRM, established in 1918 in memory of John D. Rockefeller Sr.'s wife, began in 1922, under the direction of Beardsley Ruml,² to concentrate its action on research in the social sciences and public administration. During Ruml's directorship (1922-1929), the LSRM distributed approximately twenty million dollars for social science research in the United States and Europe.³ Ruml's aim was to promote practically useful research and empirical methods to understand the "real" problems of contemporary society.⁴ He explained that the LSRM should especially treat problems that arose "in connection with the tendency of human beings to associate (or dissociate)."⁵ The LSRM favored the disciplines of

sociology, economics and political sciences, but also supported projects in psychology, anthropology, history and geography. Major European centers, such as London, Oxford, Paris and Berlin were assisted in particular, as well as a larger number of secondary centers that specialized in a single type of social science research. In 1929, the LSRM was integrated into the Rockefeller Foundation.⁶ The RF's Social Science Division continued most of the LSRM's work and encouraged national and international programs of cooperative research dealing with economic stabilization, international relations, world organization and public administration.⁷

1. The LSRM's fellowship program in Germany, 1924-1928

In 1923, the LSRM began to think about the establishment of a fellowship program for European researchers in the social sciences. The LSRM aimed to contribute to the development of the social sciences by giving young scholars the opportunity for advanced training. From the beginning, the German social sciences, intellectually isolated since the First World War,⁸ were included in the program. Two American professors, John J. Coss of Columbia University and Frank Aydelotte of Swarthmore College, were sent to Europe to examine the possibilities of setting up a fellowship program.⁹ In Germany, Coss' principal interlocutor was Friedrich Schmidt-Ott, former Prussian Minister of Education and co-founder, in 1920, of the *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft*,¹⁰ an association that organized the financial support of scientific research in Germany. In his report, Coss emphasized the "present emergency in the development of the next generation of scholars"¹¹ in Germany and recommended the appointments of fellows beginning in September 1924.

In December 1924, the LSRM Trustees approved the establishment of the European fellowship program. The first countries associated with the program were Great Britain, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria. One year later, the program was enlarged to include Italy, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Australia and New Zealand. In the 1930s

other countries from Eastern Europe were added. Fellowships were exclusively designated for research in the United States at the beginning, but appointments in other areas became possible in 1925. Economics, political sciences and sociology were the main disciplines considered, but in exceptional cases fellowships were also awarded to candidates in philosophy, geography, law and education.¹²

The fellows, after having already shown their ability to conduct original research, were to develop a specific research project. In the eyes of the RF's officers, the selected fellows offered promise of future leaders in their respective fields. Another condition was the definite intention to return to their countries of origin following the fellowship.¹³ In most cases, the fellows received a grant of \$ 1800 per year and the reimbursement of travel expenses. The fellowships generally lasted one or two years with the possibility of a one-year extension. Non-anglophone researchers could stay three to four months at the beginning of their fellowship at the London School of Economics to take part in English language courses.

The European candidates were not selected directly by the LSRM,¹⁴ but by a Fellowship Advisory Committee in Great Britain and Germany and by Fellowship Advisers in the other countries. The German Committee was composed of five German professors under the direction of Friedrich Schmidt-Ott. August Wilhelm Fehling was appointed secretary and became the RF's most important contact in Germany.¹⁵ Fehling spent the summer of 1924 in the U.S. as a guest of the LSRM. He visited several American universities and became acquainted with LSRM officers in New York. In the following years, the German Committee met once a year to preselect the candidates. The final decisions were made by LSRM trustees in New York. During the period of the LSRM's administration of the fellowship program from 1924 to 1928, a total of 178 fellowships were awarded in the social sciences,¹⁶ twenty-five of them to Germans. Only England sent more fellows (fifty-three) during those years. The first four German fellows were selected in 1925. In 1926, seven Germans were chosen,

in 1927 six and in 1928 eight. Most of them received fellowships for the United States, sometimes including a short stay in England. Three fellows stayed only in Great Britain.¹⁷

Nearly one half of the German social scientists (11 out of 25) were economists, three were sociologists and three historians.¹⁸ Most of the fellows came from social sciences faculties or institutes in Berlin, Kiel and Hamburg.

