

**Radio Research and Refugee  
Scholars: American  
Philanthropies Respond to  
the European Crisis before  
the War, 1933-39**

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## Introduction

University presidents and foundation administrators in the United States viewed the global refugee crisis precipitated by Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933 as a serious humanitarian disaster in need of immediate attention. It was also, in their view, a historic opportunity to salvage—or, in a more cynical interpretation, exploit—the great minds of Central Europe who were being forced into exile. For the officers of the Rockefeller Foundation, the crisis coincided with an increasing interest in the social value of sponsoring studies on radio and mass communications, public opinion, the disturbing rise of fascism on the Continent, and the vulnerabilities of all Western democracies to the totalitarian threat. Many European social scientists, with their background in humanistic inquiry and empirical research, were ideally suited to study these problems. The sociologist Paul Lazarsfeld, for example, chose to remain in the U.S. as a travelling Rockefeller fellow when fascism took hold in his native Austria in 1934, and he went on to become the head of a major research institute, the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University. Lazarsfeld's émigré associates from Max Horkheimer's Institute of Social Research, who also arrived to Columbia, had the unique experience and world view to study American, capitalist society and the motivations of its citizen-consumers. The combination of Marxism and Freudianism that defined their "critical theory" provided startling insight into the American cultural tendencies that made the country susceptible to authoritarianism despite its democratic traditions.

This paper considers the efforts of ordinary American citizens, academic elites, and foundation officers to aid refugee scholars and researchers by placing them at American institutions and supporting their work through grants and other forms of aid. Officers in the Humanities and Social Science divisions of the Rockefeller Foundation, working in concert with the leaders of organizations like the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, were instrumental in supporting these refugees and their work in the United States. The Emergency Committee, with the financial assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation, assisted more than six-hundred refugee scholars with university appointments and grants over its twelve years of existence. I argue that the study of mass communications,

democracy, and consumption in America was indelibly shaped by the work of these refugee scholars, and that the interests of their foundation sponsors and academic allies was fundamental in shaping their scholarship.

## Formation of the Emergency Committee

In May 1933, as the scope of the refugee crisis from Nazi Germany was becoming apparent, Edward R. Murrow, then the assistant director of the Institute of International Education (IIE) in New York, notified Walter Kotschnig, General Secretary of the International Student Service (ISS) in Geneva, that he had compiled a list of the names of about sixty German professors who were looking for teaching positions in the United States. Murrow, who was also nervous about the ability of the IIE to continue its student exchanges with Germany, did not expect that American universities, in the midst of the Depression, would be able to marshal the resources necessary to accept such scholars, however eminent they might have been.<sup>1</sup> News of the IIE's list spread among the elite of the philanthropic Jewish society in New York. Alfred E. Cohn, a physician and clinical researcher at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, contacted the director of the IIE, Stephen Duggan, who was an acquaintance of his, to inquire about getting a copy of this list.<sup>2</sup> Along with New York philanthropists Fred M. Stein and Bernard Flexner, Cohn soon arranged a meeting with Duggan, and the group quickly formed an "Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars" to address the deteriorating situation in Europe by seeking temporary university appointments for the refugees. Duggan, as head of the Carnegie Corporation-supported IIE since its founding in 1919, was ideally suited to lead the new Committee.<sup>3</sup>

The situation in Europe was indeed dire. The Nazis immediately destroyed the German tradition of *Lern- und Lehrfreiheit*, which had protected the freedom of academic inquiry, in their determination to refashion German universities as centers of anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi indoctrination. Jewish and other "non-Aryan" professors were the principal target of the Nazi purges, but communists, socialists,



and liberals were also forced out. They did not only lose their positions, but they were also denied any possibility at all of earning a living. In Europe, citizens came to the assistance of the exiled German scholars through organizations such as the Academic Assistance Council (which later became the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning) in England and the Association Universelle pour les Exilés Allemands in France. In the United States, the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars was formed for the same purpose. “Emergency” implied that the situation would, its founders expected, soon pass, and “Displaced” was chosen over “Exiled” in the vain hope that the positions that the refugee scholars had left, or at least their pensions, might again become available once the political situation in Germany had improved.<sup>4</sup>

The Emergency Committee announced its intentions on May 27<sup>th</sup>, in a letter to university presidents authored by Duggan. The Committee acknowledged that, given the financial straits of American universities and the difficulty that young, native scholars endured in securing positions, the universities themselves ought not sponsor appointments for the refugee scholars, for fear of generating homegrown resentment or anti-Semitic feelings. Instead, the Committee suggested, funds to assist the refugee scholars would be raised from sources outside the universities, such as from wealthy individuals and foundations. University presidents would invite individual, well-regarded scholars for limited-term appointments of one or two years, designated as honorary chairs, which would be sponsored by the outside sources through the Emergency Committee. In cases where universities had no specific scholar in mind, the Committee would be prepared to submit a list of qualified refugee scholars. The Committee itself would be composed of an Executive Committee to administer its daily affairs as well as a General Committee of university presidents and representatives of academic associations such as the Association of American Universities and the American Council of Learned Societies.<sup>5</sup>

Livingston Farrand, the president of Cornell University, was appointed as Chairman of the Emergency Committee, with Stein as Treasurer, Murrow as Assistant Secretary, and Duggan serving as Secretary, the real leader of the Committee. The Executive Committee also included Cohn, Flexner, Professor L.

