

--all of you to this evening's panel. We have a nice and not so nice seating problem so that as we proceed, folks will be coming in. And chairs, when acquired, will be made available to people still coming. The Department of Afro-American Studies here at Howard, for the last month or so, has been celebrating its 20th year.

And we used Black History Month also as an occasion for underscoring our existence and the unfinished business of American democracy. Part of our activity in February consisted of a series of panels. We had one panel dealing with the options that the United States might face with regard to South Africa.

And on that panel, we had Representative Howard Wolfe, Michigan, and his predecessor in that same seat, Charles C. Diggs. In the next panel we had, which dealt with US domestic policy, as options for the 1990s, we were lucky to have the participation of Attorney Sharon Pratt Dixon, who is vice president of Pepco, as some of us know, and also a potential candidate for the mayor job in Washington, DC.

We had Isiah Leggett, who is a member of the Montgomery County Council, and Congressman Mike Espy of the state of Mississippi. In another panel, we-- an occasion, we had representatives of the DC Rastafarian community and their adherents explaining, both in film and in presentations, the Rastafarian movement and what it means as an alternative religious option.

And then last week, we participated as co-sponsors with the department of classics in a program dealing with the movie Black Orpheus, transferred from Greek mythology to Afro-Brazilian life. And that was a well-attended activity.

Saying these things to say that Afro-American studies, as we could see it here at Howard, is not a matter of persons of color looking in the mirror and seeing only their faces, but looking in the orbit of the world, really, and seeing people. And it is in that spirit that we put this program together this afternoon.

A little-known episode in Black higher education in the South has been the participation of emigre refugee Jewish scholars. And that is the occasion for being here, to explore this little-known aspect of Black education. I must say, by way of setting the stage for that, that persons who are not of African descent have always been involved in Black education, even prior to emancipation.

The groups that were involved after emancipation were basically Protestant congregationalists. Howard University was founded by the American Missionary Association, which, at that time, was a congregation of-- and still is-- organization, which grew out of the Amistad Affair, by the way. History buffs might remember that the Amistad Affair was an occasion where 55 Blacks revolted on the ship Amistad and ended up in New London, Connecticut. And a committee was formed to assist in their return to their homeland. Cinque was among those.

And out of that [? Mindy ?] committee came the American Missionary Association. And out of that came the kind of involvement in Black education that started in the 1830s and was greatly amplified after the Civil War ended. The Yankee school mom was more than just a writer's attempt to summarize the activity of these women. There were some 5,000, almost in a peace corps fashion, white females who went to the Deep South amid all kinds of difficulty, hostility, and rejection to assist in the final presentation of formal education to ex-slaves.

Black education in the 20th century has been involved with white America a lot. One of our courses, as a matter of fact, deals with the philosophy of Black education, as well as Black educational philosophy. But we use the term Black education as a shorthand way of saying, education is an emphasis on the perspectives, values, and ideas connected with African Americans in this Indian territory occupied by Europeans.

Let me not get political on you, but proceed as we have agreed. Mr. Ethelbert Miller, who is known to many, many persons in this state and many other cities will introduce the moderator of the evening. We call Mr. Miller, who is a member of the department and has been virtually since its inception, the literary switchboard for Washington.

People come from all over, even folks who don't write. Some come and simply sit at his desk. And we are delighted to have him introduce the moderator. And then the activities of the panel will proceed as indicated on the program. Mr.

Ethelbert now.

[APPLAUSE]

Thank you, Dr. Evan. Welcome to our evening panel discussion. This evening, our topic is a fruitful encounter, German Jewish refugee scholars of that college. Thanks to Gabrielle Edgcomb, I can reach you as a founding member of the DC Community Humanities Council, an organization that has provided partial funding to make this evening's program possible.

My role here this evening, however, is not one of simply representing the Council. I'm here to introduce a very close friend, a woman who has been a mentor and a fellow poet, a woman I admire because of her commitment to social change in our community. Gabrielle Edgcomb has done a lot work over the years to make this evening possible.

This is what makes Gabrielle Edgcomb remarkable and so dear to our state-- her ability to complete a journey, to fulfill a dream, and promise. I have learned from Gabrielle Edgcomb that there is such a thing as working coach. Coach is working together-- individuals and groups coming together to create something wonderful and new, something needed and essential in our world.

There are many types of encounters. There are close encounters, as well as proof of them. It's important that we pick documents and learn from that which is good in our history. We must restore history to memory.

This evening, thanks to Gabrielle Edgcomb, the District of Columbia Jewish Community Center, and Howard University Department of African-American Studies, we can examine the past, ask questions about race, religion, immigration, and education, we can share in the knowing, as well as the learning. I'm happy to introduce my friend, Gabrielle Edgcomb, a person I respect, admire, and love. Gabrielle?

[APPLAUSE]

Thank you, Ethelbert. If I didn't know better, I'd be embarrassed. I hope that most of you, or at least many of you, remember Julius Hobson, a great civil rights activist in this city, who died tragically and prematurely. Julius spoke before his death, shortly before his death, of coming here from Alabama, working for the federal government, and going to school here at Howard at night, and how important it was in his development and in his, as he put it changing, the way he looked at the world because some faculty here was so extraordinary in terms of his educational experience.

The man he singled out was named Otto Nathan, or Nathan in German, an economist who had fled from the Nazis. And he also was a pacifist and Einstein's very good friend and executive. Dr. Nathan died a couple of years ago. And that was the trigger to start me wanting to investigate the scope of this episode. I had known some other German Jewish refugees who taught at Howard. And I thought I knew that this had happened. But I didn't know.

The Smithsonian Institution did a colloquium on the centenary of Einstein's birth, called "The Muses Flee Hitler." The project director was my friend Carla Borden. Are you here, Carla? Where are you? And she enabled me-- right there-- to begin the exploration, together with her, of whether or not this really happened, and if so, how much of it happened.

I eventually identified and documented some 50 of these people who came here between 1933 and the beginning of Second World War, or shortly before that, at which point, it was almost impossible for Jews and opponents of the Nazi regime to get out. And they had to make a new life elsewhere. And a number of them came to this country.

One of the people in this category who was a survivor, his name is Ernst Menatzer, whom Dr. Adams knew at North Carolina Central, was invited to come. But he recently had a pacemaker installed. And he felt that he wasn't well enough. He has written me two letters, which I'm going to quote from because I think, had he been here to speak, he might have said something like that.

The first letter was when we began the project, and Carla Borden wrote to him. This was in June '84, which shows you how long I've been at this. And I'm going to quote this to you now. I want to emphasize that whereas a number of people

are inclined to say friendly things about the contributions we refugee scholars made to the growth and development of several predominantly Black colleges, both my wife and I felt that the experiences we had at these institutions changed and enriched our lives in significant ways, both intellectually and emotionally.

Yesterday, I received a letter in which he told me, he unfortunately couldn't come. And I'm going to quote from that as well. I need not tell you how much I regret not being able to participate in a program whose-- which constitutes my life's work. It is the first and perhaps the only time that the task which filled my and my wife's lives for many decades, and which constantly expanded our worldview-- and while it pains me to miss it, the fact of this event alone provides a great satisfaction for me. And I hope that the issues involved here will be illuminated and will contribute to awakening greater human insight. I translated this from the German. And if some of it is awkward, that's why.

Now, the research was just about complete when I was appointed a research associate with the German Historical Institute here. There are many wonderful stories and audiotapes which I have collected from a very few of the principals and scholars, who have-- just very few of them alive anymore, but also of students, and colleagues, and other associates, some of whom are here. And when we have the discussion, I'm going to call on them to say something, if I can find them.