In January 1928, the LSRM invited all European Fellowship Advisers to a meeting in Paris to discuss the principles of the fellowship program.¹⁹ The advisers recommended giving preferential consideration to more mature candidates who would profit more from their fellowship than younger students. They also recommended attaching more importance to the position to which a fellow might return after his fellowship.²⁰ In 1929, the LSRM was integrated into the Social Science Division of the Rockefeller Foundation under the direction of Edmund E. Day.

2. The reorganization of the fellowship program between 1929 and 1935

Edmund E. Day decided to continue the LSRM's fellowship program. A Paris office was created and John V. Sickle was sent to France, where he worked as fellowship secretary for the Social Sciences. With the establishment of the Paris office, the role of the local advisers diminished since the RF was now able to deal directly with fellowship applicants from European countries.²¹ The German Committee was nevertheless maintained and continued its annual meetings. After the world economic crises, from 1929 to 1933, the RF decided to pay special attention to European programs focusing on economic stabilization and the improvement of international relations. The number of appointments was generally reduced,²² but not in the German case, where a total of thirty-nine fellows were appointed during this period: six in 1929 and 1930 and nine each year from 1931 to 1933. At least fifteen of them were economists and eight political scientists. Most German fellows came from Berlin, Hamburg, Freiburg, Kiel or Jena. Almost 40 % of them went to the United States, followed

by England, France and Italy. The fellows appointed between 1929 and 1933 were on average three years older than the ones chosen by the LSRM.²³

In 1933, after the seizure of power by the national socialists in Germany, the RF officers decided to continue with a reduced version of the German fellowship program. In November 1933, the RF officer Tracy B. Kittredge noted after a conversation with Fehling, Schmidt-Ott and Schumacher, that none of the members of the German Advisory Committee were in sympathy with the new regime, but that their attitude was “not one of active opposition.”²⁴ Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy was the only member of the Committee personally affected by the National Socialist regime. He lost his chair at Hamburg because of the April 1933 “law for the restoration of the Professional Civil Service,” which forced opponents of the regime and Jewish civil servants to retire.²⁵ The other members of the Committee, Schmidt-Ott, Oncken and Schumacher, assured Kittredge that the independence of the Committee had not been affected and that selection of the candidates would be based on the same criteria as before. A renewal of the Committee due to the advanced age of some of its members was postponed to avoid political interference.²⁶ One year later, the German academic situation still seemed “very uncertain” to Kittredge, who recommended continuing, still on a reduced scale, the program and the Committee for another year. He supported the idea of Fehling, who emphasized the importance of giving younger men the opportunity of “escaping for a year from the German atmosphere” of intellectual isolation.²⁷ Nevertheless, not all the members of the Committee agreed with Fehling's appraisal.

In January 1935, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy called Kittredge from his exile in Oxford to recommend the discontinuation of the German fellowship program, except for renewals or second appointments for fellows whose positions in Germany were menaced. Kittredge assured that the fellowship program would be greatly reduced, but emphasized that fellowships were intended for men whose careers were in universities of their own countries

and that the RF did not have the intention of awarding fellowships merely in order to “carry deserving German scholars until such time as they might find appointments abroad”. The RF officer, Kittredge, also indicated that the RF had provided a special fund to assist deposed scholars in obtaining appointments abroad,²⁸ referring to the RF’s refugee scholar program. As early as 1933, the RF had created a special fund to support deposed scholars invited by foreign universities.²⁹ This program was, however, destined for “dispossessed scholars of prominence or demonstrated rare promise” and not merely for former fellows or other young German scholars persecuted by the National Socialist regime.³⁰