C. Dunn of Columbia, and Professor Nelson P. Mead of the College of the City of New York. The General Committee consisted of representatives, usually presidents, of many prominent universities, including state institutions such as the universities of Minnesota, California, and Colorado, and private institutions such as Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, and Northwestern. The Rockefeller Foundation, which would ultimately match about half of the Emergency Committee's grants in the sum of nearly a million-and-a-half dollars over twelve years, was represented in early meetings of the Executive Committee by its vice president, Thomas B. Appleget, and Alan Gregg, the Director of Medical Sciences at the Foundation.<sup>6</sup>

The Emergency Committee made its plans public in July, inviting contributions and stating its mission:

It is everywhere incumbent upon university faculties...to be alive to the dangers which threaten them and by a declaration of faith to range themselves on the side of freedom of speech and freedom of teaching. It behooves them to make known...that they intend to maintain their historic duty of welcoming scholars, irrespective of race, religion and political opinion, into academic society, of protecting them in the interest of learning and human understanding, and of conserving for the world the ability and scholarship that might otherwise disappear.<sup>7</sup>

By August, the Committee had raised about \$60,000, a sum that would be nearly matched by the Rockefeller Foundation, and by the end of November it had succeeded in filling twenty honorary chairs for German refugee scholars at American universities. The Committee began to establish relationships with its European counterparts, such as the Academic Assistance Council in London.<sup>8</sup> It also coordinated with American allies such as Alvin Johnson, the Director of the New School of Social Research, who was organizing the University in Exile, a new faculty in the political and social sciences specifically for displaced German scholars. The Committee would sponsor professorships across the U.S., and also at Hebrew University in then-Palestine, but the New School was unique in its concentration of refugee scholars aided by the Committee.<sup>9</sup>



In addition to the Rockefeller Foundation's matching grants (usually half of a scholar's full stipend of \$4,000 per year), the Committee received regular financial contributions from several prominent foundations such as the American Friends Service Committee. The support of Jewish individuals and foundations—particularly the New York Foundation, the Nathan Hofheimer Foundation, and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee—long sustained the work of the Emergency Committee. Given that the preponderance of refugee scholars were Jewish, this is not surprising. Yet among the Emergency Committee's most durable supporters was the Oberlaender Trust of Philadelphia, which had been established in 1931 to promote the contributions to American society made by German immigrants and native Americans of German descent. The Oberlaender Trust supported the work of the Committee, but it also provided its own form of direct financial assistance, often in the form of smaller sums or loans, to German refugee scholars, professionals, and artists in order to help them “get a start.”<sup>10</sup>

The Committee issued its first report in January 1934, distributing 15,000 copies to university professors, administrators, and journalists. The Committee had up to that point sponsored the university positions of thirty-six refugee scholars and assisted in negotiations resulting in appointments for another ten. Meanwhile, the European refugee problem was only growing more acute, with some 60,000 Germans living in exile from the Nazi regime, desperately seeking to establish themselves in a foreign land. About a fifth of those were intellectuals of some kind, and about 1,200 were from the academic professions, many among the most distinguished in their respective field.<sup>11</sup> About 300 managed to get appointments outside of the U.S., and seventeen found positions on the faculty of the New School's “University in Exile,” which sought to maintain German methods of graduate-level instruction.<sup>12</sup>

# The Rockefeller Foundation and Radio Research

Rockefeller's support for the humanities began with the General Education Board in 1926, where the idea of studying radio as a mass medium and using it as a tool of education was first considered. David H. Stevens, who became vice president of the General Education Board in 1920, was appointed the first full-time director of Humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation in 1932, and John Marshall came on as assistant director in 1933. In 1934, the Foundation's trustees issued a report suggesting that the Humanities should direct its attention to studying the new media of mass communication, particularly radio, in the educational interest of widening the "area of public appreciation."<sup>13</sup> It was the view of the trustees of the Foundation that the Humanities and Social Sciences programs ought to reform their efforts with greater attention to contemporary society and efforts to influence the tastes and ideas of large masses of people.<sup>14</sup>

At the same time, Foundation officers in the Social Sciences program were awarding postdoctoral fellowships to foreign candidates through its Paris office. The study of critical social problems, such as unemployment, was an urgent concern in the context of the Depression, and Foundation offices were looking for opportunities for "scientific attack" on the problem.<sup>15</sup> The problem was made even more urgent in 1933, when the rise of the Hitler regime in Germany threatened the practice of the social sciences and the "independence of inquiry" in that country and across the Continent. Fellowships to foreign social scientists were viewed as a means of preserving social science, improving international relations, and tackling critical social problems like unemployment.<sup>16</sup>

Paul Lazarsfeld was one of the most important fellowship recipients in the social sciences, although his grant came from the Foundation's Humanities program. Lazarsfeld was a Viennese sociologist who had become well known for his study of the unemployed in the depressed Austrian village of Marienthal. The study was first published in 1933, but it was known before then from Lazarsfeld's presentations of the findings at academic conferences.<sup>17</sup> Lazarsfeld was highly



recommended for the Rockefeller fellowship by his mentor, the social psychologist Charlotte Bühler, who directed the Psychological Institute, along with her husband Karl, at the University of Vienna. Bühler, who specialized in child psychology, had herself been the recipient of a Rockefeller fellowship in 1924-5 and again in 1934-5.<sup>18</sup> At the time he was awarded the Rockefeller fellowship, Lazarsfeld was the director of the *Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle* (Economic Psychology Research Center) in Vienna. This research institute, which was formally distinct from but loosely linked to the University, conducted studies on consumer behaviors and motivations for private companies, among other projects. The *Forschungsstelle* also served as an organization for the development of large-scale, cooperative empirical research and a means of employment for many of Lazarsfeld's friends and associates from the Social Democratic Party. Lazarsfeld and many of his fellow researchers at the *Forschungsstelle* were Jewish, and for that reason they could only work as *Privatdozenten* or adjunct instructors. Generally speaking, they were unable to secure permanent appointments because of the prevalent attitude of anti-Semitism at the University. The *Forschungsstelle* was an alternative means of making a living and developing new methods of social research for many Jewish researchers. Lazarsfeld's leadership of the *Forschungsstelle*, along with the important Marienthal study, proved his capacities to Rockefeller officers in Paris, who awarded him with a travelling fellowship to the United States, which he began in 1933.<sup>19</sup>

