

American Philosophy and the Intellectual Migration

Pragmatism, Logical Empiricism, Phenomenology, Critical Theory

Edited by Sander Verhaegh

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Contributors

Adam Tamas Tuboly is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute of Philosophy, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and a Research Fellow at the PTE-ITD, University of Pécs, Hungary. His research focuses on the philosophy of logical empiricism, logic and modality and he is currently working on a biography of Philipp Frank (with George Reisch). He has edited several volumes on logical empiricism including *Neurath Reconsidered* (Springer, 2019), *The Historical and Philosophical Significance of Ayer's Language, Truth and Logic* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2021), *The Socio-Ethical Dimension of Knowledge: The Mission of Logical Empiricism* (Springer, 2021), and *Ernest Nagel: Philosophy of Science and the Fight for Clarity* (Springer, 2022).

Carlo Ierna is an assistant professor in history of philosophy at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and a researcher in the HERMES consortium at the Radboud University Nijmegen. Previously, he was the principal investigator of a research project on the renewal of the ideal of “Philosophy as Science” in the School of Brentano (funded by the Dutch Research Council) and a visiting fellow at Harvard University and the Brentano Archives in Graz. He has co-edited the volumes *The Reception of Husserlian Phenomenology in North America* (Springer, 2019) and *Philosophy, Phenomenology, Sciences: Essays in Commemoration of Edmund Husserl* (Springer, 2010) and his work has been published in *Brentano Studien*, *Meinong Studies*, and the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

Cheryl Misak is University Professor, Professor of Philosophy, and former Vice President and Provost at the University of Toronto. Her research spans American pragmatism, the history of analytic philosophy, moral and political philosophy, and philosophy of medicine. She is the author of numerous papers and six books: *Cambridge Pragmatism: From Peirce and James to Ramsey and Wittgenstein* (OUP, 2016); *The American Pragmatists* (OUP, 2013); *Truth, Politics, Morality: Pragmatism and Deliberation* (Routledge, 2000); *Verificationism: Its History and Prospects* (Routledge, 1995) and *Truth and the End of Inquiry: A Peircean Account of Truth* (OUP, 1991). Her latest work is a biography of the Cambridge philosopher, mathematician, and economist, Frank Ramsey. It was published in 2020 by Oxford University Press, under the title *Frank Ramsey: A Sheer Excess of Powers*.

David Dyzenhaus is a professor of Law and Philosophy at the University of Toronto, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy. He holds the Albert Abel Chair of Law and was appointed in 2015 to the rank of University Professor. Dyzenhaus is the author of *Hard Cases in Wicked Legal Systems: South African Law in the Perspective of Legal Philosophy* (OUP, 1991), *Legality and Legitimacy: Carl Schmitt, Hans*

Kelsen, and Hermann Heller in Weimar (Clarendon, 1997), and *Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves: Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order* (Hart, 1998). He has edited and co-edited several collections of essays. He is editor of the University of Toronto Law Journal and co-editor of the series Cambridge Studies in Constitutional Law. His most recent book is *The Long Arc of Legality: Hobbes, Kelsen, Hart* (CUP, 2022).

Eric Schliesser is professor of political science, with a focus on political theory, at the University of Amsterdam. Schliesser's research encompasses a variety of themes, ranging from economic statistics in classical Babylon, the history of the natural sciences and forgotten 18th-century feminists (both male and female) to political theory, the history of political theory, and the history of twentieth-century philosophy. Schliesser's interest in the influence of Chicago school of economics has increasingly moved his research toward the study of the methodology and political role of economists as experts. Schliesser has published on Newton, Huygens, Spinoza, Berkeley, Hume, Smith and Sophie De Grouchy. His publications include his monograph, *Adam Smith: Systematic Philosopher and Public Thinker* (OUP, 2017) and numerous volumes including *Newton and Empiricism*. (OUP, with Zvi Biener, 2014); *Sympathy, a History of a Concept* (OUP, 2015); and *Ten Neglected Classics of Philosophy* (OUP, 2017). He keeps a daily blog at <https://digressionsimpressions.substack.com/>.

Fons Dewulf is a postdoctoral fellow in the project “Exiled Empiricists: American Philosophy and the Great Intellectual Migration” at Tilburg University. He investigates the emergence of Anglophone philosophy of science as an independent subdiscipline of professional philosophy and the impact of this emergence on the methods and aims of philosophy of science and on its relation to the sciences and society. Based on this research, he is currently preparing a book manuscript on the emergence of philosophy of science as a discipline. In his previous work, Fons has focused especially on the intellectual shifts that occurred in logical empiricist philosophy during the intense period of migration before the Second World War. His work has been published in, among others, *Philosophy of Science*, *HOPOS*, *The British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, and *Journal of the History of Ideas*.

George Reisch is an independent scholar and author of *The Politics of Paradigms* (SUNY Press, 2019) and *How the Cold War Transformed Philosophy of Science* (CUP, 2005), the first in-depth study of the development of philosophy of science in the United States during the Cold War. His work has documented both the political vitality of logical empiricism and Otto Neurath's Unity of Science movement when these projects emigrated to the United States as well as their depoliticization by a convergence of intellectual, cultural and political forces in the 1950s. Currently, he is working on a biography of Philipp Frank (with Adam Tamas Tuboly).

Hanne Jacobs is Associate Professor in the Department of Philosophy at Tilburg University, The Netherlands. She is the co-editor of *Husserl Studies* and the series editor of the *Series in Continental Thought*. She also sits on the board of directors of the Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology. She has published articles on topics in phenomenology such as personhood, attention, rationality, and phenomenological method and is currently writing on

willful ignorance and attention from a phenomenological perspective. Her publications include *The Husserlian Mind* (Routledge, 2021) and *Philosophy, Phenomenology, Sciences: Essays in Commemoration of Edmund Husserl* (Springer, 2010).

Joel Katzav is an associate professor in philosophy at the University of Queensland. He specializes in the philosophy of science and the history of twentieth-century Anglophone philosophy. His work on how journal capture by specific approaches to philosophy has affected philosophy's development and nature has been published in the *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, *Philosophers' Imprint*, and *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A*. This work documents the way in which analytic philosophy used institutional control to displace rival approaches to philosophy and considers what we might learn from this about the nature of analytic philosophy and about how to approach and organize philosophy. His work on early twentieth century speculative philosophy has been published in the *Asian Journal of Philosophy*, *Australasian Philosophical Review*, *HOPOS*, and his edited volume, *Knowledge, Mind and Reality: An Introduction by Early Twentieth-Century American Women Philosophers*. This work retrieves and learns from neglected speculative philosophy by bringing it into dialogue with more recent Anglophone philosophy.

Jonathan Strassfeld is Research Historian at Johns Hopkins University and author of *Inventing Philosophy's Other: Phenomenology in America* (Chicago UP, 2022). In this book, he explores the absence of phenomenology and continental philosophy in most American philosophy departments, revealing how everyday institutional practices played a determinative role in the development of twentieth-century academic discourse. His research focuses on the history of phenomenology in American philosophy. His approach to these topics draws on the techniques of both intellectual and social history to question how institutions affect the development and influence of ideas. His work has been published in, among others, *Modern Intellectual History* and the volume *The Reception of Husserlian Phenomenology in North America* (Springer, 2019).

Matthias Neuber is research associate at the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz and principal investigator of the DFG-funded research project "American Realism in the Early 20th Century". Apart from American Realism, he specializes in Kant & Neo-Kantianism, Logical Empiricism, Epistemology, Philosophy of Science & Mathematics, and Cultural Philosophy. He is the author of *Der Realismus Im Logischen Empirismus: Eine Studie Zur Geschichte der Wissenschaftsphilosophie* (Springer, 2017) and the volume *Ernest Nagel: Philosophy of Science and the Fight for Clarity* (Springer, 2021). His papers have been published in, among others, *Philosophy of Science*, *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, and *HOPOS*.