But I owe a special debt to the director of this institute because he is the one who was interested in having this project backed by the German Historical Institute and his constant support has been of enormous importance to me. Dr. Herzig Lehman, the institute's director, will give a presentation of the conditions in German universities and in Austrian ones after '38 to show what Nazi takeover did to the faculty. Thank you.

The muses fleeing Hitler, scientists and scholars flee Nazi Germany. It's an honor for me to participate in this panel. I've been asked to provide some of the historical background. As time is limited, I want to concentrate on six points. The first point-- how many people were forced out of Germany in the 1930s and how many came to the United States.

Second point-- among emigrating academics, which field they're representing. Third point-- why did scholars and academics have to leave? Fourth point-- what kind of repression were they subjected to? Fifth question-- which options did they have? Where could they go? And the sixth and last question-- what was their destiny in their countries of choice?

First numbers-- in the 1930s, after '33 and after '38 Austria, about 400,000 people were forced out by the Nazis. Of these, about 250,000-- this is a quarter million-- came to the United States. And of course, not all of them were academics. If one classifies the people with professions and some academic degrees, one could say, roughly, of these 400,000, 50,000 were very well trained. And people in real university positions, there were about 1,500 to 2,000. And of these 1,500 to 2,000, about 1,000 or 1,200 came to the United States.

Now, you may think, that is not much, not much in total numbers. But on the other hand, among these 1,000 or 1,200, there were some scholarly giant-size ones, to call them. Take for example, Renaissance history, to give just one example-- Paul Oskar Kristeller, Hans Baron, and Felix Gilbert-- the three main minds in this field-- were forced to emigrate. Renaissance studies virtually ended in the United States after they had left. And they came to this country and established this field here.

So numbers alone don't count. And 1,000 to 1,200 may mean a great deal. The second question-- from which university did they come? And which fields did they represent? Well, they came from all universities across the board. And they represented all fields-- law, and medicine, archaeology, and theology, and so on, and so forth.

Perhaps the two fields least represented, at least for some time, were Protestant and Catholic theology. There was some-- fewer were forced to leave these faculties than others. But aside from that, actually, all the fields were affected. And in some universities, 10%, 15%, 20% of the faculty were forced to leave after '33.

Now, not all universities were affected in the same degree. There were some exceptions where there was an especially high number of people forced out. For example, my home university, Kiel, in northern Germany, which was a provincial university in the 1920s and was considered as a stepping stone for Berlin University, and there in the 1920s, quite a few

younger socialists, liberal-minded, left liberal-minded professors had been appointed.

And they were overrepresented in the faculty, one could say so, in 1933, which meant there were an equally high number or a higher proportion of people was forced out by the Nazis, which in turn meant that in the mid 1930s, Kiel was an especially Nazi-affected, Nazi-determined, and Nazi-influenced university.

Why did scholars have to leave? Well, there were political reasons and there were ideological reasons-- and political and ideological reasons as defined by the Nazis, political reasons whom they considered as their enemies-- the socialists, liberals, and all those whom they considered not reliable to rebuild Germany, which they claimed as their aim, to take part in Germany's new quest for glory. All those who were considered unreliable were forced out. And ideological means that they had their own definition of who was a Jew. And they-- those people of the Jewish faith were to be excluded from the renewed German quest for power, or at least what they believed that that was.

There was a tool, a legal tool, the Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums, the Law for the Restoration of the German Civil Service, which was passed in the spring of 1933, and which gave a formal means of forcing people out of the universities. But that was not all. There were other ways and means of repression.

And this is my fourth point. There was student harassment and student boycott, starting before '33-- starting '31, '32, the harassment of some professors by students, boycott of lectures, and of course, the early climax, then, the book burning in April '33. There were the Nazi colleagues. Some faculty had joined the Nazi Party before '33-- not many, but after the takeover by the Nazis, quite a few. And they denounced and deserted their colleagues.

There were the Nazi authorities, who expelled and dismissed. And then there were the non-Nazi colleagues, who were intimidated and withdrew, who did no longer socialize, no longer invite, no longer talk, who looked at these people as if they had the plague. And that was, for some, perhaps the worst of all. They knew what was a Nazi. But they saw many could be intimidated. That was even worse.

And finally, there were the younger faculty, younger Nazi colleagues, dissatisfied junior academics, who had not advanced fast enough, as they thought, and who were so eager, overeager, to fill in the new positions. And quite a few of them were involved in the acts of denouncing. So there was a whole environment which came together to force people out and to show them that there was no future for them in a Germany governed and ruled by the Nazis.

What were the options? My fifth point. Well, there were not many options. One was early retirement, chosen by some in their early 60s. One sees people retiring in February-- as early as February 1933, March, April '33. Of course, if you are 50 or 40, that was no way out.

Then there was the Nazi themselves, they transfer some of the professors to Frankfurt University, which was sometime in spring of 1933. It seems like a holding place. It was conceived like a temporary holding place for some of the nonconformist, especially the Jewish faculty. But that was only a temporary element in the whole picture.

There were few academic positions offered abroad. The main country where new positions were available was Turkey. And quite a few of the early emigrants left for Turkey and stayed there all through the '30s and '40s. There were few countries to offer passports. A country offering passports very long on was China, passports to Shanghai. And then there was the emigration to all those countries in Europe, as-- which did accept.

And for some time, many did not accept enough. So we have a stream of people going into Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Switzerland. Even fascist Italy accepted some-- the Vatican, from where they sometimes went on to South America. And then, of course, there was, again, and again, and again, the hope, and the wish, and the dream to go to the United States. This was the major option.

For many, this was the land of the new opportunities, the land for which so many hoped so hard. My sixth question, finally-- what was the impact of these people in their new environment? This is, I think, above all, the question of research. And we are very grateful that Gabrielle Edgcomb has taken up this question, has done very solid research on this topic.

So far, researchers have mainly concentrated on what I would call the spectacular cases, on the enormous impact of the German celebrities coming over here, what one could call the Einstein or the Thomas Mann syndrome. But aside from that, there are many, many others-- dozens, hundreds of others. And their destiny still awaits to be researched thoroughly. And then there are these neglected areas of research.

One has to see, those who came over here-- hardly anyone had been in the United States before. They did not know the country. Furthermore, they did not know the language. They knew Greek, they knew Latin, they knew some French or Italian. But their English was poor. And in some cases, the English remained poor. And still, they had an impact.

And then there was the period of unemployment for many after they came. Positions were not readily available. For others, finding a position meant a career change. They had to go into a new field in order to make a living-- the lawyer who ended up as a clerk in a hospital, and so on, and so forth.

And then for some, there was a continuation in their own field, but in lesser positions. So there is a lot one can talk about in this context. And there's a lot which we have to find out before we can fully grasp the whole range of experience and the impact on all levels-- not only on the very high level, but also on the other levels inside and outside the universities. And it is in this context that the contribution of the Jewish refugee scholars at Black universities and Black colleges is the most important one, and one which has not been given due credit so far. Thank you.

[APPLAUSE]

Our next speaker is Dr. Max Ticktin, who is the chairman of Judaic studies at George Washington University, and who will talk to us about the condition that the refugees found in this country, particularly with respect to whatever was organized by the Jewish communities and organizations to help with money, and housing, and jobs, and you name it because most of the people who came without much of anything. And it was an extremely difficult time for many of them.

There is one friend here, [PERSONAL NAME], who is doing the research about the women, which has never been done before, and which is very revealing. Because as often happens with professional people, it is the women who were able to make a living because they knew how to cook, and to babysit, and to sew, and to clean house, and that's what they did to a large extent in the beginning. So that's a very valuable contribution I have to say something about. Dr. Ticktin will tell us a little bit about what these folks found in the Jewish community and in the organizations when they came to this country. Dr. Ticktin?