Lazarsfeld began his fellowship in the United States in September 1933, travelling from place to place across the country to meet his peers and mentors in the fields of social science, psychology, and market research. He was already known from the Marienthal study, and he was greatly helped by the sociologist Robert Lynd, who became his chief sponsor and ultimately his colleague in the sociology department at Columbia. Lazarsfeld worked on a study of the unemployed in Millville, New Jersey for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and he also spoke before audiences of corporate executives and market researchers about his innovative techniques of studying human decisions and motivations. As Lazarsfeld toured the U.S., the political situation in Austria deteriorated with the rise to power of Engelbert Dollfuss, who effectively ended the first Austrian republic and outlawed the Social Democratic Party in February 1934. This

environment greatly endangered Lazarsfeld's teaching prospects as well as the work of his Forschungsstelle. Lazarsfeld received a year-long renewal of his fellowship in June and continued his travels in the U.S., though at the time he believed he would finish the fellowship in Europe. He worked on research projects for Professor David R. Craig, director of the Research Bureau for Retail Training at the University of Pittsburgh, and he also worked with prominent researchers and sociologists at the Psychological Corporation in New York, the University of Rochester, and the University of Chicago. Lazarsfeld also made a name for himself as a groundbreaking market researcher who mixed quantitative and qualitative methods. He was profiled in an important marketing trade journal, and he published an influential article, "The Art of Asking WHY in Marketing Research," in the summer 1935 issue of *National Marketing Review*.<sup>20</sup> In the summer of 1935, Lazarsfeld returned to Vienna, but by then he had resolved that he would continue his career in the United States, where he had a position lined up working for Craig that earned him a visa. Although that position ultimately fell through, Lazarsfeld still returned to the U.S. that fall and, through Lynd, secured a position as the supervisor of work-relief students at the University of Newark, where he quickly set up another research institute.<sup>21</sup>

In the meantime, the officers at the Rockefeller Foundation and the General Education Board were becoming increasingly interested in the *potential* of radio for cultural enrichment and social progress, even as they lamented the almost universally commercial nature of American radio and other mass media in the 1930s.<sup>22</sup> They supported projects meant to experiment with the development of radio programs that had "cultural and educational value," such as language-learning programs.<sup>23</sup> In April 1935, the trustees of the Foundation indicated their support for "cooperative efforts" of the radio industry and non-commercial groups toward the end of improving the "cultural effectiveness" of radio and its usefulness as a public service. Through the Humanities program, the Foundation made grants for the development of radio programs of educational and cultural value, and in support of experimental public-service radio stations and networks like WIXAL in Boston and the Rocky Mountain Radio Council. Edward R. Murrow, who by 1936 had left his positions at the IIE and the Emergency Committee to become the Director of Talks at CBS, coordinated with John Marshall on the development of



educational broadcasting. By June 1937, the Foundation had spent \$288,870 on research and development of educational, culturally-enriching radio. Foundation officers also began to sponsor studies that employed personal interviews to examine listeners' likes and dislikes, with the hope that their full range of interests, until then unknown to commercial broadcasters, might be revealed. One of those studies was to be carried out by a group of social psychologists at Princeton University, with the intention of discovering who listens, when, to what, and why.<sup>24</sup>

In May 1937, the Foundation awarded \$67,000 to the School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University for the first two years of a proposed four-year study on the "value of radio to listeners" in the interest of "broadening radio's range of public service." The study was proposed by Professor Hadley Cantril of Princeton and Dr. Frank Stanton, a market research director at CBS who would go on to become the company's president. Cantril and Stanton would serve as associate directors for the study, which would use the School as its headquarters. There would also be an executive committee composed of educators as well as representatives of major commercial broadcasters. Beyond basic questions of who listens to what and when, the proposed study aimed to discover the role of radio in the lives of listeners and the social effects of radio-listening. The research on radio listening that had been done up to that point had been almost exclusively of a commercial nature and in the interest of increasing the mass appeal of radio for the industry and its advertising sponsors. To some extent, the industry even had an interest in remaining ignorant about some aspects of radio-listening: studies might show that there were not as many listeners as they claimed, or that certain programs lacked the mass appeal that advertisers desired.<sup>25</sup> The Foundation's efforts finally coalesced as the "Princeton Radio Research Project," which aimed to discover those "public needs which radio can satisfy."<sup>26</sup>

Cantril and Stanton had encountered Lazarsfeld during his travels as a Rockefeller fellow, and they were impressed with his research skills, novel methods, and his ability to manage large research bureaus, which he had done in Vienna with the Forschungsstelle and had continued at his Research Center at the University of Newark, since resettling in America. They offered him the directorship in August 1937, sweetening the deal by also offering an assistantship to his wife, Herta

Herzog, herself an innovative social researcher at the Forschungsstelle in need of employment in the U.S. They also permitted a hesitant Lazarsfeld to base his operations out of his Newark Research Center, so the “Princeton Radio Research Project” never actually operated out of Princeton. Lazarsfeld’s project—also called the “Office of Radio Research”—would eventually move to Columbia University, where Lazarsfeld joined the sociology department.<sup>27</sup> The early work of Lazarsfeld’s Radio Research group impressed officers at the Foundation, and in August 1938 John Marshall reported that the “resources of social psychology” were proving effective in approaching the problem of propaganda and the pathologies of influence and ignorance. Knowing more about how propaganda operated, Marshall suggested, could be beneficial in developing uses for it with positive, democratic ends.<sup>28</sup>

When Orson Welles’s adaptation of H. G. Wells’s novel *War of the Worlds* was broadcast as part of the *Mercury Theatre* series in a special Halloween episode on October 30, 1938, causing a mass hysteria, the directors of the Radio Research project and their supporters at the Rockefeller Foundation and General Education Board saw an opportunity to make a major study. The episode provided a perfect example of the potential social effects resulting from the technologies of mass media. Lazarsfeld and his researchers began making preliminary interviews in New Jersey, his base of operations and where many reports of the public hysteria came from. He estimated that a complete study would cost about \$6,000, and he and Cantril sought support from the General Education Board for a full study to be done in cooperation with the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.<sup>29</sup> The Board approved a grant of \$3,000 for a six-month study.<sup>30</sup> Lazarsfeld’s first report on the study in December noted that many respondents, who had reacted to the broadcast with panic, were predisposed to believe an apocalyptic news event because of the steady stream of stories over the radio about the deteriorating situation in Europe and the persecution of Jews there. Their faith in the truth of radio as a reliable source was sometimes mixed with a vague anxiety, and occasionally with quasi-racist ideas about the capacities and ambitions of the Japanese. Some Jewish respondents immediately came to the conclusion that it was an uprising against the Jews.<sup>31</sup>