Sander Verhaegh is Associate Professor of Philosophy of Science at the Tilburg Center for Logic, Ethics and Philosophy of Science (TiLPS) at Tilburg University and principal investigator of the project "Exiled Empiricists: American Philosophy and the Great Intellectual Migration" (2022-27), funded by the European Research Council and the Dutch Research Council. His research focuses on the history of philosophy of science, history of psychology, and history of analytic philosophy and his work has been published, among others, in *Journal*

of the History of Philosophy, Erkenntnis, Philosophers' Imprint, Isis, Philosophy of Science, Australasian Journal of Philosophy, Synthese, and History of Psychology. He is the author of *Working from Within: The Nature and Development of Quine's Naturalism* (OUP, 2018) and co-editor of *Women in the History of Analytic Philosophy* (Springer, 2022).

Thomas Wheatland is Associate Professor of History at Assumption College and author of *The Frankfurt School in Exile* (The University of Minnesota Press, 2009), the first book to examine the relationship between members of the Frankfurt School and their American contemporaries. Wheatland specializes in European and American intellectual developments during the migration and has published papers about the New York intellectuals and Paul Lazarsfeld as well as a co-authored book on the political activist Franz Neumann (Anthem Press, 2019). His work has been published in, among others, *Berlin Journal of Critical Theory*, *Thesis Eleven: Critical Theory and Historical Sociology*, *German Politics and Society*, and *European Journal of Political Theory*.

Preface

This volume collects papers presented at the conference “Euro-American Migration and the Development of Postwar Philosophy”, which took place at Tilburg University in August 2022. This conference marked the start of the ERC/NWO research project “Exiled Empiricists: American Philosophy and the Great Intellectual Migration” (2022-27). Both this volume and the conference would have been impossible without financial support from the European Research Council (grant 2021-STG, 101039904) and the Dutch Research Council (grant VI.Vidi.201.115) as well as Tilburg University’s Department of Philosophy, which helped to make this volume open access. I am very grateful for this support. In addition, I would like to thank the participants at the conference, the contributors to this volume, and the members of the *Exiled Empiricists* Research Project: Claudia Cristalli, Eugenio Petrovich, Fons Dewulf, Gregor Bös, Nina IJdens, and Ties van Gemert. Finally, I would like to thank Christoph Schirmer and the external referees who helped reviewing the book proposal and the manuscript for De Gruyter; and Catherine Kendig, Lydia Patton, and Alan Richardson, editors of De Gruyter’s *History of Philosophy and Science* book series.

Sander Verhaegh
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The refugee arrives only after he has gone through experiences perhaps unparalleled in the history of modern mankind... Only his education and his former status are left as bases of self-respect and emotional balance... The American is at an utter loss to understand the émigré's tenacious clinging to the old occupation.

—Gerhart Saenger, refugee philosopher (1940, 265-7)

“I have been having a rather hectic time... Half of Europe seems to be passing through New York. And I have been seeing a sizeable number of these... Some of the ... people I have met ... have harrowing experiences to relate; and seeing so many splendid men splendidly equipped intellectually, but without any prospects, one does not quite know what to do with one's own despair.”

—Ernest Nagel, U.S. philosopher (letter to Charles Morris Oct. 20, 1938)

1. Introduction: American Philosophy and the Intellectual Migration

Sander Verhaegh*

In the 1930s and 1940s, thousands of European intellectuals sought refuge in the United States, hoping to find academic employment and a safe haven across the Atlantic (Fermi 1968; Breitman & Kraut, 1987). Some of them had been dismissed from their jobs after the NSDAP seized power in Germany. Others were escaping the growing hostilities toward Jews and other minorities following the rise of fascism in Austria, the *Kristallnacht*, and the start of the Second World War. A 1934 press release estimates that “more than 1,300 scholars” and “some 7,000 students” were displaced after the German Reichstag passed the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service.¹ Many more fled when the threat of war intensified in the late 1930s. In total, the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars received about 6,000 applications from “displaced scholars and professional persons” between 1933 and 1945. Only a fraction of them, less than six percent, were granted financial assistance.²

Among the intellectual migrants were more than one hundred philosophers from a variety of schools, many of whom would have a significant impact on the American intellectual climate. Prominent logical empiricists (e.g. Rudolf Carnap, Carl Gustav Hempel, and Hans Reichenbach) helped shape and institutionalize U.S. philosophy of science. Members of the Frankfurt school (e.g., Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Herbert Marcuse) had a formative influence on sociology and the New Left. Phenomenologists (e.g., Aron Gurwitsch, Herbert Spiegelberg, and Alfred Schütz) contributed to the reception of what we nowadays call ‘continental’ philosophy. And a group of political philosophers (e.g. Hannah Arendt, Leo Strauss, and Eric Voegelin) influenced the development of American political theory. All in all, dozens of migrants acquired positions at elite universities such that, in 1953, eight out of the eleven most prestigious U.S. philosophy departments had émigrés on staff.³

* A.A.Verhaegh@tilburguniversity.edu, TiLPS, Tilburg University.

¹ “7500 Academic and Kindred Refugees from Germany”, Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, July 21 1934, cited in Löhr (2014, 231). The University of Berlin alone terminated 278 out of 797 contracts after the law took effect (Grüttner & Kinas 2007).

² Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars Records, NY Public Library Archives & Manuscripts; <https://archives.nypl.org/mss/922> (accessed December 2023).

³ They were Carnap (University of Chicago), Erich Frank (University of Pennsylvania), Hempel (Yale University), Werner Jaeger (Harvard University), Jan Kalicki (UC Berkeley), Walter Kaufmann (Princeton University), Paul Kristeller (Columbia University), Hans Meyerhoff (UCLA), Reichenbach (UCLA), and Paul Schrecker (UPenn). Some philosophers (broadly defined) were based at the same universities but had positions in other departments. They include Egon Brunswik (Berkeley), Philipp Frank (Harvard), Hermann Fränkel

It is no exaggeration to conclude that the intellectual migration was one of the most formative events of twentieth-century philosophy. The brain drain helped shift the academic center of gravity from the German-speaking to the Anglophone world, which saw an influx of dozens of scholars who had dictated the philosophical conversation during the interbellum. The encounters between European and Anglo-American philosophers led to a cross-fertilization between two intellectual cultures, thereby giving rise to many new approaches, perspectives, and schools of thought. Especially the rise of analytic philosophy in the 1950s is inextricably tied to the intellectual migration. Logical empiricism had been a relatively minor movement in the German-speaking world, where the philosophical debate was dominated by phenomenology and *lebensphilosophie*, but the roles were remarkably reversed in the United States (Hardcastle & Richardson 2003; Verhaegh 2020abc). Beyond the analytic mainstream, there was a lively reception of critical theory, psychoanalysis, and phenomenology, inside and outside philosophy departments, in the decades following the war (e.g. Burnham 2012; Ferri & Ierna 2019; Strassfeld 2022; Wheatland 2009).

This volume explores the impact of the intellectual migration on twentieth-century philosophy by bringing together historians specialized in a variety of scholarly traditions: pragmatism, idealism, naturalism, analytic philosophy, neo-realism, phenomenology, feminism, logical empiricism, humanism, critical theory, Straussianism, and Christian conservatism. Whereas existing work on the effects of the migration tends to focus on individual refugees and schools of thought,⁴ this volume presents twelve case studies on a variety of philosophers and movements, thereby offering a broader perspective on a period that has shaped the development of philosophy in the last half century. The twelve chapters reconstruct how encounters between different philosophical movements generated new traditions. But they also show how certain perspectives were forgotten or marginalized, and how cultural misunderstandings led to philosophical confusions that still affect the discipline today. This introductory chapter, finally, presents a list of 178 exiled philosophers (section 2), argues that historians ought to develop a broader perspective on the effects of the migration (sections 2-3), and provides an overview of the twelve chapters in this volume (section 4).