Thank you. We're gathered to note several phenomena-- one of which is how far we have advanced in our battle against prejudice and racism in some 50 years. And one way to note that from which we can derive some lessons, I discovered in an excerpt from a recently published book by Jonathan Kaufman, called Broken Alliance-- the Turbulent Times Between Blacks and Jews in America.

He tells us the story of April 1945, just 44 years ago. The United States Army was still segregated. Blacks fought in separate companies, commanded by separate officers. And as the war was coming to an end, General Eisenhower was determined to see that the war would end by June. And there was a Black sergeant from Indianapolis, who one day got a call on April 29, 1945, and was told to move his platoon to Dachau.

As they entered, Jews began drifting out of the barracks, looking almost like ghosts. So we may see it, as were they. They ran up and began to hug the Black GIs.

The Blacks were stunned by what they saw. The ovens were still warm. Some soldiers became sick. Others were afraid to embrace the Jews, for fear that they might break their bodies.

The reason the Blacks were sent into this part of Dachau first became clear. Within hours, the American high command would ship in medicine and food to the concentration camp survivors. But the first priority was to clear away the dead bodies the Germans had left behind.

The sergeants' Black platoon, at the bottom of the army hierarchy, was the army burial squad. I cite this to show you that 44 years ago may seem a long time. But it isn't so far in the distance.

Our task is to learn from the past, the subtleties, and the intricacies of our recent history so that we can identify what are the next frontiers in the battle against hatred, collusion, idolatrous bias against any minority, and thus to try to reestablish a true American pluralism, to strengthen our moves to a fuller economic and political democracy, and also, though we see some achievements over 40-odd years, to mitigate any sense of self-congratulation that we may have for our achievements.

Our purpose is also, this evening, it seems to me, to study the lives of individuals, or at least take note of them, and to remind ourselves that there was, as Dr. Lehman has put it, a Mann-Einstein syndrome, in which we paid attention to the spectacular adjustment of some of the great ones, but that the power of the individual, the individual host of these Black colleges, the individual newly arrived guest scholar should never be underestimated when we talk about social change.

This means much to me if I may be personal for just a moment or two because I'm old enough to remember some relevant circumstances here in this country in the 1930s. I went to school in Philadelphia in a public school in which Blacks and whites were students together. But I remember being told that in Baltimore, in Washington, the schools were segregated. I did not understand that.

And then, like many other Jews in big cities, I moved into a neighborhood where I had little contact with Blacks and was indifferent for many years. But I remember my high school teacher telling me of the events that some of you saw, as noted in the newspaper just the other day-- Marian Anderson being excluded from the GI hall in 1939.

I also remember seeing individuals in Philadelphia in the late 1930s in Nazi uniforms, American Nazi Party. I recall hearing Hitler on the radio. I remember the Jesse Owens incident in the Olympics. These things stay very much with me, as do some other personal reminiscences a few years later, when I was a student in New York City.

And I volunteered to work with a church in Harlem, which was trying very hard to keep kids off the streets. But I was a bad basketball player. And so they put me in charge of teaching Black history to 12-year-olds. And I had to bone up very fast the night before. I think I would do a little better now. I'm not so sure.

There's much that's happened in these years. If we are to learn from the past, we're to remember that there were some 575,000 Jews in Germany in 1933, less than 1% of the population. They had benefited from the emancipation from the ghetto a century and a half earlier. Liberalism had permitted them to move ahead socially, economically, educationally. There was a disproportionately large number of them who were academics, intellectuals, and professionals.

But when the idolatry of the [? volk ?] came to be, for which they were not prepared, despite all the things we can see retrospectively, they indeed had to flee. And as you've heard, many of them came to the United States. And when they came to the United States, their contact with the Jewish community was mixed.

We cannot judge from the 50 individuals, whom Gabrielle Edgcomb is studying, for most of them, with the exception of those who came to Howard, perhaps, ended up in very small communities in which there were very few Jews. The larger number of Jews lived in big cities. And in the '30s, the Jews constituted some 3.7% of the population of the United States-- much less now.

They were immigrants, children of immigrants, or grandchildren of immigrants, for there had been a migration of two and a quarter million Jews between 1880 and 1921, '24. They lived in big cities. They tried to move up in the social-economic ladder.

1933 was an important year, best exemplified by the fact that I remember that most Jewish homes, time when I was growing up, had a picture of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a framed picture of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the living room. That meant something to those Jews, for whom America was a land of promise.

There was much accommodation to this new world. But there was also an effort, as we moved in to new positions, to try some political pressure. And in the 1930s, when the Nazis had come to power, and American Jews were concerned about brothers and sisters in Europe, not in any sense being able to perceive that six million would be exterminated, and the thousands of Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe would be destroyed, some Jews in New York City tried an anti-Nazi boycott. It failed. It failed miserably, retrospectively.

We understand that the Jews, even in New York City, were too new at the political game and did not know how to build coalitions. And that was in a measure because, like other immigrant groups, they were so self-absorbed in their efforts to move up the ladder. It was also because there was antisemitism in the United States.

Most public opinion polls until 1946 showed considerable hostility to Jews. And one wonders, if there had been some change in American public opinion, what would-- really would have meant for all of us, all of us for-- since there were results from these polls which indicated hostility to possible immigration in large numbers of refugees, the Roosevelt administration dragged its feet, participated in refugee conferences, and did nothing-- essentially denied the dangers to the individuals, and held up many people who sought to come.

This means much to me, for my own wife languished with her family in Europe in '39 to '40, waiting for the visa to the promised country. It was also the time when the radios were filled with hostility, expressed by Father Coughlin of Detroit, repudiated by other Catholic clergy, but continuing to spew out hatred for months and even years. It was a difficult time for many people, difficult for Jews and non-Jews here, when it came to welcome the refugees.

Someone has put it-- one refugee was a novelty. 10 were boring. 100 were a menace. We can translate that to other circumstances in our own time. There had been efforts to build urban ethnic coalitions among several immigrant groups and with Blacks in New York City, which showed some results in the elections of 1928, 1932, all three gubernatorial elections in New York State, and then the presidential elections.

But in many ways, we have to admit that they didn't-- that that coalition building didn't really succeed outside of New York City. And so we have to look at the past and understand that there was welcome and non-welcome at the same time. It is true that the American Jewish community, with all of its marginality, still had continued the tradition that it had from Eastern Europe of concern for members of its group, members of its own faith tradition.

And so many Jewish organizations blazed a path in philanthropy and in refugee assistance, learning methods of aiding refugees, especially in the big cities, and perhaps even only in the big cities, which would be of help to similar groups after the war, groups beyond the Jewish community. But the self-absorption, the fear of antisemitism itself, frequently limited, as I indicated when I mentioned the boycott, what Jews could really do, even for their own people.

The exceptions are remarkable. The exceptions do include the significant number of artists, and scientists, intellectuals, whose record of acceptance has been documented in the Smithsonian conference. We should, however, not allow that to be the whole picture. And so the research that Gabrielle Edgcomb has brought to our attention fills out the picture, for she speaks primarily of the smaller communities in the South, where, with all their insecurity, the few Jews who were available in the small towns welcomed some of the Jews who had come from Germany and Austria and tried to make them feel at home.

But from what I've heard from her and what I've heard from other sources, the real welcome came from the leaders of the colleges who appreciated what the interchange would mean with the scholars, who appreciated what the erudition could mean for their own students and the anecdotes that you can hear surrounding the story, surrounding Otto Nathan and others, are the story of individuals who really made a difference. Thank you.