## The Refugee Crisis Worsens

As the Rockefeller Foundation and the General Education Board increased their attention and resources to the study of radio, mass communications, and propaganda—with a Jewish émigré, Paul Lazarsfeld, leading the most important research institute in this regard—the refugee crisis in Europe worsened, and the Emergency Committee continued its efforts to arrange appointments for displaced scholars. The League of Nations established a High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany in October 1933, with James G. McDonald serving as Commissioner. Within the Commission, a division was established with the specific charge of handling the cases of exiled German students, academics, and professionals, headed by Walter Kotschnig, who, having resigned his formal position with the ISS, also worked as a European liaison for the Emergency Committee. The High Commission pleaded for assistance for displaced scholars, and it was successful in securing substantial private support for its efforts. Much of its funding came from private Jewish organizations, such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Central British Fund for German Jewry, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and the Jewish Colonization Association, which had, along with other sponsors, raised more than a million British pounds for the cause by the fall of 1934.<sup>32</sup>

The situation with regard to German-Jewish scholars became increasingly dire as the Nazi regime became entrenched. In July 1934, a party representing American universities, who had been invited to observe the “new Germany,” arrived to discover that one of their hosts, the renowned scholar Adolf Morsbach, who had been the head of German student exchanges through the IIE, had been put in a Nazi concentration camp.<sup>33</sup> That same month, the International Student Service suspended its German exchanges in protest of the policies of the Third Reich, which had effectively banned it.<sup>34</sup> Thousands of refugees continued to flood out of Germany, many of them from the professional and academic classes—about 7,500 from those groups together. Organizations aiding scholars, including the Emergency Committee and European-based organizations such as the Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland in Zürich, hoped to be able to place about 420 of the roughly 1,300 scholars within the year. By August,

however, the Emergency Committee, strapped for funds, had placed only thirty-one scholars at American universities as applications continued to pour in.<sup>35</sup> About ninety scholars in all had been placed in the U.S. by October 1934, and about twice that number found positions in the U.K. The Rockefeller Foundation was the largest single giver, with \$340,000 in expenditures by March 1935 supporting 117 scholars—not only in the U.S. but also in Europe—many of whom in the medical sciences. This private support, which also came from the Carnegie Corporation, was seen as essential by many in the Jewish community, including Jewish professors who feared that, if the refugee scholars were supported by universities themselves and not outside groups, the situation could stoke anti-Semitism in America. “We do not want to build a foundation for a hatred of the scholar, the foreigner, the Jew,” said one professor. “We do not want to align the victims of a European injustice against the victims of a possible American injustice.”<sup>36</sup>

The Emergency Committee resolved in 1935 to continue its work for at least the next two years, with its primary obligation being the renewal of grants to universities hosting refugee scholars sponsored by the Committee.<sup>37</sup> The anti-Semitic decrees of the Nuremburg convention of September 1935 only worsened the situation, targeting many German scholars who had up to then been treated as “exceptional” cases. Additionally, some scholars initially aided by the Academic Assistance Council in England had reached the conclusion of their temporary appointments there.<sup>38</sup> The Committee continued to receive matching funds from the Rockefeller Foundation, and it strictly adhered to its policy of securing all funding from outside sources and placing no scholars in chairs that could be held by Americans.<sup>39</sup> The Committee did, however, prefer scholars who had a good chance of permanent placement.<sup>40</sup> It also continued its collaboration with European allies such as Walter Kotschnig. When the High Commission was dissolved in 1936, Kotschnig toured American universities on behalf of the *Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland* to lecture on the deteriorating situation in Germany and to inquire about administrators’ interest in temporarily appointing refugee scholars. Kotschnig concluded that scholars working in underrepresented fields and those of “such outstanding merit that no question of economic competition is likely to arise” stood the best chances of placement.<sup>41</sup> The *Notgemeinschaft* sought to become the clearinghouse for all



refugee scholar assistance agencies, and the Rockefeller Foundation published its list of displaced scholars for distribution, with assistance from the Emergency Committee, among universities and government authorities.<sup>42</sup>

When Hitler annexed Austria in March 1938, the German crisis became a Continental crisis, and the Committee expected a flood of new applications.<sup>43</sup> Accordingly, the name was changed to the “Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced *Foreign* Scholars” on November 9th, and, indeed, applications began to appear from Czechoslovakia and elsewhere as Nazi Germany encroached on its neighbors.<sup>44</sup> Although the Committee had, in its early years, generally awarded grants of \$2,000 per year per scholar (usually matched by the Rockefeller Foundation), it reduced its contribution to between \$1,200 and \$1,500 by the late 1930s as it faced an influx of new applications. Members of the Committee also became increasingly worried about reaching a “saturation point” for placing refugee scholars, as well as the possibility, occasionally supported by anecdotal evidence, of feelings of resentment and even anti-Semitic attitudes at American universities. Committee members even became territorial about their mission, and they sometimes resented the efforts to address the refugee scholar problem carried out by their allies, who did not always follow their strict protocols, such as only placing scholars in the prime of their careers, not the very old or very young.<sup>45</sup>

Yet those allies, such as the Oberlaender Trust, were often quite successful in their efforts, often at a much lesser expense than the Rockefeller Foundation or the Committee.<sup>46</sup> Groups concentrating on scholars in specific fields were also successful in placing refugees. The Committee on Displaced Foreign Psychologists, for example, secured positions for Karl Bühler, who had presided over Lazarsfeld’s Forschungsstelle, as well as Ernest Dichter, one of Lazarsfeld’s colleagues at the Forschungsstelle, which had been shut down in the wake of the *Anschluss*.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, nearly all of Lazarsfeld’s colleagues from the Forschungsstelle were forced to flee in 1938, including Dr. Hermann M. Spitzer, who had served as its director and sought the Emergency Committee’s support for a position at the Bureau for Retail Training at the University of Pittsburgh, where Lazarsfeld had worked with David Craig on his Rockefeller fellowship.<sup>48</sup> This

exodus of Austrian psychologists coincided with an increasing interest in mass psychology and the modern means of propaganda, especially radio.