2. Quantifying the philosophical migration

Several historians and sociologists have tried to quantify the intellectual migration. Yet estimates of the number of exiled academics, students, and scholars widely differ, depending on the period of investigation, method of computation, and definition of intellectual. A 1947

(Stanford), Kurt von Fritz (Columbia), Else Fränkel-Brunswik (Berkeley), Erich von Kahler (Cornell), Ernst Kapp (Columbia), Hans Kelsen (Berkeley), Hans Loewald (Yale), Marcuse (Columbia), Richard von Mises (Harvard), Franz Neumann (Columbia), Friedrich Solmsen (Cornell), Yves Simon (Chicago), Frederic Spiegelberg (Stanford), Strauss (Chicago), Alfred Tarski (Berkeley), Robert Ulich (Harvard), and Joachim Wach (Chicago). On the most prestigious mid-century philosophy departments, see Strassfeld (2020).

⁴ See this chapter's list of references for a select overview. A notable exception is Beck & Coomann (2018).

report from the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe estimates that about a quarter million refugees settled in the United States between 1933 and 1945 and that more than twenty thousand of them were engaged in “professional” occupations—a broad category including, among others, architects, chemists, and clergymen (Davie 1947, xvi-xviii). Between 5,322 and 5,469 of them are classified as “professor and teacher” or as “scientist and literary person”, depending on the precise method of estimation (ibid., 41). Laura Fermi, author of one of the first book-length publications on the intellectual migration worked with a narrower definition of ‘intellectual’ and studied “the men and women who came to America ... with ... Ph.D.’s or diplomas from art academies ... and who continued to engage in intellectual pursuits in this country” as well as “a group of younger people” with a “degree from a European institution of higher education” but who had not “yet entered a career ... when they left Europe” (1968, 4, 12). She arrives at a list of “about 1,900 names” but explicitly notes that this underestimates the total “size of the intellectual wave” as she limited her study to migrants who were successful enough to be included in reference works such as *Who’s Who in America* (ibid., 11-3). Bat-Ami Zucker, finally, has calculated the number of immigrants who arrived in the U.S on a special visa for professors and ministers (section 4d of the Immigration Act of 1924) or students (section 4e) and concludes that 19,082 immigrants in these categories—i.e. 13,322 students, 944 professors, 2,184 ministers, and 2,632 family members of these professors and ministers—entered the United States between 1933 and 1941.⁵

Estimates of the number of migrant *philosophers* are equally divergent. The aforementioned report from Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe classifies 62 refugees as philosophers, including 44 professors, Privatdozenten, Dozenten, assistants, researchers, and lecturers as well as 18 scholars “whose records did not show former affiliation with a European institution or university” (Davie 1947, 314-6; 320-1). Fermi’s book includes a short section on migrant philosophers but lists just a few dozen of the most influential émigrés—e.g. Adorno, Arendt, and Carnap—in this section or elsewhere in her book. A 1942 inventory of “exiled scholars in the field of philosophy” compiled by the American Philosophical Association, finally, lists 77 migrant philosophers looking for a position at a U.S. college or university. The APA Committee on Exiled Scholars, chaired by Columbia philosopher Horace L. Friess, distributed this inventory to all members of the Association in the hope that it would “serve as more than a mere report, and that in our present common struggles for a humane civilization these scholars can be aided through our efforts to give the fullest service to the profession and to the nation”.⁶

All these existing lists underestimate the number of exiled philosophers, however. Fermi exclusively discusses the most successful migrants and the APA inventory only includes philosophers who had (a) turned to the association for help and (b) had not yet found a position by 1942. Philosophers who had been dismissed from their jobs in 1933 are largely absent, for

⁵ House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. *Restriction of Immigration*. 68th Congress, Rep. No. 350, pt. 1, 16; Zucker (2001, 159).

⁶ “An Inventory of Personnel”, APA Eastern Division’s Committee on Exiled Scholars, April 1942, Max Rieser Collection, Leo Baeck Institute (hereafter, MRC), Box 1, Folder 5. All 77 migrants on the APA list were already in the U.S. The committee also published a second inventory of philosophers who were still in Europe but hoped to come to North America.

example, as many of them had been in the country for almost a decade. Nor does the APA inventory include philosophy students who had started their education in Europe and were taking their advanced degrees in philosophy in the United States.⁷ The 1947 Report from the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe, finally, underestimates the number of exiled philosophers as it relies on a relatively narrow definition of who to count as a philosopher. Refugee scholars were assigned just one field of study even though many of them had degrees in multiple fields or “had to changed disciplines in order to meet American market requirements” (Davie 1947, 315). Prominent philosophers who had found positions in mathematics (e.g. Tarski), psychology (e.g. Erich Fromm), or political science departments (e.g. Strauss), for example, are not included in their number.

Table 1 provides a more extensive list of 178 exiled philosophers (broadly conceived) supplementing the 1942 APA inventory with more than one hundred philosophers who had already found a position or never turned to the association for assistance. Many of these names were kindly provided by a research team at the University of Jena which is currently building a *Digitale Datenbank Exilphilosophie* (DDEP).⁸ A few dozen additional names were included after consulting the vast secondary literature on the lives and works of philosophical émigrés (see the final column of Table 1), and a number of handbooks and guides, including the inventory *German Jews in the United States: A Guide to Archival Collections* (Wilhelm 2008) *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933–1945* (Röder & Strauss 1999), *The Dictionary of Modern American Philosophers* (Shook 2005), and a list of 300 intellectual migrants appended to Fleming and Bailyn (1969).⁹ The table is intended to be as complete as possible but should not be treated as an exhaustive list. Philosophers from France and Poland may be underrepresented, for example, as migration from these countries has been less well documented than migration from their German-speaking neighbors.¹⁰

In compiling the list, I followed the DDEP in working with a broad conception of ‘philosophy’. Table 1 includes both academics with rich careers as philosophy professors and scholars who formally worked in different fields—e.g. physics, history, or sociology—but who had a degree in philosophy or regularly contributed to debates on (the history of) philosophy. The philologist Ernst Kapp, for example, is included because he published on the development of ancient logic (Kapp 1942; 1965), while chess world champion Emanuel Lasker is listed because he studied philosophy and published two philosophical monographs in the 1910s (Lasker 1913; 1918). Table 1 also includes scientists, humanists, and mathematicians who were

⁷ “Report of The Eastern Division’s Committee on Exiled Scholars for 1939, December 29, 1939, MRC, Box 1, Folder 5.

⁸ I would like to thank Max Beck, Nicholas Coomann, and Roman Yos for their help and comments on a first version of this introduction.

⁹ This literature was also used to collect some of the other information included in Table 1: i.e. birth year, alma mater, doctoral advisor (if available), year of arrival, year of return (if applicable), and U.S. affiliations. I included a maximum of two affiliations per philosopher.

¹⁰ Though see e.g. Mehlman (2000) and Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann (2004). At first sight, Italian philosophers appear to be underrepresented, too. A database of displaced Italian academics, kindly shared with me by Erika Luciano, however, suggests that very few Italian scholars ended up in the United States. Most of them sought refuge in Europe or South America.

closely affiliated with philosophical movements such as the Frankfurt School, the Berlin Group, and the Vienna Circle (e.g. Leo Löwenthal, Kurt Lewin, and Philipp Frank). Finally, I included displaced philosophy students in case they had already obtained a degree in Europe before they completed their studies in the United States. These include, among others, Walter Cerf, Robert Hartman, Ernst Maier, and Werner Marx. Migrants who arrived in the United States in their teens and obtained their first philosophy degree in their new home country—e.g. Adolf Grünbaum, Nicholas Rescher, and Guy Stern—are not included. I also excluded philosophers who arrived in the United States after 1945—e.g. Werner Falk, Hans Jonas, Benita Luckmann, and Rose Rand—even if they had spent a period in exile in another country before their arrival, as well as intellectual migrants who moved to North America before 1931.