[APPLAUSE]

Thank you, Dr. Ticktin. Our last speaker is someone you all know, Dr. Russell Adams, chairman of Afro-American studies department here at Howard University. He will talk about the situation in the historically Black colleges in this country. Whom [INAUDIBLE], as I said before, welcomes the refugees. Dr. Adams and David Posner, [INAUDIBLE], and myself have been working together to make this occasion. And it has been a pleasure and a privilege. Dr. Adams?

I'm not Sammy Davis, so I'm Baptist. For the folks who look more like me than like Ms. Edgcomb, in order to make this occasion emotionally and intellectually sharper than it might be, because I see some eyelids very heavy in the back, imagine this scenario. Lee Atwater is president. Ryan [? Quist ?] is in charge of the Justice Department. The Ku Klux Klan has won the American South and is working on New York. The survivalists of the far Northwest are looking at the big boats to exile Blacks.

Imagine that scenario. Imagine that scenario, and you can feel a little more the connection between what you've heard so far and the African-American experience. It's so easy to think that one's own group's troubles are unique to the group. And it's so easy to say, it can't happen here.

This is not a prologue to paranoia. But one of the dynamics that made the Holocaust with the Jews in Europe, in my judgment, so catastrophic was the belief almost until the last moment that it couldn't happen there, especially those Jews who had arrived at a middle class status in Germany and in Austria, and to some extent in Italy, and who had at least superficial acceptance by the non-Jewish population, and academia, and industry at the managerial level to some extent until 1933.

Some folks were not really awake until 1938, the night-- that Kristallnacht night, when the glasses were broken, and books burned, and so on. We haven't had that quite in America with regard to Blacks. But there's a complacency that I wish to warn all of us against. And so for those of us who think that this discussion might be a bit distant, it is not distant at all.

Let me move into my topic more directly. And my presentation will be a mixture of reminiscence and analysis. Born in Baltimore, I grew up in South Georgia. And I did so in the '40s. A lot of my students think I'm younger than I am. I'm too old to vote.

But I rode the trains with my parents from Baltimore to Quitman, Georgia, which is named after John Quitman, who wanted Cuba to the Union as a slave state, in the front, where Blacks were compelled to sit by law. That had been ordered there by custom during slavery. Because Blacks, in case you were puzzled about the pattern in terms of why Blacks were placed on the front of the trains-- the slaves who had to fire the old wood-burning engines, and later, the coal-burning engines, were housed near their work in the front of the train. So that became the practice of Blacks.

When I left South Georgia to go to Morehouse to school, I rode the back of the bus, the railway. Came through Quitman twice a day-- in the morning going west, in the evening going east. And that was the schedule for that town.

My first conscious knowledge of Jews in the Deep South was in that little town-- Isaiah Calen and Peter Lazarus, the dry goods stores. Were tiny stores, but we thought they were grand because you'd see many pairs of overalls over here, many straw hats over here. And you could do stuff on credit.

And we noticed that those two stores allowed Black women on Fridays and Saturdays to try on things. To try on things. Some of us don't realize that many stores, including those in DC-- that include Woody's in the old days-- you had to work with the eyeball method of selecting clothing.

And when we-- in South Georgia, we'd go to town, I'd see a lot of Blacks with their shoes slit at the bunion section and at the toe section because their eyes were inaccurate as to the size. You could not try on the shoe. You had to stare at the shoe and make a choice. And once your Black foot went inside, that was yours forever. And on it went.

But you could try on shoes in Calen's and in P. Lazarus. And so much so that the store became known as the Black hangout. Folks would go to the stores and hang out in the front, drinking their knee-high and eating their naps in those days.

So I'd take the bus to Atlanta, to Morehouse, where I encountered my first non-Black teachers. We're talking prior to Brown versus Board. We knew where the white school was equipped majority. It was on the good side of town, where the lawns were green, and our cousins were cutting them, and keep them that way.



At Morehouse, there was Frau Hannah, who taught German. There were two refugee males in the physics department, I do believe. At Atlanta University, there was [PERSONAL NAME] [? Wilna ?] in psychology talking about the subconscious.

In those days, the South had trouble dealing with psychological questions. You either were all right or you were crazy. There was no middle ground. You didn't have mental disturbance. It was mental breakdown, but no gradations.

And this is where I first heard the name of Sigmund Freud. We used to call him Thinking Man Freud. And then we started doing curbstone analysis of the ids, the ego, the superego. I didn't hear that kind of talk till we got to her class. And I think that was true in many, many such situations.

What I'm driving at is that, as a first point, one of the effects of the presence of non-Southern whites, generally Jewish, in those Black schools was to raise the intellectual targets-- we had the aspirations, we didn't have the targets-- to break away from the Sunday school morality in terms of psychological analysis. If something is worrying you, you must have sinned. Or as we said in South Georgia, God's punishing you, boy.

But to realize that it is far more complex than that, that the mind is a roiling, boiling, calculating entity, and that there was such a thing and is such a thing as the subconscious, such a thing as displacement, projection, scapegoating. We knew this crudely, but not the way [PERSONAL NAME] [? Wilna ?] laid it out for us. And she did such a job that when I got to Chicago for grad school, a lot of the titles that we had at Morehouse were recommended as readings for people at Chicago, which is another long story that I maybe will touch on later.

But raising the targets in those schools, raising the targets then gives me a chance as a phrase to talk about the conditions that tended to prevail. And I'm painting with a broad brush, as we all have been doing. If one had to argue what was the agenda of public Black colleges in the South in the 1940s and early '50s, I'd say these things.

First, to produce a class of teachers for the public schools. Education must be in all of those places, pretty much. The Department of Education was where the prestige was-- to teach some people to go on to graduate school, perhaps, to replace their teachers in terms of college transition and replacement.

The second objective was to build a petty petite bourgeoisie, especially Tuskegee, where the motto, for many land grant colleges among Blacks was to teach the heart, the head, and the hands humility status quo, to give some Calvinistic virtue to the Black community-- Calvinistic virtue meaning, que sera sera-- what will be, will be. Do not push for social change, but push for respectability as defined by modest, slightly above Booker Washington technical training and facilities, to serve as a buffer in terms of the college products coming out of those institutions between those Blacks who would never get to college and the white community.

I think those were some of the agendas for the public institutions. The private institutions were another matter. They were not Southern-funded because the public was worried by definition, the state legislatures, and their budgets, which they used with great viciousness in keeping things in order.

But the private Black colleges were funded halfway from Black religious support, and from Northern Protestant philanthropy, and to some extent, beginning in the mid '30s, from Jewish philanthropy. And those colleges had a little more leeway in choice of curriculum, in choice of faculty, and in the lifestyle.

Make it concrete by illustration. A typical practice for the publicly-supported Black colleges in many-- especially Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, the Gulf States-- would be when the state legislatures taught, came out to do an inspection, a look-see as to how Black folks are handling this money, and is anybody getting too uppity, a standard way of measuring the control was to ask the chorus-- the choirs to sing some of those good old darky songs. And if you did not sing those songs, you would have your preparations cut because that's insolence. You have been asked to do this.

They did not do this at Spelman. They did not do it at Morehouse. It was not done at Talladega. The Fisk Jubilee Singers did their singing at their own decision and not by a fiat of someone who says, if you do not sing well for your

supper, in terms of endowment, we will punish you. Let's focus on Atlanta and Morehouse a little more-- and of course, the other schools around Morehouse.

