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# 1 Introduction: American Philosophy and the Intellectual Migration

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 and 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 World War II. 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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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 and 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 Rudolf Carnap (University of Chicago), Erich Frank (University of Pennsylvania), Carl Gustav Hempel (Yale University), Werner Jaeger (Harvard University), Jan Kalicki (UC Berkeley), Walter Kaufmann (Princeton University), Paul Kristeller (Columbia University), Hans Meyerhoff

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 and Richardson 2003; Verhaegh 2020a, 2020b and 2020c). 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 and 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,<sup>4</sup> 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 ex-

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

<sup>4</sup> See this chapter's list of references for a select overview. A notable exception is Beck and Coomann (2018).

iled philosophers (section 1.1), argues that historians ought to develop a broader perspective on the effects of the migration (sections 1.1–1.2), and provides an overview of the twelve chapters in this volume (section 1.3).

## 1.1 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 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 (Davie 1947, 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” (Fermi 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* (Fermi 1968, 11–13). 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.<sup>5</sup>

Estimates of the number of migrant *philosophers* are equally divergent. The aforementioned report from the 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

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

“whose records did not show former affiliation with a European institution or university” (Davie 1947, 314–316, 320–321). 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.”<sup>6</sup>

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 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.<sup>7</sup> 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 change 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 Exilphiloso-*

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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.

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

*sophie* (DDEP).<sup>8</sup> 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 and Strauss 1999), *The Dictionary of Modern American Philosophers* (Shook 2005), and a list of 300 intellectual migrants appended to Fleming and Bailyn (1969).<sup>9</sup> 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 neighboring countries.<sup>10</sup>

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 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

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

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

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 (APA) 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.<sup>11</sup> 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 (Verhaegh forthcoming). 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).

Finally, we should not forget the large group of philosophers who wanted to move to the United States but who never made it, either because they were refused

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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.

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

| 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)        |
| Borghesi, Lamberto | 1907 | Pisa                |           | 1940 – 1948  | Student                                             | Schwarz & 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)                                       | Lützel (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)                |
| Camap, Rudolf      | 1891 | Jena                | Bauch     | 1935 –       | i. a. UChicago; UCLA*                               | Verhaegh (2020a)             |
| Cassirer, Ernst    | 1874 | Marburg             | Cohen     | 1941 –       | Yale Un.; Columbia Un.                              | Gawronsky (1949)             |
| Cerf, Walter       | 1907 | Bonn                |           | 1936 –       | i. a. Un. of Minnesota; Brooklyn Coll.              | Sanders (2004)               |
| Cleve, Felix       | 1890 | Vienna              |           | 1940 –       | Long Island University; NSSR                        | Luftschtein (2018)           |
| Deku, Henry        | 1909 | Berlin <sup>†</sup> | Dessoir   | 1940 – 1945  | Yale Un. (divinity school)                          | Schönberger (2023)           |
| Drucker, Peter     | 1909 | Frankfurt           |           | 1937 –       | Bennington Coll. NY Un. (management)*               | Flaherty (1999)              |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Name                   | Born | Alma Mater | Doc. Adv.  | Period in US | US Affiliation(s)                                  | More information            |
|------------------------|------|------------|------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Duncker, Karl          | 1903 | Berlin     | Wertheimer | 1937 –       | Swarthmore Coll. (psychology)                      | King et al. (1998)          |
| 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 – 481)     |
| Feigl, Herbert         | 1902 | Vienna     | Schlick    | 1931 –       | i.a. Un. of Iowa; Un. 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  | Pohlenz    | 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.*                | Oummia (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 Un.*        | 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)               |