Naturally, each of these criteria may be contested. One will end up with quite a different list if one includes all student migrants or omits refugees who never obtained a position as a philosophy professor. Still, Table 1 helps convey the magnitude of the philosophical migration. The American Philosophical Association had just some six hundred members in the late 1930s, meaning that the community of philosophers grew with a least a quarter in just a few years' time (APA, 1938). Moreover, the inventory may contribute to a more detailed study of the population of migrant philosophers. It reveals, for instance, that most philosophers (approx. 47 percent) arrived in the period between 1939 and 1941, that a large number of émigrés (approx. 86 percent) was affiliated with at least one American institute of higher education, and that only a relatively small fraction of the refugees (approx. 19 percent) returned to Europe after the war.¹¹ Information about the émigré's alma maters, doctoral advisors, and U.S. affiliations (though incomplete), finally, can help historians reconstruct networks of institutional connections between migrant philosophers, both in Europe and in the United States.

Most importantly, Table 1 can help us to shift and broaden our perspective on the intellectual migration. Histories of this period tend to focus on the success stories but it is important to keep in mind that just a small number of migrants went on to have successful academic careers in the United States. Though many migrant philosophers found temporary employment as instructor or lecturer, relatively few of them obtained a tenured position, let alone a professorship at a prestigious university. This is not just due to the large number of philosophical migrants; it is also an effect of the state of the U.S. economy at the time. Most refugees arrived in the late 1930s, a period when the academic job market was still plagued by the effects of the Great Depression. This economic downturn especially affected the humanities as students were massively choosing more 'practical' majors and courses. In 1938, the APA Committee on Opportunities for Employment reported that "depression conditions have made administrations susceptible to questions of numbers of students enrolled in department of philosophy", noting that this development had "seriously affect[ed]" the philosophical job market (APA 1938, 187).

¹¹ Approximately 19 percent arrived in the period 1933-35 and 31 percent in 1936-1938. The remaining philosophers arrived before 1933 or in the period 1942-1945. In estimating the number of philosophers who returned to Europe, I only included philosophers who had moved back by 1955.

Name	Born	Alma Mater	Doc. Adv.	Period in US	US Affiliation(s)	More information
Adorno, Theodor	1903	Frankfurt	Cornelius	1938-1949	Inst. for Social Research, Columbia; UC Berkeley	Wheatland (this volume)
Anders, Günther	1902	Freiburg	Husserl	1936-1950	i.a. NSSR; US Office of War Information	van Dijk (2000)
Arendt, Hannah	1906	Heidelberg	Jaspers	1941-	i.a. UChicago; NSSR*	King (2015)
Ascoli, Max	1898	Rome		1932-	i.a. NSSR*; editor of <i>The Reporter</i>	Camurri (2010)
Bamberger, Fritz	1902	Berlin	Spranger	1939-	i.a. Coll. of Jew. Stud., Chicago; Leo Baeck Inst.	Meyer (2013)
Baumgardt, David	1890	Berlin		1939-	Consultant, Library of Congress	Sternglass & Frank (1963)
Beck, Maximilian	1887	Munich	Pfänder	1938-	i.a. Yale Un.; Central College, Little Rock*	De Santis (2023)
Berger, Klaus	1901	Göttingen	Geiger	1941-	Northwestern Un.; Un. of Kansas (art history)*	Roussel (1982)
Bergmann, Gustav	1906	Vienna	Mayer	1938-	Un. of Iowa*	Egidi & Bonino (2008)
Bespaloff, Rachel	1895	Paris		1942-	Mount Holyoke Coll.	Benfey & Remmler (2006)
Bloch, Ernst	1885	Würzburg	Külpe	1938-1949	None (writer)	Schmieder (2012)
Blücher, Heinrich	1899	None	None	1941-	i.a. NSSR; Bard College*	Köhler (1996)
Bondy, Curt	1894	Hamburg	Stern	1940-1949	Coll. of William & Mary (psychology)*	Guski-Leinwand (2018)
Borghini, Lamberto	1907	Pisa		1940-1948	Student	Schwarcz & Francesconi (2007)
Brann, Hellmut	1903	Berlin	Spranger	1941-	i.a. Rutgers Un. (German); NY Staats-Zeitung	Hardt (1982)
Brecht, Arnold	1884	Leipzig		1933-	NSSR (political science)*	Friedrich & Hula (1954)
Brendel, Otto	1901	Heidelberg	Curtius	1938-	i.a. IU Bloomington; Columbia Un. (art history)*	Calder III (1976)
Broch, Hermann	1886	Vienna	None	1938-	None (writer)	Lützelner (2003)
Brunswik, Egon	1903	Vienna	K. Bühler	1937-	UC Berkeley (psychology)*	Tolman (1966)
Bühler, Charlotte	1893	Munich	Becher	1940-	i.a. MLPS Gen. Hosp.; USC (psychiatry)*	Woodward (2012)
Bühler, Karl	1879	Freiburg	von Kries	1940-	i.a. St. Thom. Coll.; USC (clin. psychology)*	Bolgar (1964)
Carnap, Rudolf	1891	Jena	Bauch	1935-	i.a. UChicago; UCLA*	Verhaegh (2020b)
Cassirer, Ernst	1874	Marburg	Cohen	1941-	Yale Un.; Columbia Un.	Gawronsky (1949)
Cerf, Walter	1907	Bonn		1936-	i.a. Univ. of Minnesota; Brooklyn Coll.	Sanders (2004)
Cleve, Felix	1890	Vienna		1940-	Long Island University; NSSR	Luftschein (2018)
Duncker, Karl	1903	Berlin	Wertheimer	1937-	Swarthmore Coll. (psychology)	King et al. (1998)
Drucker, Peter	1909	Frankfurt		1937-	Bennington Coll. NY Univ. (management)*	Flaherty (1999)
Deku, Henry	1909	Berlin [†]	Dessoir	1940-1945	Yale Un. (divinity school)	Schönberger (2023)
Eckstein, Walter	1891	Vienna	Jodl	1938-	American Ethical Union	Gutmann (1973)
Edelstein, Ludwig	1902	Heidelberg	Regenbogen	1934-	i.a. Johns Hopkins Un.; UC Berkeley (Greek)*	Diller (1966)

Erdos, Leslie	1905	Vienna	Gomperz	1939-	Essex Jr. Coll., Newark (music)	Weber (2005)
Fales, Walter	1896	Berlin	Petersen	1940-	Lincoln Un.*	Edgcomb (1990)
Falkenfeld, Hellmuth	1893	Berlin	Troeltsch	1938-	Mount Sinai Hospital, NY	Heuer (1998, 478-81)
Feigl, Herbert	1902	Vienna	Schlick	1931-	i.a. Un. of Iowa; Univ. of Minnesota*	Neuber (this volume)
Flesch, Philipp	1896	Vienna		1939-	Jewish Theological Seminary (library)	Ritchey (2008)
Förster, Friedrich W.	1869	Freiburg	Reihl	1940-1963	None (writer)	Wirth (1999)
Francès, Madeleine	1906	Paris		1941-?	Unknown	Schuhl (1960)
Frank, Erich	1883	Heidelberg		1939-	i.a. Harvard Un.; Bryn Mawr College	Lang (1994)
Frank, Philipp	1884	Vienna	Boltzmann	1938-	Harvard Un. (physics; mathematics)	Reisch & Tuboly (this vol.)
Fränkel, Hermann	1888	Göttingen	Pohlentz	1935-	Stanford Un. (classics)*	Pearson et al. (1977)
Frenkel-Brunswik, Else	1908	Vienna	K. Bühler	1938-	UC Berkeley (Inst. of Child Welfare)	Valsiner & Abbey (2006)
Freund, E. Hans	1905	Freiburg	Heidegger	1940-	Pendle Hill School; Penn State Un.*	Oumma (2009)
Freund, Ludwig	1898	Leipzig		1934-1959	Columbia Un.; Roosevelt Un. (political science)*	Walk (1988)
Fritz, Kurt von	1900	Munich	Schwartz	1936-1954	Reed College; Columbia Un. (classics)*	Obermayer (2008)
Fromm, Erich	1900	Frankfurt	A. Weber	1934-	i.a. NSSR; Michigan State Un. (psychology)*	Wheatland (this volume)
Gawronsky, Dimitri	1883	Marburg	Cohen	Unknown	None (writer)	Ferrari (2011)
Geiger, Moritz	1880	Munich	Lipps	1933-	Vassar College*	Fabiani (2010)
Geiringer, Hilda	1893	Vienna	Wirtinger	1939-	i.a. Bryn Mawr Coll.; Wheaton Coll. (maths)*	Richards (1987)
Glatzer, Nahum	1903	Frankfurt	Buber	1938-	i.a. Hebrew Thl. Coll.; Brandeis Un. (Jew. Stud.)*	Sheppard (2004)
Gödel, Kurt	1906	Vienna	Hahn	1940-	IAS, Princeton (mathematics)*	Budiansky (2021)
Goldberg, Oskar	1885	Munich		1941-1949	None (worked as a doctor)	Friedlander (1992)
Goldschmied, Albin R.	1897	Prague	Ehrenfels	1939-	Chapel Hill School, Waltham; Middlesex Univ.*	Schweitzer (2018)
Gomperz, Heinrich	1873	Vienna	Mach	1935-	Un. Southern California	Stadler (2015)
Grab, Hermann	1903	Heidelberg	Salomon	1940-	David Mannes Music School	Cramer (1994)
Günther, Gotthard	1900	Berlin	Spranger	1940-1972	i.a. Widener Library; UIUC (engineering)*	Paul (2000)
Gürster, Eugen	1895	Munich		1941-1952	None (writer)	Mendelssohn (1980)
Gurvitsch, Georges	1894	Paris		1940-1945	NSSR*	Balandier (1974)
Gurwisch, Aron	1901	Göttingen	Geiger	1940-	i.a. Johns Hopkins Un.; Brandeis Un.*	Strassfeld (this volume)
Gutkind, Eric B.	1887	Berlin	None	1933-	i.a. NSSR; City Coll. of NY	Finch (1969)
Haas, William S.	1883	Munich		1940-	i.a. Univ. of Colorado, Denver; Columbia Un.	Kamaly (2020)
Hartman, Robert S.	1910	Northwestern		1941-	i.a. Wooster Coll.; Ohio State Un.*	Edwards (2005)