And we do this by pointing out several things in terms of Black colleges, generally, that were private. There were clusters of these colleges. If we take Morgan, Coppin, Howard, and Bowie of 30 years ago, they make a cluster. And there was a sort of isolated academic life for Blacks and for whites working with them in these clusters.

There's another cluster in Atlanta that consists, of course, of Spelman, Morris Brown, Clark-- I guess those are the big three in that location-- and Atlanta University. There is a smaller cluster, much smaller, in New Orleans and around New Orleans-- Dillard, Southern University at Shreveport, Xavier. The contrast between what was permitted in the public institutions and the Black institutions was dramatic.

A Benjamin Mays could not have survived as president of Savannah State College. But he did survive, as we all know, for a long time as president of Morehouse. A Matilda Reed, who was president of Spelman for a very long time, if she had been appointed as head of a public college, could not have survived with the kind of ideas that they were promoting, and that the Jewish scholars helped to amplify.

Morehouse, in particular, was devoted to training us for things that didn't exist. I studied political science in the late '40s with no intention of becoming a lawyer. The rule at Morehouse was make sure you cannot get a job with four years of college. That was the understanding, that you would not become a lifetime employee of the Atlanta Post Office or a schoolteacher in Swainsboro, Georgia upon finishing the place.

So we had only two or three people in the area of education. But we had people in political science, which was a no-no, fundamentally, in the state-supported schools in those days, colleges. We had people in sociology, including a Marxist-- not a card-carrying, Lenin-quoting brother. But my sociology teacher could quote those fellows. I heard of Engels, and Lenin, and Trotsky, and Bolsheviks, and the Mensheviks, sitting in Sale Hall basement in the sociology class in the late '40s, when to utter that off that campus would be to invite all kinds of trouble by healthy Southern white cops.

The curriculum in political science was such at Morehouse, and that environment that supported it, that when I went to do the MA at Chicago without any breaks, except for that summer of graduation, for the first two quarters at the University of Chicago, where I was the one Black person in political science, in those years, I used the syllabus that Robert Brisbane, who just retired from Morehouse, had us go through.

The one difference that I thought was a major difference was the vocabulary. We did the big talk in the dormitories in terms of throwing out the old Webster business, I mean, crossed the language and the jargon. But we didn't think anybody else did in general conversation until I got to the University of Chicago and became aware that all this fancy talk around me of guys who just started shaving was really dictionary talk.

And so I matched the big word for big word, as the cliché puts it, and had a good time. But it was that kind of preparation that the private schools made possible. And I suspect that the clusters that I mentioned were the concentrations of the greatest number of German refugee scholars.

And let me say something more directly than about race, as there were two things about the control of these colleges beyond what I've said. Despite the amount of freedom that a Morehouse had and that the other places did not necessarily have, a Black college generally is an autocratic operation.

My dear friend, Mr. Miller, was quoted in the Post as describing this place in plantation terms. Plantation terms meaning, there's an overseer, there's a boss, and orders are unilateral, top-down. This was extraordinarily the case in the public Black colleges, where there were no countervailing power influences and groups in the Black community to give pause to a Black college president, a white board of trustees that is giving the Black college president its orders. There was no balance.

In talking to some people to try to-- well, in preparing for this evening, one person who has been in education much longer than I-- he's retired-- said, as an example, the president of West Virginia State, Bluefield, which is now beigned

into whiteness instead of blackness in terms in enrollment-- we do have some flip-overs, by the way-- not too many, but some-- that the president was so dictatorial that he would pay the faculty on a one-by-one basis. He was the paymaster as well as the president. And they would line up. And if you had displeased him, he would cite his displeasure and fine you.

I taught at North Carolina Central, which was founded as the North Carolina College for Colored by James E. Shepard. And Marshall Shepard, brilliant Black fellow, as president, would make the rounds in the evenings, especially Friday evenings, with a warden's keys, literally key ring. He's used the big rigs for you young folks who haven't been down to check out Lord-- these large key rings to lock up every building, to lock every building himself. Not physical plant, no, Mr. President would make the rounds.

There was paranoia about subversive ideas in the public colleges. There was less paranoia about it in the private ones. Give you an example of what happens in the private-- WEB Du Bois was fired twice from Atlanta University, which was obsessively private, but depended heavily on a stipend from the Georgia state legislature.

The first time, he was fired for giving a series of-- conducting of studies on the empirical conditions of racism in the South, with an emphasis on the state of Georgia. And these are called the Atlanta University studies, about 20 of them. And they're excellent. And parenthetically, there's a lot of people regard Du Bois as the first truly social scientist, American-born, even though he was trained in Germany, as were many of the leading scholars of whatever hue at the turn of the century were trained.

The second time he was fired from Atlanta University was a suspicion that he was too red in the Red Decade, the '30s. And of course, near the end of his life, he said, since I've been accused of being a fellow traveler, why not sign up the hell with it?

Tuskegee, which has had a very fascinating history in the development of Black education, had a man who was a first-rate social critic, Oliver Cromwell Cox, who in the '40s did a very penetrating economic analysis of racism in America, showing its profits to those who were at the top of the system of racism. He was told by the college that as long as you expect to draw a check from this place, you will never publish it. In retirement-- and he was a person with a physical handicap, who was crippled-- he completed his work and published it under the title "Caste, Class, and Race in the South." It's a classic.

So you had an environment in which German refugee scholars left the Holocaust of Europe and encountered the Holocaust of racism in the South. You see, antisemitism, racism are reverse sides of one another. The same mindset of mindlessness and irrationality that characterizes one characterized the other.

I would see Frau Hannah walking around the Morehouse campus smiling all the time. I did not know what she was smiling about. I suspect it was a mixture of relief at being alive, a pleasure at being among folks who truly were fond of her, and smiling in self defense. Because you see, the German refugee scholars were not only strangers to us as Blacks, but also exotic creatures to Southern whites, especially the Bible Belt fundamentalists. If you were not of the old Jewish settlement in terms of population and location in the South, you were never quite trusted. You have to put in many, many years.

My dissertation advisor, Ted Laurie, from Gadsden, Alabama, has a very fine article on the old and new Jewish population in the American South. And then to be refugee, and broke, and Jewish, but also highly educated, especially by Southern, like Sanders, not to mention what was happening in Black America in the Deep South, was to be a strain-- a creature of suspicion, a creature of tension, a creature to be observed and contained.

We must not forget, despite what I said about Atlanta being by implication comparatively liberal, it was a place where antisemitism was healthy in those days-- very strong, in other words, very strong, especially during crisis at times. There are some interesting things to read about the Jewish communities in Charleston, South Carolina, the Jewish communities in New Orleans, the Jewish communities in North Carolina, and so on. But the old and the new is the general dividing line. And the refugees fitted really neither because the numbers were not big enough to constitute a community.

Let me close here by making some general observations about what I think was the general impact of the-- some people call it illustrious migration. This is Laura Fermi's characterization of it, and because Fermi's widow-- I think he's deceased too at this point. When I think that the illustrious migration brought to America was a caliber of social analysis that forced the John Wayne Billy Sunday Protestantism to face itself with some honesty, one of the ways to check out what I'm saying is to look at the sociology texts, say, before 1930 or '35 and after.

They're bland. They basically say, all is well, except that Blacks are inferior, and what they got is what nature laid on them. And man should not be so absurd as to try to change it in terms of social conditions.

The before and after impact of the refugee intellectual contributions to social science is immense and has pushed-- and I think it pushed the Black schools too-- I'm sure it did-- them away from the Sunday school fundamentalism in terms of asking how society works to the deeper business of social stratification, the studies of who owns what and who gets what, how, and when has led, as I said, to a maturity, certainly a greater maturation, of American scholarship generally.