Table 1 (Continued)

| Name                    | Born | Alma Mater   | Doc. Adv.  | Period in US | US Affiliation(s)                            | More information                |
|-------------------------|------|--------------|------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 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)                |
| Gurwitsch, 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. Un. 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         |            | 1937[78] –   | 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) |
| Honigshaim, 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.; UNCCH (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, Felix         | 1895 | Vienna       | Kelsen     | 1938 –       | NSSR*                                        | Strassfeld (this volume)        |
| Kaufmann, Fritz         | 1881 | Freiburg     | Husserl    | 1937 –       | Northwestern Un.; Un. Buffalo*               | Strassfeld (this volume)        |
| Kayser, Stephen S.      | 1900 | Heidelberg   | Rickert    | 1938 –       | i.a. NY Public Library; Un. Judaism, LA*     | Jennings (2023)                 |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Name                   | Born | Alma Mater | Doc. Adv.             | Period in US | US Affiliation(s)                                   | More information                |
|------------------------|------|------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Kelsen, Hans           | 1881 | Vienna     | Jellinek <sup>3</sup> | 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                              | Hallday (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. NSRR; 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)                  |
| Krzyszinski, Andrew J. | 1884 | Cracow     |                       | 1939 –       | Laval Un., Quebec; Fordham Un.                      | Krzyszinski (ca. 1953)          |
| Kuhn, Helmut           | 1899 | Breslau    | Hönigswald            | 1938 – 1949  | UNCCH; 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 & Richard-Willmes (1997) |
| Löwith, Karl           | 1897 | Munich     | Geiger                | 1941 – 1952  | Hartford Theological Sem.; NSRR*                    | 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)                  |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Name                  | Born | Alma Mater | Doc. Adv. | Period in US | US Affiliation(s)                                     | More information                |
|-----------------------|------|------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 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      |           | 1937[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 (2020b)                |
| 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)                 |
| Roenau, 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)          |
| Saenger, Gerhart      | 1910 | Basel      |           | Unknown      | i.a. City College NY; Newark Un.                      | APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942) |
| Salomon, Albert       | 1891 | Heidelberg | Lederer   | 1935 –       | NSSR*                                                 | Grathoff (1995)                 |
| Scheerer, Martin      | 1900 | Hamburg    | Stern     | 1936 –       | i.a. Montefiore Hosl.; Un. Kansas (psychology)*       | Scheerer (1966)                 |
| Schrecker, Paul       | 1889 | Berlin     |           | 1940 –       | NSSR; Un. Pennsylvania*                               | Morrow (1963)                   |
| Schuhmann, Alfred     | 1899 | Munich     |           | Unknown      | Unknown                                               | APA Invent. Exiled Phil. (1942) |
| Schutz, Alfred        | 1899 | Vienna     |           | 1939 –       | NSSR*                                                 | Jacobs (this vol.)              |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Name                  | Born  | Alma Mater            | Doc. Adv.    | Period in US | US Affiliation(s)                                  | More information                |
|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Schwarz, Balduin      | 1902  | Munich                | v.Hildebrand | 1941 – 1964  | i. a. Fordham Un.*                                 | Gertzen (2015a)                 |
| Seidemmann, 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)                     |
| Solmitz, 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 <sup>l</sup> | 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)                  |
| Stocker, 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)*          | Schlessner (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)                    |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Name                  | Born  | Alma Mater | Doc. Adv.  | Period in US | US Affiliation(s)                               | More information                |
|-----------------------|-------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 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) |
| Weixgärtner, 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. Chicago; 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)                 |

\* 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 PhD 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.”

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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> Other philosophers who never made it to North America include Walter Benjamin, Salomo Friedlander, Adhémar Gelb, and Gertrud Kantorowicz.

## 1.2 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

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<sup>12</sup> House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. *Restriction of Immigration*. 68<sup>th</sup> Congress, Rep. No. 350, pt. 1, 16.

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

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 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 and 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.”<sup>14</sup> 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).<sup>15</sup>

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 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.

### 1.3 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

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<sup>14</sup> Recommendation letter for Herbert Feigl, April 14, 1931, Herbert Feigl Papers, University of Minnesota Archives, 03–53–01.

<sup>15</sup> See Frost-Arnold (2017), Strassfeld (2022), and Verhaegh (forthcoming) for a more detailed history of the origins and development of these labels.



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 that 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 the 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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