Hartmann, Gerda	1908	Kiel		193[7/8]-	Indic Studies, Library of Congress	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Helmer, Olaf	1910	Berlin	G. Feigl [‡]	1937-	i.a. UChicago; Rand Corporation	Rescher (2006)
Hempel, Carl Gustav	1905	Berlin	Köhler [‡]	1937-	i.a. Yale Un.; Princeton Un.*	Jeffrey (1995)
Hertz, Paul	1881	Göttingen	Abraham	1938-	None	Gosh & Arden (2013)
Hildebrand, Dietrich v.	1889	Göttingen	Husserl	1940-	Fordham Un.*	von Hildebrand (2000)
Hirschhorn, Samuel	1900	Vienna		Unknown	Unknown	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Hirschlaff, Ernest	1908	Berlin	Pringsheim	1937-1947	UChicago (physics)	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Honigsheim, Paul	1885	Heidelberg		1938-	Michigan State Un. (sociology/anthropology)*	Leser (1968)
Horkheimer, Max	1895	Frankfurt	Cornelius	1934-1949	Institute for Social Research, Columbia	Wheatland (this volume)
Husserl, Gerhart	1893	Freiburg		1936-1952	Union Theological Seminary*	Böhler (1992)
Immerwahr, Heinrich	1916	Florence		1939-	i.a. Yale Un.; Un. NC, Chapel Hill (Classics)*	Khang (2013)
Jaeger, Werner	1888	Berlin	Wilamowitz	1936-	UChicago; Harvard Un.*	Burstein (2018)
Jospe, Alfred	1909	Breslau		1939-	Hillel Foundation	Jospe & Jospe (2000)
Kahler, Erich von	1885	Vienna	Jodl	1938-	i.a. NSSR; Cornell Un. (German lit.)*	Corngold (2022)
Kantorowicz, Ernst	1895	Heidelberg	Gothein	1938-	UC Berkeley; IAS, Princeton (history)*	Lerner (2017)
Kaplan, Simon	1893	Jena		Unknown	St. John's College (Hebrew)*	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Kapp, Ernst	1888	Freiburg	Schwartz	1939-1955	Columbia Un. (classics)*	Obermayer (2008)
Kaufmann, Fritz	1881	Freiburg	Husserl	1937-	Northwestern Un.; Un. Buffalo*	Strassfeld (this volume)
Kaufmann, Felix	1895	Vienna	Kelsen	1938-	NSSR*	Strassfeld (this volume)
Kayser, Stephen S.	1900	Heidelberg	Rickert	1938-	i.a. NY Public Library; Un. Judaism, LA*	Jennings (2023)
Kelsen, Hans	1881	Vienna	Jellinek [§]	1940-	Harvard Un.; UC Berkeley (political science)*	Dyzenhaus (this volume)
Klatzkin, Jakob	1882	Bern		1941-1947	College of Jewish Studies	Hotam (2008)
Klein, Jacob	1899	Marburg	Hartmann	1938-	St. John's College*	Williamson & Zuckerman (1985)
Köhler, Wolfgang	1887	Berlin	Stumpf	1935-	Swarthmore Coll.; Dartmouth Coll. (psychology)*	Neisser (2002)
Korsch, Karl	1886	Jena	Gerland	1936-	i.a. Tulane Un.; IISR	Halliday (1970)
Koyré, Alexandre	1892	Paris		1941-	École libre des hautes études; IAS, Princeton	Bensaude-Vincent (2018)
Kracauer, Siegfried	1889	Berlin		1941-	Mus. of Modern Art; Columbia Un. (soc. sci.)*	Koch (2000)
Kraft, Julius	1898	Göttingen	Nelson	1939-1954	i.a. NSSR; Washington and Jefferson Coll.*	Popper (1962)
Kristeller, Paul Oskar	1905	Heidelberg	Hoffmann	1939-	Yale Un.; Columbia Un.*	Monfasani (2001)
Kroner, Richard	1884	Freiburg	Rickert	1940-	i.a. Union Theological Seminary; Temple Un.*	Gadamer (1985)
Krzesinski, Andrew J.	1884	Cracow		1939-	Laval Un., Quebec; Fordham Un.	Krzesinski (ca. 1953)