It's not an accident that the disproportionate number of Nobel prize winners are Jews. They are people of the book, as we all know. And when that book was used, as said with all due respect, of the Bible Belt version of the book, and there was growth in Black academia, there was growth in white academia in the area of sociology, in the area of philosophy beyond-- what you call it-- crossroads philosophy. I should say cracker barrel philosopher, but that might be a double entendre I didn't intend.

There was a maturity in defining what we mean by science and scientific methods. In short, the glorious, illustrious migration contributed to widening the frame in which Blacks could make their claim beyond religious pieties. In other words, they laid a social science foundation that made possible rational discussion of the effects of racism and antisemitism. They took it, created a condition where you could not simply say, the hermetic curse is upon Blacks.

You've heard the story that something happened when the flood receded, and Blacks were penalized for it. It made possible rational discussion, in other words, of social problems, rational discussion of social change, and for a kind of humanistic secularism that involves not only Blacks, but also the white South in such a way that the new South could have the beginnings of an intellectual foundation. I pause.

[APPLAUSE]

But there are a couple of people in the audience who should-- whom I would like to call on-- first and foremost, Carla Borden, my original co-investigator. Carla, you have something you'd like to add?

Well, Carla has said that she would like me to say a few things about some extraordinary individuals who were involved in this. And I'm looking at one whom I interviewed, Jim McWilliams, who was a student at Talladega and gave me the most wonderful tape for my oral history collection. Jim, can you come and say something? I will do that too.

You got to rep the German department here. Come on up.

The collection of tapes I have begins with Jim. And it is a wonderful tape. Thank you for coming up, Jim.

Well, I was enjoying the discussion, not expect to participate. But here I am. I entered Talladega in 1950. Talladega College is in Alabama. And I had come from the steel mill areas of Birmingham. And all males other than myself had gone into the steel mills-- one uncle, for 43 years, and another one for 39 years, and my father for about 27.

So leaving that environment, and going to Talladega, and finding and names like Fritz Pappenheim and finding that a warm relationship could be possible when my experience had been somewhat like, I suspect, South Africa is, where Blacks did not have many associations with whites, except violent-type experiences. And here, I was in a position to meet someone who had come from Cologne, Germany, and graduated from Heidelberg, and was prepared to teach in this Southern town. And we had a lot in common because neither one of us felt comfortable off the campus.

Amen.

So he taught economics and German. I was at the top of the class in economics. But German I had a lot of trouble with. But the long arm of McCarthyism stretched into this small community. And I'm moving pretty fast. By 1952, although Fritz Pappenheim and others had become very popular teachers because they recognized that many of us had come with limited backgrounds, and all they really wanted to know was where was the base.

And once the base had been established, they were prepared to move us forward, and also instilled in us some curiosity to learn so that we knew that beyond those four years, we would have to continue the process. So by 1952, Fritz Pappenheim, and Rasmussen, and Nussbaum, and people like that had made contributions and become friends because you had to socialize after class because it was unsafe off the campus. The Klan was all about.

And the fact that whites and Blacks were mixing, and some of the whites had the nerve to send some of their kids to the school before Brown versus Board of Education made the place unsafe. But each of us had responsibilities to make certain that the buildings didn't get bombed and attacked. So by 1952, the board of trustees felt that Fritz Pappenheim and some of the German professors had shaky backgrounds in Europe, left leanings, or unexplained associations with socialist causes.

But instead of stating it up front like that, they came up with the notion that instead of economic theory, Black students needed more money and banking statistics, sort of like the way things have gotten today. We didn't have computers, but if that had been on the agenda, we would have had that. So they said, people like Fritz Pappenheim, who were teaching economics, should not be given tenure.

And they-- the board of trustees were members of the white community who come from the North and made this decision. And many of us knew that a professor like Fritz Pappenheim, who had graduated from Heidelberg, could not possibly have gotten a doctorate without knowing about money, and banking, and statistics. So if that was what they were going to shift toward, he would have been as capable as anyone else.

So the board of trustees made this decision not to give him tenure while meeting in the gymnasium. And we had had an early spring/summer in the South. And the temperature was about 90 or more. And there were no air conditioning. And so some of us decided that we did not like that decision. So we locked them in that gymnasium.

And there had been no sit-ins. And there had been no Howard Atwater experiences to draw upon. So we didn't know exactly what we were about, except that we didn't like the decision. And we thought that in the comfort of 90-degree weather, coming from the North, they would think about what they had done.

And after many, many hours in there, since the president of the college had gone along with this decision not to give Pappenheim tenure, we were not too happy with him, either. So a rather weird negotiation took place. They decided to offer us a deal. If we would let them out, they would remove the president, but no tenure for Pappenheim.

And now, as I said, we had not had a lot of experience because some of the older students thought this was about the best deal we were going to get. As I said, I was a sophomore at the time. So the senior students helped us to take the locks off the doors and let them out. Pappenheim had to go. The president bit the dust.

Oh, the third concession was from this point on, the president would be Black. We had white presidents at that time. So the white president would have to be replaced. And we'd get a Black president. Pappenheim would have to go. And about six or seven other professors, Black and white, resigned as a protest of this decision.

And Fritz Pappenheim, who had been there for years, what can I think, for about \$3,000 a year, left with one of those side stains that he was left, or socialist, or whatever. And he ended up-- I think Gabrielle tracked some of his work down. He left the school, and wrote after that, and I think did some-- The Alienation of Modern Man was one of the books that he wrote.

But the experience there, I think, was one that I would never be able to forget. And I believe that it made it possible for

the rest of my life to do the analyzing myself as to what is appearing in front of me, and making some judgments about what is happening, and not being spoon-fed. Because it comes from a certain source, and I believe those kinds of teachings meant a lot. It has certainly helped me in my life make some sense out of things and at least have some respect for my own conclusions about things.

The irony of the story was, as they went out to recruit for a replacement for Fritz Pappenheim, they went to the University of Chicago. And they got a Black scholar who had the credentials and the willingness to teach money and banking, and after arriving and getting this position, turned out to be the most radical, anarchist-type individual we had ever encountered, who, I think, because the board of trustees a great deal of concern because he laid the foundations for some of the later confrontations that took place in the South.

I think we're going to be brief because people are leaving, and it's late. I'd like to open this for discussion. And if there's time, I'll tell a couple of anecdotes. But I would really like the audience to be heard. Yes, sir. Good question.

Well, let me answer the second question first. That's a very interesting thing. Because the negative experiences will not be told. I'm not saying by me-- people don't want to talk about this, with very few exceptions. I have had people who said, I don't want to talk about this. There was a refugee who came to Howard-- not a Jew, but an anti-fascist-- who founded the anthropology department here, who left them with the most terrible fight.

I have the copies of the newspapers of the time. I have never been able to figure out what really happened because all I've read is his side and the college's side. And I can't figure it-- I know he was arrogant, but that's not unusual for Germans, Jewish or otherwise, particularly of that period, if they were intellectuals.

I have heard one story that indicated a racist remark by one of the refugees who was otherwise very popular. It's almost impossible to get that because it makes people embarrassed. And they don't want to do that. And I haven't pushed for it.

Your first question is-- remains something of a mystery to me. I have tried very hard to find out if there was a single thing done by the Emergency Committee for the Rescue of Scholars or any of the other organizations. I found a letter that was written by the Emergency Committee to seven Black colleges, asking about-- would they be interested in a physicist or a French professor? But that didn't go out till 1941.

I know of instances where word of mouth was the way. For instance, Dr. Manassa, whom I quoted early on had a terrible time finding work. He said that he applied to 100 places, heard from a man who taught here at Howard. His name was [PERSONAL NAME], and he taught Romance languages. And Manassa knew him. And he wrote him and said, there's a position at North Central-- North Carolina Central, I mean.