The criteria to select fellows with permanent positions in Germany was most difficult to reconcile with the new political situation. In 1933, Edmund E. Day stressed that for future appointments in Germany, the fellow should be able to work effectively under the present regime and stated that only more abstract or noncontroversial problems within the social sciences could therefore be considered.³¹ RF officers in 1934 decided to “interpret liberally” the programs of fellowship renewals and grants-in-aid in individual cases where the return of a fellow to his own country would be impossible.³² In that year, the RF feared difficulties for two of the four German fellows studying in the United States. The academic career of a female fellow was likely to be stopped by the Nazi attitude towards women in intellectual life and one of the fellows was married to a “part Jewish” wife.³³ A German fellow opposed to the Nazi regime refused to return to Germany in 1935 and found a part-time teaching post in a Catholic university in the United States.³⁴ Concerning three German fellows with sympathies for the new regime, Stacy May, assistant director of the Social Sciences Division, noted in 1935 that “they were too occupied with the grueling task of reconciling their early academic background with Nazi ideology to devote themselves seriously to their fellowship work.”³⁵

RF trustees in 1935 decided to discontinue the system of Fellowship Advisers in Europe. The German Committee was disbanded in December 1936. After 1935, the number of

fellowships awarded was very low. There were five appointments in 1934, but only three Germans were appointed the next year. Between 1936 and 1941, four Germans obtained fellowships, three of them living in exile. In the internal discussions about the future of the program, the RF officers in Paris were more inclined to continue limited activity in Germany than were the officers and trustees in New York. In 1938, Kittredge, who had replaced John V. Sickle in Paris in 1934, brought to mind that there were “still younger candidates working seriously on problems of no direct political significance, who would appear to fully qualify for fellowship appointments” in Germany and Italy and recommended appointing one or two fellows from each country in 1939.³⁶ With the outbreak of the war in September of 1939, the European fellowship program was suspended temporarily. Shortly thereafter, some of the fellows appointed before the war, were able to reach the United States.³⁷ The RF increasingly concentrated its action on the refugee program for deposed scholars, which assisted one-hundred and ninety-one Germans of all disciplines to leave Europe and find posts in the United States.³⁸

3. Institutional support for German social sciences in the interwar period

The second pillar of RF interests in Germany was financial support for institutions and research programs. The Weimar Republic was a period of institutionalization for the social sciences, in which important centers, like the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* (German Academy for Politics) in Berlin or the *Institut für auswärtige Politik* (Institute of International Affairs) in Hamburg, were founded. Several of these new centers received aid from the LSRM and the RF to carry out research programs in the social science disciplines. In 1923/24, the LSRM sent the historian Guy Stanton Ford to Germany to survey the social sciences. He met there with Coss, who was an investigator for the fellowship program, and both professors recommended that at first “something definite, worthwhile and comprehensive should be done in the matter of books and periodicals in the field of history

and the social sciences.” Such action was necessary to try to find missing information which was caused by the First World War and the period of inflation, and this would allow German researchers to catch up with the international social science literature. They suggested concentrating on the large state libraries in Berlin and Munich as well as giving smaller sums to other university libraries.³⁹ The RF Board of Trustees, in May 1924, approved the general policy of aid to foreign libraries in connection with the books and periodicals in the social sciences.⁴⁰

The American ambassador in Germany, A. B. Houghton, deemed the plan of helping German libraries as “pure gold.”⁴¹ Friedrich Schmidt-Ott, president of the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft*, which already supported German libraries, suggested on Ruml's demand⁴² to grant 10,000 gold marks to each of the eight most important university libraries (Berlin, Bonn, Göttingen, Breslau, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Munich and Hamburg) and 5,000 gold marks to an additional fifteen German universities. He recommended small supplementary sums to fill the gaps in the series of the most important periodicals.⁴³ The LSRM Executive Committee appropriated in December 1924, the sum of \$27,000 for the Prussian State Library⁴⁴ and the sum of \$52,500 to the *Notgemeinschaft* for library support in the social sciences.⁴⁵ In the following months, F. Schmidt-Ott distributed this sum, equivalent to 192,400 gold marks, to the libraries of nine principle universities (8,000 gold marks each) and to fourteen other university libraries (4,000 gold marks each). All libraries received an additional 2,000 gold marks to purchase what was missing in foreign periodicals and 400 gold marks for the maintenance of the current subscriptions.⁴⁶ Smaller grants were made for example, to the library of the technical college in Munich, the *Institut für Auswärtige Politik* (Institute of International Affairs) in Hamburg and the *Institut für Weltwirtschaft und Seeverkehr* (Institute of World Economics and Maritime Trade) of Kiel University.⁴⁷ Between 1924 and 1928, the LSRM distributed a total of \$137,000 to German libraries.⁴⁸ The first