## Radio and Democracy in a Time of Crisis

Refugee scholars continued to arrive in the United States, seeking assistance through the Emergency Committee and other aid organizations. The *Anschluss* of March 1938 forced out the Jewish Social Democrats who had remained at Lazarsfeld's Forschungsstelle in Vienna, and many of them—including Herta Herzog, Hans Zeisel, and Ernest Dichter—found temporary employment on his Rockefeller-funded Radio Research Project as they tried to establish themselves in the U.S. Other prominent émigré scholars—including Theodor Adorno and Leo Lowenthal of the exiled Institute of Social Research, a.k.a. The Frankfurt School—worked on Lazarsfeld's project for a time. In addition to being at the forefront of communications research, the Radio Research Project was a refuge for émigré social scientists who had fled the short-lived democratic republics of interwar Central Europe.

The Rockefeller Foundation and the General Education Board maintained their commitment to mass communications through their support of the Radio Research Project. The fascist threat in Europe made this kind of study even more urgent, and some of the best social scientists available to study it were themselves refugee scholars. David Stevens wanted the “Princeton Project,” as it was sometimes called (though it was never actually based there), to investigate the “the influence of supposed authority of radio speakers on the average listener” as well as “the part that individual anxieties play in listening and in after effects of listening.”<sup>49</sup> The Project's early studies, such as the Orson Welles study, were focused on the role of radio in the lives of listeners and the *effects* of listening on different types of listeners. These studies, eventually published in special issues of the *Journal of Applied Psychology* and in several bound volumes,<sup>50</sup> were distinct from the strictly commercial studies, which were only interested in listeners insofar as they were consumers.<sup>51</sup> The research techniques that Lazarsfeld



developed at the Radio Research Project, such as the “panel” technique of interviewing the same set of respondents over a period of time, were applicable in the commercial context, but their impetus came from a desire to understand the effects of mass media on ordinary people as democracy as an institution became threatened.<sup>52</sup>

The outbreak of war in Europe in the fall of 1939 crystallized the fears of Rockefeller Foundation officers, and it intensified their desire to understand public opinion in the context of the “emergency.” John Marshall pointed to the diachronic panel method as a useful tool toward understanding what moves the masses. Lazarsfeld’s interest in the problem of human motivation became critical to understanding the ways that democracies functioned, and how they might falter.<sup>53</sup> Figuring out what radio was “doing” for its audience became a major object of the study of public opinion, and Lazarsfeld’s Office of Radio Research, which later became the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia, was at the center of it.<sup>54</sup>

The Emergency Committee, for its part, continued supporting refugee scholars throughout the war, several of whom were collaborators with Lazarsfeld at the exiled International Institute of Social Research, another center for the analysis of propaganda and mass communications. Herbert Marcuse and Franz Neumann were two of the many notable recipients of Committee grants. The work of the Committee tapered during the war, as the flow of refugee scholars slowed, and it was formally dissolved on June 1, 1945.

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<sup>1</sup> Edward R. Murrow to Walter Kotschnig, May 9, 1933, Reel 9-HF (9.1.25), Series 3, RG 1, FA1289, Institute of International Education Records, Alumni and Historical Files [hereafter, “IIE”], Rockefeller Archive Center [hereafter, “RAC”]. This is the same Edward R. Murrow who went on to become a famous broadcast journalist for CBS.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred E. Cohn to Stephen Duggan, May 19, 1933, Folder 21, Box 4, FA802, Alfred E. Cohn Papers [hereafter, “AEC”], RAC.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Duggan and Betty Drury, *The Rescue of Science and Learning: The Story of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), 6-7 [325.73 DUG in RAC]; “Fourteenth Annual Report of the Director,” Institute of International Education, Fourteenth Series, Bulletin No. 4, New York, October 1, 1933, Folder 12, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>4</sup> Duggan, *Rescue*, 3-5, 14-15; 179; Edward R. Murrow to Alfred E. Cohn, June 12, 1933, Folder 4, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>5</sup> Duggan, *Rescue*, 173-6.

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<sup>6</sup> Duggan, *Rescue*, 77-78; 175-7.

<sup>7</sup> "German Scholars to Be Aided Here," *The New York Times*, July 13, 1933.

<sup>8</sup> Edward R. Murrow to Walter Kotschnig, August 2, 1933, Reel 9-HF (9.1.25), Series 3, RG 1, FA1289, IIE, RAC; "20 Reich Scholars Fill Chairs Here," *The New York Times*, November 26, 1933.

<sup>9</sup> "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," August 30, 1933, Folder 19, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC; Duggan, *Rescue*, 78-80.

<sup>10</sup> Duggan, *Rescue*, 85-88; 188.

<sup>11</sup> "Report of The Emergency Committee in aid of Displaced German Scholars," January 1, 1934, Folder 13, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC; "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," February 2, 1934, Folder 19, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC; "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," January 4, 1934, Folder 19, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC; Betty Drury to Alfred E. Cohn (enclosed report), June 6, 1934, Folder 3, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>12</sup> Diana Rice, "Exiles Aid Study Here; German Scholars Place On American Campuses Through Two Plans," *New York Times*, May 27, 1934.