Kuhn, Helmut	1899	Breslau	Hönigswald	1938-1949	Un. North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Emory Un.*	Gadamer (1992)
Lasker, Emanuel	1868	Göttingen	M. Noether	1937-	None (writer; chess teacher)	Hannak (1991)
Lederer, Max	1881	Vienna		Unknown	i.a. Coe College; Library of Congress	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Lévi-Strauss, Claude	1908	Sorbonne	Mauss	1941-1948	École Libre des Hautes Études; French Embassy	Loyer (2019)
Lewin, Kurt	1890	Berlin	Stumpf	1933-	i.a. Un. of Iowa; MIT (psychology)*	Marrow (1969)
Loewald, Hans	1906	Freiburg	None	1939-	Un. of Maryland; Yale Un* (psychiatry)	Wayne Downey (1994)
Löwenthal, Leo	1900	Frankfurt		1934-	i.a. Inst. for Soc. Res.; UC Berkeley (sociology)*	Bogart (1993)
Löwi, Moritz	1891	Breslau	Hönigswald	1938-	Connecticut College for Women	Grassi & Richart-Willmes (1997)
Löwith, Karl	1897	Munich	Geiger	1941-1952	Hartford Theological Sem.; NSSR*	Wolin (2001)
Maier, Joseph	1911	Columbia	Horkheimer	1933-	Rutgers (sociology)*	Marcus (1999)
Manasse, Ernst Moritz	1908	Heidelberg	Regenbogen	1938-	North Carolina Central Un.*	Schweitzer (1996)
Marck, Siegfried	1889	Breslau	Kühnemann	1939-	YMCA Coll., Chicago; Roosevelt Coll., Chicago*	Schulz (2014)
Marcuse, Herbert	1898	Freiburg	Witkop	1934-	i.a. Inst. for Social Research; Brandeis Un.*	Wolin (2001)
Marcuse, Ludwig	1894	Berlin	Troeltsch	1939-1962	Office of War Information; Un South. Cal.*	Lamping (1987)
Margolius, Hans	1902	Hamburg	Cassirer	1939-	Miami Dade Junior Coll.; Florida Atlantic Un.	Schwarz (1988)
Maritain, Jacques	1882	Paris		1940-1952	i.a. École Libre des Hautes Étud.; Princeton Un.*	Collins (1963)
Marx, Werner	1910	NSSR	Reizler	1938-1958	NSSR	Kähler & Nenon (1996)
Merlan, Philip	1897	Vienna		1940-	Un. Redlands; Scripps College*	Solmsen (1968)
Metzger, Arnold	1893	Jena	Eucken	1941-1952	Simmons College	Henckmann (1994)
Michaelis, Anne L.	1912	Basel		193[7/8]-	Un. North Carolina; Brenau Coll.	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Mises, Richard von	1883	Vienna	Hamel	1939-	Harvard Un. (Aerodynamics)*	Siegmund-Schultze (2004)
Mokre, Hans	1901	Graz	Mally	1939-1948	St. Louis Un.; Barat Coll. (physics; mathematics)*	Müller (1993)
Neumann, Franz	1900	Frankfurt	Mayer	1936-	i.a. Inst. for Social Res.; Columbia Un. (pol. sci.)*	Wheatland (this volume)
Neumann, Norbert	1903	Vienna		Unknown	Unknown	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Neumann, Sigmund	1904	Leipzig	Freyer	1934-1949	i.a. Off. of Strat. Serv.; Wesleyan Un. (soc. sci.)*	Graf (2021)
Oppenheim, Paul	1885	Giessen		1939-	None (private scholar)	Rescher (1997)
Oppenheimer, Oscar	1900	Bonn		Unknown	i.a. Earlham Coll.; Central Michigan Un.*	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Raphael, Max	1889	Berlin	None	1941-	None (private scholar)	Lachman (1994)
Reichenbach, Hans	1891	Erlangen	Hensel	1938-	UCLA*	Verhaegh (2020c)
Reichenbach, Maria	1909	Freiburg		1939-	UCLA; Los Angeles City College*	Maynes & Gimbel (2022)
Reik, Theodor	1888	Vienna	Freud	1938-	National Psychological Assoc. for Psychoanalysis	Natterson (1966)

Rieser, Max	1893	Vienna		1939-	Common Council for American Unity	Keller (2008)
Riezler, Kurt	1882	Munich	Pöhlmann	1938-1954	NSSR*	Thompson (1980)
Roenu, Ernst	1888	Vienna		Unknown	Unknown	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Rosen, Arthur	1891	Berlin		Unknown	Unknown	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Rosenstock-Huessy, E.	1888	Heidelberg	Schröder	1933-	Harvard Un.; Dartmouth College*	Cristaudo (2020)
Rougier, Louis	1889	Sorbonne	Lalande	1941-1943	NSSR	Dewulf & Simons (2021)
Salomon, Albert	1891	Heidelberg	Lederer	1935-	NSSR*	Grathoff (1995)
Saenger, Gerhart	1910	Basel		Unknown	i.a. City College NY; Newark Un.	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Scheerer, Martin	1900	Hamburg	Stern	1936-	i.a. Montefiore Hospl.; Un. Kansas (psychology)*	Scheerer (1966)
Schrecker, Paul	1889	Berlin		1940-	NSSR; Un. Pennsylvania*	Morrow (1963)
Schütz, Alfred	1899	Vienna		1939-	NSSR*	Jacobs (this vol.)
Schuhmann, Alfred	1899	Munich		Unknown	Unknown	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Schwarz, Balduin	1902	Munich	v.Hildebrand	1941-1964	i.a. Fordham Un.*	Gertzen (2015a)
Seidemann, Alfred	1895	Freiburg		Unknown	Institute for Social Research, Columbia	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Simon, Yves	1903	Paris	Maritain	1938-	Un. Notre Dame; UChicago*	Kuic (1999)
Solnitz, Walter	1905	Hamburg	Cassirer	1940-	Bowdoin College*	Schäfer (2023)
Solmsen, Friedrich	1904	Berlin	Jaeger	1937-	i.a. Cornell Un.; Un. Wisc.-Madison (classics)*	North (1994)
Sonnemann, Ulrich	1912	Basel	Salin	1941-1955	NSSR (psychology)*	Fiebig (2010)
Speier, Hans	1905	Heidelberg	Mannheim	1933-	NSSR; Un. Mass. Amherst (sociology)*	Bessner (2018)
Spiegelberg, Frederic	1897	Tübingen		1937-	i.a. Un. Rochester; Stanford Un. (Asiatic Stud.)*	Kabil (2012)
Spiegelberg, Herbert	1904	Munich	Pfänder	1938-	i.a. Swarthmore Coll.; Washington Un. St. Louis*	Ierna (2019)
Stefansky, George	1897	Prague	Sauer	1939-	i.a. City College NY; Columbia Un. (sociology)	Gertzen (2015b)
Steinhardt, Käthe	1894	Vienna	Schlick	Unknown	Unknown	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Stenzel, Joachim	Unkn.	Florence ¹	Pasquali	Unknown	Antioch Coll.	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Stern, Alfred	1899	Vienna	Reiniger	1944-	California Inst. Technology*	Hull (2013)
Stern, William	1871	Berlin	Lazarus	1934-	Duke University	Büttner (2013)
Stöcker, Helene	1869	Bern	Walzel	1942-	None	von Bockel (1991)
Straus, Erwin	1891	Göttingen	Bonhoeffer	1938-	Black Mountain Coll.; Un. Kentucky*	Barbaras (2004)
Strauss, Eduard	1876	Berlin		1939-	Beth David Hosp.; New York Un. (chemistry)	Meiners (2005)
Strauss, Leo	1899	Hamburg	Cassirer	1937-	i.a. NSSR; UChicago (political science)*	Schliesser (this volume)
Sturzo, Luigi	1871	Rome		1940-1946	None (informant)	Acanfora (2021)

Tagliacozzo, Enzo	1909	Naples		Unknown	Harvard Un.	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Tarski, Alfred	1901	Warsaw	Leśniewski	1939-	UC, Berkeley (mathematics)*	Feferman & Feferman (2004)
Tillich, Paul	1886	Breslau	Kühnemann	1933-	i.a. Union Theol. Sem.; Harvard Un. (religion)*	Pauck & Pauck (1976)
Toch, Ernst	1887	Heidelberg	Kroyer	1935-	i.a. NSSR; Un. Southern California*	Erwin (1987)
Toller, Ernst	1893	Munich	None	1937-	None (writer)	Newberry (1980)
Ulich, Robert	1890	Leipzig	Goetz	1934-	Harvard Un. (education)*	Miller (2023)
Voegelin, Eric	1901	Vienna	Kelsen	1938-	i.a. Louisiana St. Un. (gov.)*; Hoover Inst.	Dyzenhaus (this volume)
Wach, Joachim	1898	Leipzig		1935-	i.a. Brown Un.; U. Chicago (theology)*	Waugh (2005)
Wahl, Jean	1888	ENS Paris	Boutroux	1942-1945	École Libre des Hautes Ét.; Mount Holyoke Coll.	Gansen (2020)
Weil, Hans	1898	Göttingen	Nohl	1940-	i.a. Care; Columbia Un.	Feidel-Mertz (1992)
Weinschel, Herbert	Unkn.	Unknown		Unknown	St. Louis Un. (government)*	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Weixlgärtner, Wolfgang	Unkn.	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942)
Werner, Heinz	1890	Vienna		1933-	i.a. Un. Michigan; Clark Un. (psychology)*	Valsiner (2005)
Wertheimer, Max	1880	Würzburg	Külpe	1933-	NSSR (psychology)*	King & Wertheimer (2005)
Weyl, Helene	1893	Göttingen	None	1933-	None (translator)	Weyl (2019)
Weyl, Hermann	1885	Göttingen	Hilbert	1933-	IAS, Princeton (mathematics)*	De Bianchi & Catren (2018)
Wiener, Max	1882	Breslau		1939-	i.a. Hebrew Union Coll.; Theodor Herzl Society	Weidner (2005)
Wind, Edgar	1900	Hamburg	Panofsky	1939-1955	i.a. UChicago; Smith College*	Sorensen (2023)
Wolff, Kurt	1912	Florence	Mannheim	1939-	i.a. Ohio State Un.; Brandeis Un. (sociology)*	Zachary (2012)
Wolff, Werner	1904	Berlin	Wertheimer	1939-	i.a. Vassar Coll.; Bard Coll. (psychology)*	Gainer & Murphy (2014)
Zilsel, Edgar	1891	Vienna	Gomperz	1939-	Hunter College; Mills College	Raven (2003)
Zimmer, Henry Robert	1890	Berlin	Lüders	1940-	Columbia University	Case (1994)
Znaniecki, Florian	1882	Krakow	Rauh	1940-	Columbia Un.; Un. Ill. Urbana (sociology)*	Hensoldt (2020)