contact between a German research institution and the LSRM was often established through such a library grant.

The LSRM and the RF also awarded institutional grants to social science research institutes. One of the first institutions supported by the LSRM was the *Institut für Auswärtige Politik* (Institute of International Affairs), founded in 1923 and directed by the jurist Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy.⁴⁹ The LSRM Executive Committee allocated \$4,000 to the institute in November 1925, and announced a similar grant for the following year. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy was invited to visit the United States as a guest of the LSRM.⁵⁰ He separated the LSRM grant from the general budget of his institute and used it for special studies on political sciences,⁵¹ for example a “Collection of Documents on Foreign Policy.”⁵² The financial support continued until December 1930 at a rate of \$4,000 per year, and therefore the institute received a total of \$20,000 for its research and teaching program.⁵³

The *Institut für Sozial- und Staatswissenschaften* (Institute for Social and Political Sciences) in Heidelberg received \$60,000 from the LSRM and the RF over a five-year period from 1928 to 1933. The institute was part of Ruprecht-Karls University and described its regular work as “economic, sociological and politico-sociological studies, as well as politico-economic researches, especially in the field of industrial status, international commerce and foreign economics and sociology.” The director of the institute, Alfred Weber, Max Weber's younger brother, asked the LSRM in 1928, for financial support of a research program about the “economic future of Europe.” The program included research about problems of international commerce, the social and economic structure of different European countries and the flow of international capital after World War I, with special attention to German problems.⁵⁴ By supporting this program, the LSRM wished to contribute to the development of an important German center for social science training and research. “The decision appears to have been an excellent one (...). Everything combines to make Heidelberg an ideal place

for students and researchers alike,” Van Sickle stated in May 1931.⁵⁵ Alfred Weber applied in April 1933, for renewal of the grant, at the rate of \$10,000 a year, and J. Van Sickle recommended a renewal for only twelve months because of the uncertain situation in Germany.⁵⁶ One month later, in May 1933, the RF learned that Alfred Weber had been forced to resign by the National Socialist authorities, but that he had negotiated with the government of Baden to keep the post of supervision of the research program without interference.⁵⁷ Van Sickle noted in June that the institute lost several of its best collaborators, but that the work at Heidelberg, “given the alarming trend toward national isolation,” was of particular importance and should be encouraged if “scientific independence and competent leadership can be guaranteed.”⁵⁸ With the approval of Sydnor H. Walker, acting director, he formulated a draft docket recommending the appropriation of \$10,000 to the Institute. The RF Board of Trustees however, refused to pass the appropriation at its December meeting, indicating that “they felt strongly that any RF subvention made to German institutions at this time by the Foundation would be almost universally misunderstood.”⁵⁹ Instead of institutional aid, the RF decided to appropriate three individual grants to the research directors of the program, Alfred Weber, Arnold Bergstraesser and the new director of the institute Carl Brinkmann, in order to insure the completion of the research project.⁶⁰ In September 1936, a final grant of \$1,900 was made to Alfred Weber to meet the costs of the program’s last publication.⁶¹ Two of the three last studies were published in foreign countries because of the anti-Semitic legislation in Germany.⁶² After the program’s completion in 1937, Van Sickle compared the last volumes published under the direction of Weber and Brinkmann. While the study of the former Social Science fellow Otto Pfeiderer, under the supervision of Weber, “seems to maintain a high standard of objectivity,” the monograph of Albert Prinzing about Australian economy, supervised by Brinkmann, “stresses throughout the influence of race and territory upon Australian developments, and every effort appears to have been taken to make the study