I had hoped to find the minutes of a meeting of the people who did the organizing around placing refugees. I have found nothing. So far, there may be something at the Rockefeller Archives in New York, where I have been. But they have a heck of a lot of stuff I haven't seen. I don't know. It's terrible.

Well, it varies. Some colleges have been able to give me a lot. In some instances, I have nothing-- literally nothing, not a personnel record, not a catalog. I only have someone's word that so-and-so taught there. And I have had to take their word for that. I don't know what to do about that. I can't do anything more than I've done. I've called, I visited.

I went to Dillard and to Xavier in New Orleans because I knew someone who told me they had taught there or had had teachers there. And neither college has any records. Archival material is very scarce in most instances.

Even at Howard, I had a hard time. The two departments have nothing. Moorland-Spingarn has helped. Some individuals have helped. It is very difficult to get personnel records from the '30s and '40s, where people don't have resources for archival work. And many of the colleges are having great difficulties, as you know. And this is not a priority. So I don't know.

Someone else? Yes, sir. I didn't say a word about Nobel prize. No. No. Dr. Adams did.

I was wondering if there's a [INAUDIBLE] why that might become the case and if there are any lessons to be learned from it.

Well, make your kids study, I guess.

For one thing, Sweden is quite close to Germany.

Yeah. And for another thing, the areas in which the Nobel prize is offered, those areas are areas deemed critical to let's call it the common good-- science, the medicine, physics. And especially with the breakthrough, so to speak, by Einstein and in making physics the test of empiricism and a rational-- empiricism and rational analysis. So those are areas, I think, not only geographically close to the Nobel committee, but also intellectually close to them, just as we have these strange awards in literature when the politics of the awardee is close to them.

Martha?

A Nobel prize awarded in food and agriculture. And [PERSONAL NAME] got it. And he got it [INAUDIBLE]. They have never recognized agriculture. Food has been an important enough subject.

Well, that's the work that they do in connection with what we call food that they look at. I mean, the analytical level.

No, I'd like the panel to comment on this aspect of what kind of response did the clergy in some of these small towns was. Now, some of you have alluded to a rather fundamentalist view of some of the ministers they have had. But what about a kind of [INAUDIBLE] kind of sense of the [? government? ?]

I found out that in some of the Southern colleges, it was compulsory to go to chapel on Sundays, certainly for the students. And it was customary for the professors to go. And I found out that most of the time, these people would do that. Most of them were not religious.

There was one refugee, where I have a wonderful quote. I think it was Pappenheim, perhaps. Because one of the administrators said, I wish he were more Jewish, meaning more religious. I have heard nothing else about that as an issue, except some correspondence in terms of placing people, in which it was questioned about being Christian. But to my knowledge, I have heard of no episodes. Or you know, it's very hard to do this so much later. It should have been done a while ago, but it wasn't.

Yes, Michael? How many?

[INTERPOSING VOICES]

She'll cover it.

Can I come in before?

Sure. Dr. Lehman has something to add.

Answering your question-- this is not research. And it's very important to research it because there may be a very interesting story told. Catherine Epstein, who in our institute works on emigre historians, she has found a trace, I think, which is vital, that many of the historians of these joined the Quakers. And I think this may be a theme which is worth following through.

Michael?

I think that's partially answered. I was curious about their self-definition of themselves. Do they consider themselves primarily German or primarily Jewish? Because I just noticed in the reference Dr. Adams made about the teachers he had, which were very specifically Jewish teachers, and the other reference to Dr. Pappenheim as a German.

I'm curious, in your exploration, to what extent-- what was the primary self-definition? Second, I'm curious, Dr. Adams, to what extent or why were there no feelings about paternalism in-- or were there any feelings about paternalism? And third-- and this is an issue that Rabbi Ticktin's presentation made me wonder about this-- the time in America when Jews started being defined as white.

It's a very good question.

OK, three very separate-- or somewhat separate questions.

I'm going to start by saying that one of the things that I know from what research I've done is that there's absolutely no general anything. There were a lot of individuals and there are a lot of individual stories. So I can't answer your question, except to say, each person-- I mean, I know from my own experience and my own family-- I'm also from a German Jewish family-- that we've got everything. I mean, we've got Catholics, we have Protestants, we have a few religious Jews, we have mostly agnostics and atheists.

And I can tell you from my own experience that I didn't know anything about being a Jew until I decided it was time to find out. And that was very close to the Nazi time. And I decided that I had to deal with that because nobody in my family did. And my grandfather had been a rabbi. So that's one story. There's no general anything that I know of. Dr. Ticktin, do you want to elaborate?

Well, let me give my impression on the first point, that certainly is a good point. There has been-- there's an ambivalence in whites teaching Blacks in the first place. One half of the ambi has to do with the need. The other half has to do with the style of delivery and the source of which the delivery is made. And impressionistically, I suspect that was true at Morehouse. We needed the service. And the person was there to give it.

Now, the more adroit and insightful folks, I suspect, did what Southerners do so well, Black and white, and that is play a role that reduces the sense of paternalism. On the other hand, if you are in some of the state schools, where the alliance between the white faculty and the state legislature-- the chairman of the finance committee is my cousin, and I'm teaching econ, well, I'm God over here, see-- or Jehovah, whatever you want to call it.

On the second question, in terms of religion, we had chapel every day at Morehouse except Wednesdays and Sundays. And when Benjamin Mays would say, and we will all be there on that Sunday, Frau Hannah could sit in the front. [? Wilna ?] will be joining her shortly. And we all sing "A Mighty Fortress is our God." Now, what they did on Saturday, we don't know because there is this Southern-- Black, white-- and well, all over America, from Saturday night to Monday morning is the most sacred time, racially speaking, that this country has.

I suspect if there were clusters of fellow Jews around, these people sought the more enlightened ones out, the ones who were into reading books. I was reading some background material for this evening and was amused to find-- and also did some resonating in me-- that in old time, Jews who were interested in things like the New Republic when it was good or the Reporter, when it was around and good, would keep those books as though they were on the verboten list, and would have US News and World Report in the front room so that when there are Klansmen customers that are clients popped in, everything would be well-- in other words, the need to preserve.

So they did all kinds of things in that way. And I suspect that the religious thing was done that way too. In South Georgia, I learned that there were traveling rabbis for folks who had-- were probably too small to sustain a synagogue and the things that go along with it, just as there were among Blacks the Baptists who were poor, but drive the circuit. I had another one who had one church in this county, and another in other county, and they all saw him once a month for 50 bucks.

On the part of the question about folks being white, I don't think that was an issue in those days. The average Black person would see somebody if it was not a what we call a birth certificate Black, that is if their birth certificate said Black, if they were clearly a white person, you saw that-- you saw the pigmentation package first. You had to because to be wrong in behavior could get you physically damaged. I could tell you some horror stories.



He was concerned about the blandness of our discussion, somebody back there, saying that we haven't heard any shady side parts of it. We can all do our all-purpose knife business, pistol knives, and so on, Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner business. But we saw them as white first.

And if you've got a good rapport and and they turned you on about the life of the mind beyond reverie, so to speak, then you saw them as persons. Because you were then into this thing with them. And that happened a lot, I think, at Morehouse-- and at the other places too. But certainly, this is where I was.

We used to argue socialism. We have used the big debates on socialized medicine and what it would be to the medical profession and to the nation's health. And who's behind this stuff anyway. and so on? So if the life of the mind was fired by somebody, you forgot the pigmentation, except when it was necessary to negotiate to get the Black person by somebody else. I'm going to go in so-and-so's place because we're going to discuss Hegel tonight and so on.