<sup>13</sup> John Marshall, [untitled MS] 1959, Folder 36, Box 3, FA053, John Marshall Papers [hereafter, "JM"], RAC; "Time in the Humanities Program," Report to the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, June 1, 1949, Folder 15, Box 4, RG IV2A34, David H. Stevens Papers [hereafter, "DHS"], RAC; John Marshall, untitled manuscript, June 23, 1949, Folder 4a, Box 1, Series 911, RG 3, Administration, Program and Policy [hereafter, "APP"], FA112, Rockefeller Foundation Records [hereafter, "RF"], RAC; A. W. Armour, memorandum to David H. Stevens, June 3, 1931, Folder 3696, Box 358, Series 1.2, FA058, General Education Board Records [hereafter, "GEB"], RAC.

<sup>14</sup> David H. Stevens, "The Humanities Program of the Rockefeller Foundation: A Review of the Period 1934 to 1939," October 25, 1939, Folder 12, Box 3, RG IV2A34, RAC.

<sup>15</sup> "Social Sciences – Program and Policy: Past Program and Proposed Future Program," extract from Agenda for Special Trustees meeting, April 11, 1933, Folder 12, Box 2, Series 910, RG 3, Subgroup 1, APP, FA112, RF, RAC.

<sup>16</sup> "Interim report of activities during 1933 in fields of concentration proposed at April meeting," trustees meeting, December 13, 1933, Folder 13, Box 2, Series 910, RG 3, Subgroup 1, APP, FA112, RF, RAC.

<sup>17</sup> The study was later translated from the original German into English as Marie Jahoda, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and Hans Zeisel, *Marienthal: The Sociography of an Unemployed Community* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> "BUHLER, Charlotte (Mme)," Box 3, RG 10.2, Fellowship Recorder Cards [hereafter, "FRC"], Discipline 5: Humanities Fellows, FA426, RF, RAC; "BÜHLER, Prof. Charlotte," Box 3, RG 10.2, FRC, Discipline 5: Humanities Fellows, FA426, RF, RAC.

<sup>19</sup> Christian Fleck, "Introduction to the Transaction Edition," in *Marienthal*, xxi-xxii.

<sup>20</sup> "Doctor in America," *Tide*, November 1934, 58-62; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Art of Asking WHY in Marketing Research: Three Principles Underlying the Formulation of Questionnaires," *National Marketing Review*, Vol. 1, No.1 (Summer, 1935), 26-38.

<sup>21</sup> "LAZARSELD, Dr. Paul Felix (Jewish)," Box 3, RG 10.2, FRC, Discipline 5: Humanities Fellows, FA426, RF, RAC.

<sup>22</sup> "Radio in the Schools," memorandum, November 30, 1934, Folder 3696, Box 358, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC; David H. Stevens, memorandum, January 22, 1936, Folder 50, Box 5, RG 3.1, APP, FA112, RF, RAC.

<sup>23</sup> "Radio Programs – Development – Boston," June 21, 1935, Folder 7, Box 1, FA051, DHS, RAC.

<sup>24</sup> John Marshall, "JM's statement on radio," June 1936, Folder 50, Box 5, Series 911, RG 3, APP, FA112, RF, RAC; "E.R. Murrow, Director of Talks, CBS, at Danvers, Mass.," Folder 3704, Box 359, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC; "The Foundation and Broadcasting," ca. 1937, Folder 50, Box 5, Series 911, RG 3.1, APP, FA112, RF, RAC; John Marshall, "Radio in RF and GEB Program: Retrospect and Prospect," June, 1937, Folder 3696, Box 358, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC; David H. Stevens, "The Humanities Program of the Rockefeller Foundation: A Review of the Period 1934 to 1939," October 25, 1939, Folder 12, Box 3, FA051, RAC. John Whyte replaced Murrow as



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Assistant Secretary of the Emergency Committee in December 1935. See John Whyte, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars,” December 18, 1935, Folder 19, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>25</sup> “Princeton University – School of Public and International Affairs – Study of Radio,” RF 37072, May 21, 1937, in “Humanities Appropriations, 1936 – 1940,” Folder 8, Box 2, FA051, DHS, RAC.

<sup>26</sup> John Marshall, “Next Jobs in Radio and Film,” memorandum, September 13, 1938, Folder 50, Box 5, Series 911, RG 3.1, APP, FA112, RF, RAC.

<sup>27</sup> For a more detailed discussion of Cantril’s and Stanton’s courting of Lazarsfeld, with full citations, see my dissertation, “Émigré Scientists of the Quotidian: Market Research and the American Consumer Unconscious, 1933–1976” (PhD diss., George Washington University, 2015).

<sup>28</sup> John Marshall, “Next jobs in radio and film,” memorandum, August 31, 1938, Folder 50, Box 5, Series 911, RG 3.1, APP, FA112, RF, RAC.

<sup>29</sup> LKF to David H. Stevens, November 21, 1938, Folder 3723, Box 361, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC; David H. Stevens to S. Howard Evans, November 22, 1938, Folder 3723, Box 361, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC; “Interview with Professor Hadley Cantril and Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld, Directors of the Princeton Radio Research Project,” November 22, 1938, Folder 3723, Box 361, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC; Hadley Cantril, “Proposed Study of ‘Mass Hysteria,’” November 29, 1938, Folder 3723, Box 361, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC.

<sup>30</sup> “Grant-in-Aid – General Education,” November 29, 1938, Folder 3723, Box 361, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC.

<sup>31</sup> “Inter-Office Memorandum (Orson Welles Broadcast),” December 5, 1938, enclosed in David H. Stevens, “Princeton radio project,” interoffice memorandum, December 5, 1938, Folder 3723, Box 361, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC. The study ultimately resulted in a published volume, Hadley Cantril, Hazel Gaudet, and Herta Herzog, *The Invasion from Mars: A Study in the Psychology of Panic* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1940). Lazarsfeld later complained that Cantril took credit for the project, though his co-authors (one of whom was Lazarsfeld’s wife, Herta Herzog), had done most of the work. Cantril could not tolerate or did not understand Lazarsfeld’s methodological instructions, and he seemed to delegate much of the work to subordinates. See: Hadley Cantril to John Marshall, December 2, 1939; and Hadley Cantril to Paul Lazarsfeld, December 2, 1939, Folder 3723, Box 361, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC.