ideologically acceptable to its German readers.”⁶³

Other centers of LSRM and RF aid in Germany were the *Institut für Weltwirtschaft and Seeverkehr* in Kiel, directed by Bernhard Harms, the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* in Berlin, founded in 1920 by Ernst Jäckh, and the *Institut für Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften* at the University of Bonn which carried out a research program in economic planning and control. Cooperative research grants were awarded to the *Notgemeinschaft* for an “Anthropological Study of the German People,”⁶⁴ and for research in international relations.⁶⁵ In the period from 1924 to the Second World War, many of the former German social science fellows were associated with the supported institutes and research projects. They proved to be important elements of connection between the RF and the German institutes.

All in all, the LSRM and the RF support in the inter-war-period aided German social scientists to break with the intellectual isolation after the First World War. The fellowship program enabled young researchers to cooperate in the scientific activities of other countries, to initiate contacts with foreign scholars and to become acquainted with new research methods. Connections were established between the fellows of different countries, and between the fellows of different generations. The RF promoted these contacts by publishing a handbook of former fellows in 1932, which listed their fellowship appointments and indicated the positions held by former fellows.⁶⁶ The integration into institutions and programs supported by the RF made it easier for the fellows to stay in contact with the RF officers. The study of the RF’s German activities shows a wide network of transatlantic contacts between American philanthropy and German social scientists which can lead to a rethinking of the image of an isolated German social science even before the National Socialist seizure of power.

Research at the RAC provided me with various and rich material about the relations

between the Rockefeller Foundation and German social sciences. Nevertheless, extensive research in German and foreign archives is necessary to complete the documentation about these activities. If the sources preserved at the RAC illustrate the view of the RF officials, the internal discussions and decision making processes, the documents conserved in German archives show the view of the German protagonists, the selection process of German fellows and the execution of research programs in the respective institutes. By utilizing both the RAC material and the German documentation, I aim to answer the following questions in my doctoral dissertation:

- 1) On the conception of American financial support programs in the social sciences and their realization in Germany: How, and based on what criteria, were German institutions selected by the RF? In Germany, who were the preferred contact persons for the RF's representatives, and how was the first contact established? What were the political objectives of the RF's engagement in Germany and how did foundations react to the rise of National Socialism?
- 2) On the transfers of concepts and methods from the United States to Germany: Did the inductive and empiric approach favored by the RF influence methodical concepts of social sciences in Germany? Was there an American influence on methodology and thematic orientation of supported projects? Was there resistance against American activities in Germany?
- 3) On the constitution of a transatlantic network: Did American philanthropy integrate European intellectual networks? Which role did American philanthropy play in the constitution of a transatlantic scientific network?
- 4) On financing scientific research: What was the relationship between public and private financing policies, and how did they change in the course of the inter-war-period? How did German politicians, such as the Prussian education minister Carl Heinrich Becker, view financial support by American foundations?

About the RAC

The consultation of the archival materials at the RAC gave me pertinent information about nearly all of these subjects which I will complete by further research in Germany and the United States.

I wish to thank the RAC for the grant-in-aid that I received, and I would also like to thank the staff, especially Tom Rosenbaum and Robert Battaly, for their kind and helpful advice.

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The ideas and opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and are not intended to represent the Rockefeller Archive Center.