Table 1: List of displaced European philosophers (broadly defined) who spent at least a few years in the United States between 1931 and 1945.

* Confirmed tenure-track or tenured position.

† Henry Deku (born Heinz Dekuczynski) was never officially awarded his doctorate. See Schönberger (2023).

‡ Hempel and Helmer were students of Reichenbach. Wolfgang Köhler and Georg Feigl took over as advisors after Reichenbach was dismissed from his position in 1933.

§ Kelsen obtained his Ph.D. after passing examinations (instead of a dissertation) at the University of Vienna. He wrote his Habilitationsschrift under Jellinek at Heidelberg (Robles 2020, 3).

|| It is unclear whether Stenzel formally obtained his doctorate. The APA inventory only makes note of “graduate studies under G. Pasquali”.

Finally, we should not forget the large group of philosophers who wanted to move to United States but who never made it, either because they were refused a visa or because they were imprisoned or killed before they could leave Europe. The United States had strict immigration quota designed to preserve America's "racial status quo" and this policy disproportionately affected Jewish immigrants and academics from Eastern Europe.¹² As a result, philosophers only had a realistic chance to be allowed entry if they acquired a *non*-quota visa, meaning that they needed a job offer from a U.S. institution. In order to qualify for such a visa, immigrants were required to have "at least two years" of experience as "professor of a college, academy, seminary, or university" (Leff 2006, 3), which was particularly problematic for junior scholars of Jewish descent since many of them had been unable to find an academic post. One scholar tragically affected by this policy was Janina Hosiasson-Lindenbaum, a Polish-Jewish philosopher who worked on inductive logic and probability in Warsaw. Despite efforts by, among others, Nagel, Quine, Hempel, and Tarski to find an American college or university that would take her, Hosiasson never found a position in the United States. In 1942, she was shot by the Gestapo after seven months of imprisonment.¹³ Other philosophers who never made it to North America include Walter Benjamin, Salomo Friedlander, Adhémar Gelb, and Gertrud Kantorowitz.

3. Toward a more integrated history of the intellectual migration

Present-day academic philosophy in the Global North is characterized by a deep divide between 'analytic' and 'continental' approaches. Analytic philosophers typically view themselves as members of an intellectual tradition going back to Gottlob Frege, G. E. Moore, and Bertrand Russell and are particularly influential in the Anglophone world (Beaney 2013, 2). Continental philosophy is an amalgam of a long list of mostly German and French schools—e.g. idealism, (neo-)Kantianism, phenomenology, existentialism, hermeneutics, *lebensphilosophie*, Marxism, critical theory, structuralism, post-structuralism, psycho-analytic theory, feminism, and postmodernism (e.g. Critchley 2001, 13; Glendinning 2006 58-65)—and is more dominant in mainland Europe. Both labels are notoriously vague (e.g. Kearney 1994; Glock 2008) but the distinction is so deeply engrained that philosophers working on similar topics on each side of the divide are often unaware of each other's work. Analytic and continental philosophers have organized themselves in separate societies, attend different conferences, and publish work in distinct journals and book series.

One particularly problematic consequence of the analytic-continental divide is that it has affected the historiography of twentieth-century philosophy. Historians tend to exclusively focus on one of the two traditions and to have little knowledge about developments on the other side of the intellectual iron curtain. And while there is nothing wrong with historians specializing in the ideas of a particular philosopher or school of thought, it is problematic to neglect ties between philosophers we *nowadays* view as belonging to different intellectual traditions. Such an anachronistic perspective might lead one to read Carnap's *Der logische*

¹² House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization (op cit.)

¹³ Cheryl Misak briefly discusses her work and fate in chapter 2. See also Sznajder (ms.).

Aufbau der Welt as a foundationalist work in the analytic-empiricist tradition, while a more contextualist approach reveals that the book was strongly influenced by neo-Kantian debates in the early 1920s (Richardson 1998; Friedman 1999). Or it might lead one to ignore the historical connections between phenomenology, the Lwów-Warsaw school, and the Cambridge school of analysis, which all emerged from or had strong ties to the Brentano school (Horgan et al. 2002; Textor 2013; Brożek 2020). While philosophers also organized themselves into distinct groups and movements before World War II, the social divisions were not as rigid as those between analytic and continental philosophers today. Philosophers from different schools regularly engaged with each other's work and journals tended to be more pluralistic (Katzav and Vaesen 2017). It is well established, for example, that there were fruitful interactions between logical empiricists and phenomenologists before they were rebranded as paradigmatic analytic and continental schools of thought. Hermann Weyl, Arthur Eddington, Hans Reichenbach and Moritz Schlick were all entangled in debates about the implications of relativity theory in the 1920s (Ryckman 2005), while phenomenologists like Felix Kaufmann and Robert Neumann were closely associated with the Vienna Circle (Stadler 2015).

Historians concerned with the effects of the intellectual migration should be especially aware that labels such as 'analytic' and 'continental' are relatively recent inventions. Though the origins of the split can be traced back to nineteenth-century responses to Immanuel Kant as well as to debates between Russell and Henri Bergson (Vrahimis 2022) and Carnap, Cassirer, and Martin Heidegger (Friedman 2000), philosophers only began to *identify* as 'analytic' in the late 1940s. In fact, our present-day bifurcation between analytic and continental approaches may very well be an effect of the intellectual migration. While the term 'analytic' was still mostly employed to designate a philosophical style associated with the Cambridge school of analysis in the 1930s, American philosophers began to use it to denote a broader range of schools and perspectives, including logical empiricism, Oxford ordinary language philosophy, and scientific pragmatism in the years after the war (e.g. Pap 1949; Feigl & Sellars 1949). In the early 1930s, C. I. Lewis could still write that logical positivism was one of "the most promising of present movements in Continental philosophy".¹⁴ Twenty years later, logical positivism had become a paradigmatic analytic school of thought, while the predicate 'continental' was exclusively used as a derogatory term to refer to the types of philosophy practiced on the other side of the Atlantic (e.g. Rieser 1954).¹⁵

If we want to understand the effects of the intellectual migration in philosophy, therefore, it is not very helpful to project our current labels back onto the 1930s and 1940s. On the contrary, a broader, more integrated study of this period might help us better understand why we distinguish between analytic and continental philosophy today. Such a study should appreciate that the United States had become a melting pot of philosophical traditions, including both American schools (e.g. pragmatism, naturalism, neo-realism, and process philosophy) and European movements (e.g. logical empiricism, phenomenology, and critical theory). And it should recognize that the distinctions between these traditions were much more

¹⁴ Recommendation letter for Herbert Feigl, April 14, 1931, Herbert Feigl Papers, University of Minnesota Archives, 03-53-01.