<sup>32</sup> James G. McDonald, “Report of the High Commissioner,” and “Discussion in the Second Committee of the Assembly of the League of Nations,” September 22, 1934, enclosed in “The Third Meeting of the Governing Body of the High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany,” London, November 1 and 2, 1934, Folder 12, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC; “An International Appeal on behalf of Displaced German Scholars,” statement of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, Geneva, April 2, 1935, Folder 8, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC; Edward R. Murrow, “Report of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars,” February 1, 1935, Folder 13, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC; Edward R. Murrow, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars,” September 27, 1935, Folder 19, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC; Walter Kotschnig to Edward R. Murrow, August 10, 1934, Reel 9-HF (9.1.25), Series 3, RG 1, FA1289, IIE, RAC.

<sup>33</sup> “Americans’ ‘Host’ put in Nazi Prison,” *New York Times*, July 13, 1934.

<sup>34</sup> “Text of Correspondence between the Secretariat of International Student Service and Its German Collaborators,” and “Resolution of the I.S.S. Assembly, taken on August 3rd, 1934, concerning the future relations with its German collaborators,” Reel 9-HF (9.1.25), Series 3, RG 1, FA1289, IIE, RAC. Bizarrely, Edward R. Murrow initially opposed Kotschnig’s decision to sever ISS’s relations with Germany, and he and Duggan believed that IIE’s exchanges with Germany could continue. See Edward R. Murrow to Walter M. Kotschnig, July 16, 1934; Edward R. Murrow to Walter M. Kotschnig, July 25, 1934; and Edward R. Murrow to Walter Kotschnig, August 27, 1934, Reel 9-HF (9.1.25), Series 3, RG 1, FA1289, IIE, RAC.

<sup>35</sup> “Scholars’ Plight Under Nazis Told,” *New York Times*, July 22, 1934; “Refugees from Germany,” *School and Society*, July 28, 1934, enclosed in Edward R. Murrow to Alfred E. Cohn, July 31, 1934, Folder 3, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC; George H. Copeland, “A German View of Us,” *New York Times*, August 5, 1934; Edward R. Murrow to Alfred E. Cohn, July 13, 1934, Folder 3, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC.

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<sup>36</sup> Norbert Wiener, "Aid For German-Refugee Scholars Must Come From Non-Academic Sources," *The Jewish Advocate*, n.d. [reprint, ca. December 1934], in Folder 4, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC; W. M. Kotschnig, "Exiled German Intellectuals Get Aid," *New York Times*, January 13, 1935; "Report on Deposed Scholars," n.d. [ca. February 1935], enclosed in Edward R. Murrow to Alfred E. Cohn, March 1, 1935, Folder 4, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC; "The Academic Assistance Council: Second Annual Report," London, July 20, 1935, Folder 12, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>37</sup> "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," January 23, 1935, Folder 19, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC. By May of 1936, however, the Committee did not expect to continue making grants beyond the 1936-37 academic year. See: John Whyte "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," May 13, 1936, Folder 20, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC. The Committee's sense of the historic importance of its mission is indicated by the fact that it decided in June of 1936 to have its papers deposited at the New York Public Library (where they remain today) as the conclusion of its work. See: John Whyte, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," June 4, 1936, Folder 20, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>38</sup> John Whyte, "Report of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," March 1, 1936, Folder 13, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC. Despite the worsening situation in Germany, Livingston Farrand, Chairman of the Emergency Committee and President of Cornell University, accepted an invitation to attend a celebration in Germany marking the anniversary of the founding of the University of Heidelberg. "Much as I abhor the attitude of the present regime, in Germany," Farrand explained, "it seemed to me unsound policy to refuse the ordinary interchange of courtesies between institutions of learning on such an occasion." Shocked by this error in judgment, members of the Executive Committee asked Farrand to resign from his position as Chairman of the Emergency Committee. However, Secretary Stephen Duggan was not present at the meeting where the members of the Executive Committee made this decision, which he opposed. He felt that it violated the Committee's practice of remaining cordial and "outside controversies aroused by Nazi fanaticism." Duggan wrote: "I can imagine the joy in Germany when the news would arrive that there was a split in the ranks of the friends of the displaced scholars and that the Executive Committee had asked its chairman (and inferentially others) to resign." Farrand stayed on as Chairman until his death on November 8, 1939. See: John Whyte to Stephen Duggan, March 14, 1936; Stephen Duggan to John Whyte, March 16, 1936, in Reel 9-HF (9.1.16), Series 3, RG 1, FA1289, IIE, RAC.

<sup>39</sup> "Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," pamphlet, n.d. [ca. February 1, 1935], Folder 13, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC. The Emergency Committee also refused to support immigrant scholars whose status as refugees was questionable, as in the case of Wolfgang Köhler. See: James M. Stifler to Edward R. Murrow, March 4, 1935; Edward R. Murrow to James M. Stifler, March 9, 1935; Edward R. Murrow to James M. Stifler, March 27, 1935; and "Analysis of Emergency Committee Appointments from Standpoint of Advisability of Renewal," March 26, 1935, Folder 4, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC; and Eunice Lisowski to Frank Aydelotte, December 10, 1937, Folder 12, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC. The Committee also declined to support scholars receiving stipends greater than \$4000 per year from all sources. See: John Whyte, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," February 4, 1936, Folder 20, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC. The Rockefeller Foundation maintained a policy of making no grants beyond three years, generally in diminishing amounts each year, and supporting no single scholar at a sum greater than \$7500. See: John Whyte, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," March 26, 1936, Folder 20, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC. The Committee occasionally arranged for the placement of scholars at Canadian institutions, for which it provided no grants. See: Edward R. Murrow to Mr. Warburg, April 2, 1936, Folder 8, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>40</sup> "Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, held at the Office of the Institute of International Education," March 26, 1935, Folder 4, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC. By March of 1936, of the sixty-four scholars placed by the Committee, ten had been added to the permanent staffs, and another eleven were expected