ENDNOTES:

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- ¹ “The role of the American philanthropic foundations in supporting and coordinating social sciences in Germany between 1919 and 1939,” under the supervision of Professor Thomas Welskopp (University of Bielefeld, Germany) and Professor Michael Werner (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, EHESS, Paris). The Project is part of a larger research program at the Ecole des hautes etudes en sciences sociales, directed by Michal Werner and Ludovic Tournès.
- ² B. Ruml, born in 1894, obtained a Ph.D. in psychology at the University of Chicago in 1917. In 1920, he became assistant to J. Angell, president of the Carnegie Corporation. Martin and Joan Bulmer, “Philanthropy and Social Science in the 1920s: Beardsley Ruml and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, 1922-1929.” In *Minerva* 19 (1981), p. 354.
- ³ Bulmer, Martin, “Support for Sociology in the 1920s: the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Beginning of Modern, Large-scale, Sociological Research in the University.” In *The American Sociologist* 17 (1982), p. 186.
- ⁴ Fisher, Donald, “American Philanthropy and the Social Sciences in Britain 1919-1939: The Reproduction of Conservative Ideology.” In *Sociological Review* 28: 2 (1980), p. 278.
- ⁵ B. Ruml to A. Flexner, January 9, 1925, Folder 676, Box 63, Series 3.06, LSRM, RAC.
- ⁶ Fleck, Christian, *Transatlantische Bereicherungen. Zur Erfindung der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Germany: Frankfurt/Main, 2007, p. 102.
- ⁷ Kittredge, T. B., “Report on the SS Fellowship Program (1924-1941).” January 19, 1942, Folder 378, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation (RF) Archives, RAC.
- ⁸ Schroeder-Gudehus, Brigitte, *Deutsche Wissenschaft und internationale Zusammenarbeit: 1914-1928. Ein Beitrag zum Studium kultureller Beziehungen in politischen Krisenzeiten*, Geneva, (1966), p. 9 and p. 111.
- ⁹ Kittredge, T. B. “Social Sciences Fellowship Program in Europe – Rockefeller Foundation,” undated, p. 1-2 Folder 384, Box 50, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ¹⁰ Emergency Association for German Science.
- ¹¹ The report, signed by J. J. Coss and G. S. Ford, also recommended the establishment of resident fellowships for young German researchers. The report is included in “Report of European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, 1923-1928,” undated, p. 3-5, Folder 380, Box 50, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ¹² Kittredge, T. B. “Social Sciences Fellowship Program in Europe – Rockefeller Foundation”, undated, p. 3, Folder 384, Box 50, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ¹³ Kittredge, T. B. “Report on SS Fellowship Program (1924-1941),” January 19, 1942, p. 4, Folder 378, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ¹⁴ The American candidates were selected by the Social Science Research Council.
- ¹⁵ The other members were Paul Kehr, Director of the Prussian State Archives; Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Professor of Foreign Law, University of Hamburg; Hermann Oncken, Professor of History, University of Munich; and Hermann Schumacher, Professor of Staatswissenschaften, University of Berlin.
- ¹⁶ “Report of European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial 1923-1928,” undated, p. 10, Folder 380, Box 50, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ¹⁷ One German fellow went to Sweden, one to Switzerland and one to Holland.
- ¹⁸ There were also two researchers in political sciences and two in statistics, one in social work, a geographer, an anthropologist and a psychologist.
- ¹⁹ “Report of European Fellowship Program in the Social Sciences of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial 1923-1928,” undated, p. 9, Folder 380, Box 50, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ²⁰ Kittredge, T. B., “Social Sciences Fellowship Program in Europe – Rockefeller Foundation,” undated, pp. 4-5, Folder 384, box 50, series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.
- ²¹ “Fellowship advisers-social Sciences,” January 14, 1931, Folder 375, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ²² “Fellowship Announcement,” undated, Folder 378, Box 48, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ²³ The average age was now 31 years instead of 28 years. Kittredge, T. B., “Memorandum. Problems involved in the administration of Social Science Fellowships. Discussions in Paris on April 28, 29 and 30, 1933,” p. 3, Folder 376, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.