¹⁵ See Frost-Arnold (2017) and Strassfeld (2022) for a more detailed history of the origins and development of these labels.

fluid than we are used to today. The aforementioned Nagel, for instance, is a perfect example of someone who still engaged with a broad range of schools and traditions in the 1930s. He figures in eight of the twelve chapters in this volume as he was a student of the pragmatist John Dewey (chapter 2), who played an important role in the development of the Columbia school of naturalism (chapter 4) as well as the reception of logical empiricism in North America (chapters 8 and 10) but was also involved in debates with phenomenologists (chapter 7), Horkheimer's Frankfurt School in exile (chapter 11), and Leo Strauss (chapter 12). Ironically, Nagel was one of the scholars who helped coin the phrase 'analytic philosophy' (Nagel 1936) and would eventually become one of America's best-known philosophers of science in the analytic tradition. Only a less compartmentalized approach to the study of this period will help us understand how these changes came about.

4. Overview

The present volume aims to contribute to a broader, more integrated study of the effects of the intellectual migration by bringing together historians specializing in a range of philosophical schools and traditions. The chapters in this book present twelve case studies illustrating the diverse ways in which the migration affected the development of postwar philosophy. These studies focus on the lives and views of well-known philosophers as well as scholars who are typically excluded in work on this period. They cover movements that have their roots in both European and distinctly American schools of thought. And they reveal how encounters between European and American research cultures stimulated the development of new perspectives while simultaneously contributing to the marginalization of others.

This volume is organized into four sections. Part I focuses on the impact of the migration on *American* philosophical movements. In recent decades, historians of U.S. philosophy have often presented the intellectual migration as a development that led to the eclipse of pragmatism, arguably the United States' best-known school of thought. These historians tend to present pragmatism as a rich and diverse intellectual tradition that was eclipsed by a wave of rather crude, analytically-minded philosophers from Europe, in particular the logical empiricists, such that it was no longer "a respectable subject of interest" by the late 1950s (Thayer 1968, 559). The three chapters included in Part I all challenge some aspects of this received view. Cheryl Misak (chapter 2) argues that the eclipse narrative has led to a false understanding of the relation between pragmatism and logical empiricism. Focusing on the work of Harvard philosopher C. I. Lewis and some of his students, Misak shows that there were fruitful interactions between the two traditions, such that the development of postwar analytic philosophy is perhaps best viewed as an amalgam of pragmatist and logical empiricist ideas. Joel Katzav (chapter 3), on the other hand, argues that the eclipse narrative is too narrowly focused on the fate of American pragmatism, and identifies a rich but largely forgotten tradition of *speculative* philosophy. He argues that speculative philosophers of science working in the first decades of the twentieth century introduced many ideas and topics that are nowadays attributed to logical empiricists or analytic philosophers and uses it to reconsider the impact of logical positivism on American philosophy of science. My own contribution, finally, seeks to qualify the eclipse narrative by studying the rise and fall of John Dewey's school of naturalism

(chapter 4). Focusing on the naturalists' interactions with German philosophers in the 1930s, I argue that it is better to speak about *a split within* than *the eclipse of* the Columbia school, showing that one faction of analytically-minded naturalists was able to incorporate the views of the émigrés, developing the naturalist tradition into new directions, while another faction of historically-oriented naturalists was overshadowed by the analytic movement.

Part II comprises three studies on the development of *phenomenology* in North America. Carlo Ierna (chapter 5) traces the American reception of Brentano's and Husserl's work in the decades before the migration in order to shed light on the climate phenomenologists encountered when they sought refuge in the United States in the 1930s. He accepts the standard view that American philosophers were strongly influenced by their German colleagues at the turn of the century but argues that there were important differences between the two intellectual cultures. While the Brentano School had a significant impact on the development of philosophy in the German-speaking world, American philosophers and psychologists were more interested in German Idealism and Wundt's experimental psychology. There was quite some attention for Husserl's early work, Ierna submits, but it was mostly read through the lens of the new realist movement, such that Americans mostly picked up on his views on the nature of logic rather than his phenomenological method. Jonathan Strassfeld (chapter 6), picks up Ierna's thread in the 1930s and reconstructs the development of phenomenology in the years just before and after World War II. He traces the American careers of several phenomenological migrants—e.g. Moritz Geiger, Aron Gurwitsch, Felix Kaufmann, Fritz Kaufmann, and Alfred Schütz—and analyzes the growing network of phenomenologists in the United States. One crucial figure in the network, Strassfeld argues, was Marvin Farber, a U.S. philosopher who had studied with Husserl in the early 1920s. Hanne Jacobs (chapter 7), finally, studies the evolution of phenomenological thought during second half of the twentieth century, tracing the influence of one particular approach—Alfred Schütz's phenomenological sociology—in modern standpoint epistemology. Jacobs shows that Schütz developed his perspective on the methodology of the social sciences in conversation with Talcott Parsons' and Nagel's competing views and reconstructs the former's influence on two key thinkers in contemporary feminism—Dorothy E. Smith and Patricia Hill Collins—thereby demonstrating that the ideas of one phenomenological immigrant played a crucial role in the development of a standpoint epistemological approach that is influential to this day.

Part III turns to the evolution and reception of *logical empiricism* in the United States. In discussions about the impact of the intellectual migration, logical empiricism is frequently presented as a unique success story. Positivist ideas about meaning, method, and metaphysics had a significant influence on American philosophy and helped pave the way for the analytic turn in the 1950s and 1960s. Logical empiricism scholars, however, tend to emphasize that members of the Vienna Circle and affiliated groups defended a wide variety of perspectives and that only one, rather narrow-minded variant of the position flourished in the United States (Friedman 1999; Richardson 1998; Verhaegh 2024). Part III discusses three aspects of logical empiricism that were defended by prominent exiled empiricists but never made it into the philosophical mainstream. George Reisch and Adam Tamas Tuboly (chapter 8) trace the first years of Phillip Frank in North America and reconstruct his attempts to advocate a less technical, more accessible brand of positivism in line with the social ambitions of the movement's founding members. Matthias Neuber (chapter 9) studies Herbert Feigl's scientific

humanism and reconstructs his ties with Roy Wood Sellars and the American Humanist Association, suggesting that logical empiricism's humanist ideology may have been its strongest link with American philosophy. And Fons Dewulf (chapter 10) argues that a central feature of Carnap's and Reichenbach's perspective—their voluntarist conception of rationality—was ignored and subsequently forgotten by the American philosophical community. Together, these chapters demonstrate that though Carnap, Feigl, and Reichenbach were, academically speaking, among the most successful philosophical migrants, there is still plenty of room to question to what extent they got their message across.

Part IV, finally, collects three studies concerning the development of *social and political theory* in the years following the intellectual migration. Thomas Wheatland (chapter 11) discusses the failed reception of the Frankfurt School in American philosophy in the 1930s. He argues that there was quite some common ground between critical theory and pragmatism but that Horkheimer's polemics prevented the two communities from developing a fruitful exchange of ideas. The Frankfurt School did have a significant impact on U.S. philosophy in the 1960s but this was mostly due to Marcuse, Neumann, and Fromm, who, Wheatland argues, all developed a more strategic approach in their interactions with American philosophers. Eric Schliesser (chapter 12) continues Wheatland's focus on polemics in his reconstruction of the reception of Leo Strauss, arguing that analytic philosophy's opposition against Straussianism aided in its self-constitution as an intellectual tradition. Zooming in on two analytic responses to Strauss, Schliesser reconstructs both Nagel's analysis of the thesis that social science cannot be value free and Felix Oppenheim's criticism of Strauss's position concerning the principle of sufficient reason. David Dyzenhaus (chapter 13), finally, continues Schliesser's discussion of the value free ideal and turns to the debate between Eric Voegelin and his teacher Hans Kelsen—the former a prominent member of 'Black Vienna', the latter a liberal philosopher of law who had helped write the Austrian constitution. Dyzenhaus reconstructs their back-and-forth and its ramifications for the political climate today, arguing that Voegelin should be viewed as one of the most important members of a small group of refugee philosophers who paved the way “for the toxic blend of militant Christian conservatism, libertarianism, and anti-liberalism that drives the Republican Party in the Trump era”.

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