I don't want to get evangelical about it, but tried to address the three questions about paternalism, sure. We say paternalism-- nobody wants it who's healthy, in my judgment. Religion was a slip and slide. You got it where you wanted it. And if you were Jewish without ritual, so to speak, then it's like being invisible. I mean, it's in factory, so to speak, to do the Catholic thing. And if you're white, you're white. And if you ain't, you ain't.

Sir?

[INAUDIBLE]

First of all, on Black campuses, students were also secondary [INAUDIBLE] what we call the white colleges. [INAUDIBLE] German immigrants coming to this country, who themselves were outcast, who were in a strange land, migrating is natural, it seems to me, to an area where they have some kind of impact. They were not accepted by wider white universities because of the fear for publicization.

And that's the place you want to go were these Black [INAUDIBLE]. Under Black colleges, the programs, money that was paid out for instructors wasn't so small. No self-respecting Black or white professor was coming to a Black college because he could go other places. But it was a natural thing for Jewish immigrants to go to Black colleges.

May I respond to that?

Sure.

I think that's 50% true. The other 50% ought to be looked at. At Chicago, I was taught by Hans Jacob Morgenthau.

OK, but hold just one minute. I'm not saying anything--

Now, when we say natural, I'm just concerned about what you mean by natural.

Right. The point is that I am saying natural from a common sense point of natural.

OK, natural doesn't matter. OK.

Now, I'm not saying I'm saying this to be sarcastic or you know, I'm saying that when you look at the elements involved in Black colleges at that time and the elements involved in Jewish immigration at that time, it's a natural melding of the two forces.

But then you said, more than in white institutions. And I think if one did a statistical analysis, you'd have a very lopsided percentage in Black schools. Because we're talking less than 100 folks.

50.

And not that that exhausts the list that went to such places.

Just about.

I was taught by Morgenthau, who was--

Well, but that's Chicago.

I know, but I'm speaking of white schools that had them.

Oh, well, yes.

And I used to work at the mail room. And I used to almost [INAUDIBLE] Jewish calling their mail-- I mean, the mail list-- Leo Strauss.

Yeah, right.

He's a rabbi we talked about earlier, saw [INAUDIBLE] walking to Midway all the time. And they were paid.

Well, that was Chicago. It's a rich school. The Rockefellers funded that. I have a-- Dr. Lehman has something to add.

Well, just a brief remark. It's very interesting to look at the careers. Some, in fact, do go to the historically Black colleges and do stay on for many years.

That's what I want.

But others choose the first opportunity to get away again--

That's right.

--because it's the white places where they make-- where they want to continue their career.

That's right.

So thrown into naturally-- well, yes and no.

David, were you making a signal to me? What was the signal? One more question? All right, sir. A statement? I don't know, I'll listen. Sure.

I'm a bit nervous. And I stutter out a little bit when I do get nervous. My name is Memphis Norman. And a few days ago, a good friend of mine, Joan Mulholland, called me and told me that there was going to be this panel here this evening. And I immediately felt that I should be here.

We are from Tougaloo College in Mississippi-- Tougaloo College. You mentioned Dillard, Xavier, Atlanta, Morehouse, Talladega, Howard, Hampton, and so forth, and left out my college. So I felt compelled to come up here.

Did you have Borinski?

Yes. And I'm here to-- I feel very emotional about this. And I'm here to thank my good friend and mentor, Dr. Ernst Borinski for what he did for me and for my college. Dr. Borinski came from Kraków, Poland. He came in the early '30s. And he came to my college and he stayed there his entire career.

I was going to tell them about him.

I hope that he is in your-- among your 50 people.

He's among the most important.

Good. I'm glad to hear that. Dr. Borinski made a great contribution to our college. I too learned about people like Talcott Parsons, and Max Weber, and Camus, and Emile Durkheim, et cetera from my mentor. I started off at Tougaloo College in pre-med, and I took one course in sociology. And Dr. Borinski was expounding on sociological theory, and Emile Durkheim, et cetera. And he caught my ear. He caught Jones too.

Dr. Borinski got me or persuaded me to go into public administration at the University of Pittsburgh. He did some work at the-- up there too. And I went to the University of Pittsburgh, got my master's in public administration.

Today, I'm employed by the Office of Management and Budget. And they say I do a good job. I work on part of NASA. And I have the Smithsonian, and the National Gallery of Art, and a few other agencies. Just recently, I completed my PhD in public administration from USC in Los Angeles. So I-- Dr. Borinski got me on this track. And I felt compelled to come and thank him in this particular gathering. Thank you.

[APPLAUSE]

Dr. Borinski was an extraordinary man and a very important figure at Tougaloo. And he was there from 19-- well, he went into the American Army. And because he had been a lawyer in Germany, he could not practice his profession.

And so he went to graduate school, first at Chicago, and then at Pittsburgh, and got a PhD in sociology, went straight to Tougaloo, and died there at age 83. And he is buried in the little cemetery on the campus at Tougaloo and had an enormous impact, also, on the Civil Rights Movement.

He did one thing I'll tell you because time is running short. He had what he called his lab, which was in the basement, in which he-- students got him furniture. And the story of how they got it is a little shady.

And there, he had his books and a little place to cook. And he started seminars. And that was a time of, really, total segregation. And Millsaps college was the white college near there. And he started the seminars as follows. The chairs around the table were first occupied by the Black students from Tougaloo.

And he said, leave one chair empty so when they come in from Millsaps, they have to mingle. And that is what he did. Was called integration, right? And he was quite a character. I never met him, unfortunately. But the Mississippi Historical Archives have four reels of oral history. And I listened to some of those.

And the man asked him what had happened to him and his family in Germany. And all the people I interviewed who knew him said he would not talk about this. On this tape, he said, I have had to excise this from my mind. And I cannot talk about it because if I had not done that, I would not be sane. And that's all we know about that.

But I will tell you one story that I found very wonderful. There's a Black-- very famous Black painter who lives in Houston. Name is John Biggers. And he went to Hampton to become a plumber. But he noticed that there was an art class at night, which he took. And his teacher was a man from Vienna called Lowenfeld, Viktor Lowenfeld.

And Viktor Lowenfeld got to Hampton and found that it had an industrial arts department. He said, what is this? Why can't they have a real art department? Proceeded to found that.

And John Biggers didn't have any money. And the art class was at night. And he would miss the dinner at the college, which had-- was paid for so. Dr. Lowenfeld often said, well, come on home, and we'll have a sandwich at my house. And en route, he would always stop at the post office to get his mail, professor did.

And one day, he came out of the post office-- I have this also on my audio tape with Professor Biggers. And he said, he

looked white as a sheet. And he got into the car. And he drove to the water's edge and just sat. And I didn't say anything-- I'm quoting the videos-- and he said, this is a letter from the State Department to inform me which members and how many members of my family were exterminated in the camps.

And Dr. Biggers said, he was just horrified, and said, at that moment, I knew, there could never be a division between us on the basis of race, or religion, or anything else. And that's a very beautiful story about this historical episode. I'll close with that unless someone has something they want to say.

With regard to the final fruits of our efforts, we did have an opportunity to explore the context in which this research is being done and to share some ideas about two sets of people who have had their respective Holocaust. It's about Holocaust comparisons. But the Holocaust where lives were lost and the Holocaust where continents were denuded of people and enslaved, those are the two big ones in Western culture. And one of the things we do in Afro-American studies is to keep in mind that the two experiences are connected at the core of Western culture. One of these days, you'll read my book on that.