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- ²⁴ Kittredge, T. B., "German Fellowship Advisory Committee. Conversations with A. W. Fehling, Dr. Schmidt Ott and Prof. Schumacher, Berlin November 26-27, 1933. Memorandum to JVS," Folder 151, Box 16, Series 717 (Germany), RG 1.1, RF Archives, RAC.
- ²⁵ Weber, Hermann, "Rechtswissenschaft im Dienst der NS-Propaganda. Das Institut für Auswärtige Politik und die deutsche Völkerrechtsdoktrin in den Jahren 1933 bis 1945." In Gantzel, Klaus Jürgen, editor, *Wissenschaftliche Verantwortung und politische Macht*. Germany: Berlin, Hamburg, 1986, p. 234-235.
- ²⁶ Kittredge, T. B., "German Fellowship Advisory Committee. Conversations with A. W. Fehling, Dr. Schmidt Ott and Prof. Schumacher, Berlin November 26-27, 1933. Memorandum to JVS," Folder 151, Box 16, Series 717 (Germany), RG 1.1, RF Archives, RAC.
- ²⁷ Kittredge, T. B., "Memorandum. Present situation of German Advisory Committee. Conversation TBK with AWF and various professors in Berlin and Kiel – Nov. 1-, 1934," Folder 151, Box 16, Series 717 (Germany), RG 1.1, RF Archives, RAC.
- ²⁸ Kittredge, T. B., "Memorandum. Fellowship Program in Germany. Conversation of TBK with Prof. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Paris, January 17, 1935," Folder 151, Box 16, Series 717 (Germany), RG 1.1, RF Archives, RAC.
- ²⁹ Appleget, T. B., "The Foundation's Experience with Refugee Scholars," March 5, 1946, Folder 545 A, Box 47, Series 200, RG 1.1, RF Archives, RAC, published online: <http://www.rockarch.org/collections/rf/refugee.php>
- ³⁰ E. E. Day to J. V. Sickle, November 4, 1933, Folder 376, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ³¹ S. May to T. B. Kittredge, December 6, 1933, Folder 155, Box 16, Series 717 (Germany), RG 1.1, RF Archives, RAC.
- ³² T. B. Kittredge to S. May, August 13, 1934, Folder 377, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ³³ T. B. Kittredge to S. May, "Memorandum. European Fellowship Program," July 6, 1934, Folder 377, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ³⁴ S. May to T. B. Kittredge, February 4, 1935, Folder 377, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ³⁵ S. May to T. B. Kittredge, February 4, 1935, Folder 377, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC. These fellows were Hans Keller, Helmut Wollenweber and Georg Leibbrandt. S. May considered that Keller's supra-nationalistic concepts were "sheer eyewash" and notes that Leibbrandt did most of his fellowship work before the national socialists came to power in Germany. Wollenweber "became diverted from his original inquiry in the field of human geography into a philosophical idyll concerning group consciousness so strong and pure that while it absorbs all the loyalty of those in a given group, it instills in them a respect rather than a hatred for those in other groups who subscribe to a similar ideology."
- ³⁶ T. B. Kittredge to S. H. Walker, November 1938, Folder 378, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ³⁷ T. B. Kittredge, "Report on SS Fellowship Program (1924-1941)," January 19, 1942, Folder 378, Box 49, Series 100 ES International, RG 1.2, RF Archives, RAC.
- ³⁸ Appleget, T. B., "The Foundation's Experience with Refugee Scholars," March 5, 1946, Folder 545 A, Box 47, Series 200, RG 1.1, RF Archives, RAC.
- ³⁹ G. S. Ford to B. Ruml, March 12, 1924, Folder 558, Box 52, Series 3.06, LSRM, RAC.
- ⁴⁰ B. Ruml to G. S. Ford, May 29, 1924, Folder 657, Box 61, Series 3.06, LSRM, RAC.
- ⁴¹ A. Woods to B. Ruml, July 11, 1924, Folder 657, Box 61, Series 3.06, LSRM, RAC.
- ⁴² B. Ruml to F. Schmidt-Ott, September 23, 1924, Folder 657, Box 61, Series 3.06, LSRM, RAC.
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