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to be. The Committee rejected about half of the applications it received, and beginning in 1936 it only awarded grants for one year at a time. See: John Whyte, "Report of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," March 1, 1936, Folder 13, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC. In extraordinary circumstances, such as in the case of the eminent theologian Paul Tillich, the Committee extended its support for a single scholar beyond five years. It also occasionally supported scholars and eminent intellectuals in self-exile, such as Thomas Mann, who received support from the Committee for an appointment at Princeton. See: Betty Drury, "Minutes of the Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," May 11, 1938, Folder 21, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>41</sup> John Whyte, "Minutes of the Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," New York, February 26, 1936, Reel 9-HF (9.1.16), Series 3, RG 1, FA1289, IIE, RAC; "Situation of and Opportunities for Displaced German Scholars in the United States: Report by Walter M. Kotschnig on his Visit to American Colleges and Universities, February 15-April 24, 1936," Reel 9-HF (9.1.16), Series 3, RG 1, FA1289, IIE, RAC; John Whyte [Assistant Secretary], "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," June 4, 1936, Folder 20, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>42</sup> "Supplementary List of Displaced German Scholars," London, Autumn 1937, Folder 11, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC; Betty Drury, "Minutes of the Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," January 5, 1938, Folder 20, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC; Rudolf Littauer, letter to Betty Drury, February 24, 1939, Reel 10-HF (10.1.1), Series 3, RG 1, FA1289, IIE, RAC; John Whyte, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," April 27, 1936, Folder 20, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>43</sup> Betty Drury, "Minutes of the Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars," June 6, 1938, Folder 21, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>44</sup> Betty Drury to Alfred E. Cohn, November 22, 1938, Folder 15, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC; "The Emergency Committee in aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars: Annual Report," December 1, 1938, Folder 13, Box 5, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>45</sup> Stephen Duggan to Frederick P. Keppel, April 15, 1939, Folder 29, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC; Ralph E. Himstead to Stephen Duggan, April 28, 1939, Folder 29, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC. Although they worked together frequently and arranged conferences to coordinate strategy, members of the Committee seemed to express an almost irrational resentment toward some of their allies, such as David Cleghorn Thomson, General Secretary of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning in London. Thomson embarked on a tour of the U.S. in 1939, visiting colleges and universities to inquire about whether they might be able to accommodate refugee scholars, or, if they had already, how they were getting along. Thomson presented his plans to the Emergency Committee in March of 1939, which were met with deep skepticism, mainly because Committee members feared that the trip would contribute to feelings of resentment towards the refugee scholars. For the same reason, Committee members deplored the British practice of sponsoring émigré scholars' tours of the U.S. in search of jobs. Thomson, nevertheless, expressed respect and gratitude towards the Committee. See: David Cleghorn Thomson, "Scholars in Exile: American Help for Refugees," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, June 16, 1939; Betty Drury, "Minutes of the Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars," March 23, 1939; Betty Drury, "Minutes of the Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars," May 9, 1939; and Betty Drury "Minutes of the Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars," April 3, 1939, Folder 22, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>46</sup> The Oberlaender Trust often worked directly with refugees, whom they permitted to search for openings on their own. The Trust required no pledge from the university that the position would be made permanent at a later date, and their assistance to the refugees was often rather small, sometimes in the form of loans to help refugees get started. By this method, the Trust had, by April of 1939, taken care of 160 cases at a cost of \$160,000, while the Rockefeller Foundation had

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expended about \$600,000 to place 170 scholars. This fact deeply impressed Thomas B. Appleget of the Rockefeller Foundation. Stephen Duggan thought that the practice of the Oberlaender Trust risked alienating college administrators and young professors, particularly because he suspected it of supporting younger scholars who might appear to threaten the livelihoods of graduate students. See: Betty Drury, "Informal Minutes of Luncheon Conference of Representatives of the Oberlaender Trust, The Rockefeller Foundation, The Carnegie Corporation, The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars," April 28, 1939, Folder 22, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC; Betty Drury, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars," October 9, 1939, Folder 23, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>47</sup> Barbara S. Burks to Dean George D. Stoddard, April 27, 1939, enclosed in Betty Drury, memorandum to Members of the Executive Committee, April 28, 1939, Folder 17, Box 4, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>48</sup> Betty Drury, "Minutes of the Luncheon Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars," October 6, 1939, Folder 23, Box 6, FA802, AEC, RAC.

<sup>49</sup> David H. Stevens, memorandum to Raymond B. Fosdick, February 27, 1939, Folder 2, Box 1, Series 911, RG 3.1, APP, FA112, RF, RAC.

<sup>50</sup> Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Radio and the Printed Page: An Introduction to the Study of Radio and Its Role in the Communication of Ideas* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940); Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton, *Radio Research, 1941* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941); Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton, eds. *Radio Research, 1942-1943* (New York: Essential Books, 1944).

<sup>51</sup> "Princeton University – Radio Research," [RF 39076] June 9, 1939, in "Humanities Appropriations, 1936 – 1940," Folder 8, Box 2, FA051, DHS, RAC.

<sup>52</sup> "Conference of Motion Picture and Radio Project Directors," October 16, 1939, Folder 3696, Series 1.2, FA058, GEB, RAC.

<sup>53</sup> John Marshall, "Public Opinion and the Emergency," November 1, 1939, Folder 34, Box 3, Series 1, FA053, JM, RAC.

<sup>54</sup> "Princeton University – Studies of Public Opinion," [RF 39099], December 5-6, 1939, in "Humanities Appropriations, 1936 – 1940," Folder 8, Box 2, FA051, DHS, RAC.

