

London  
June 15, 1938

Security of Tenure

In the course of conversation yesterday at the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, in which Hall, the Director, and Beveridge, Riefler and I participated, I raised the question as to whether we had not greatly overdone in America what is called by the Association of American University Professors "security of tenure." Beveridge made the point, and it is a sound one, that it ought to be distinctly understood that security of tenure will never be imperilled by a man's making use of his freedom of speech. With this I agree, but I cannot for the life of me see why I should be on annual tenure and why business men, lawyers and doctors should be on a precarious tenure while university professors, once appointed, cannot be touched. No head of an institution will make his faculty uneasy by reckless or thoughtless changes, but, on the other hand, a man who is appointed to a professorship and goes stale ought not to be permitted to block the road for an indefinite period of years. It should be understood that he can be retired and perhaps given a pension. He ought not, under any circumstances, to feel that his tenure depends upon what he says, upon incurring favor, or upon productivity simply in order to show that he is active. These things are simple. I have in mind persons who neglect their academic duties in order to do outside work or who play bridge all afternoon or simply go to sleep.

In England men are appointed to fellowships for definite terms - five years, seven years, etc. Hall has become director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research on a seven-year appointment, and his funds will not carry him beyond that period, but he is not uneasy. He

knows that money will be forthcoming if he makes a success of it, and he knows, further, that he or somebody under him ought, with his influence, to do something within seven years which will prove that he is not a total liability. As a matter of self-respect professors should themselves feel this.

I pointed out in my conversation that in America security of tenure is probably a compensation for low salaries. This is all wrong. Men should be paid what they are worth on the theory that they are going to be worth it, and if it turns out that they are not worth it and not worth anything else in particular, it ought to be possible for a university to make a change, after giving the incumbent every possible opportunity, without bringing down upon it the wrath of the academic profession.

Indeed, security of tenure may be one of the elements that contribute to stagnation. A man feels that he is fixed in his position, and I am not certain that that is good for anybody. I have never myself had it. Since I went to the Carnegie Foundation thirty years ago I have never had an appointment that ran for more than one year, and I have never had the feeling that I was in the least danger because of this fact. At this moment I find it much more difficult to get out of the directorship of the Institute than to hold on, though I could be retired for age without any other reason being assigned.

What a rattling of dead bones there would be if the universities of America announced it as their policy henceforth to be guided by results - not immediate results but long-time results! To be sure, this might require that presidents be made of greater wisdom and experience than they now are. They might be forced to tramp around the universe as I have done instead of staying so largely in their own country, but this too would be all for the good.

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TRAVEL ABROAD

Quite aside from anything that may be necessary in any particular school, I hope that my successor may profit by my example in cultivating contacts with educators and investigators in Europe, and that the policy which the Institute has already formed of bringing men to this country and sending men abroad will never stop. If the Institute is a success, that success is undoubtedly due in part to the group which we have brought together there, but it is also due in no small part to my wide range of acquaintance in Europe and America and to the efforts which I have made during the last thirty years to keep in touch with thinkers, administrators, etc., even when I am unable to understand their subjects. There is something that I, though not a mathematician, can learn from an hour's talk with Bohr or Dirac that makes it worth my while to cross the ocean to see them, and when, instead of one Bohr or one Dirac, there are scores of men in every intellectual center, the argument is enormously strengthened.

I think too that the technique which I have employed, and have been generously enabled to employ, that of bringing with me a secretary to whom at the end of the day I dictate what I remember and reflections that occur to me as I go along, is of enormous value in clarifying my mind and in fixing what I have learned.

No American educational administrator, except President Gilman, and no foreign educational administrator at all, so far as I know, has made it a habit to do this as between Europe and America. The Europeans

see one another, to be sure, and men engaged with precisely the same subject - epigraphy, mathematics, etc. - meet one another in congress, but this does not suffice for the head of an institution. He ought to know the world as he knows his own group. He cannot do it unless at intervals of a couple of years he takes two or three months, even though he has no particular object in mind, and goes abroad, renews and extends his acquaintance, talks things over, and finds out what other people are thinking about, be it right or wrong, digests it at the end of the day and reflects upon it in his individual way.

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

AF/MCE



June 7, 1938

Oxford - Warden of All Souls

My conversations with Adams were very frequent and prolonged. We sat up till all hours of the night on three successive days, and after dining in hall, paced up and down the gardens of the Warden's Lodgings. He is himself no stranger to this field, but he is perplexed as to how to do things. My main talk with him was, first, to get his version of what had been happening in Nuffield College, and I got the impression that there was far greater difference of opinion than I had received from Lindsay. From our side I urged upon him time and again the importance of not deciding details or minutiae and of not tying Butler's hands if it could possibly be avoided by making any decisions until, first, he had come to Oxford and learned what was feasible, and, secondly, come to America and seen with his own eyes what we were doing and come to know intimately the persons who were doing them. I told him that Riefler would be at his disposal to go with him, as he had gone with Mynors, to Washington, to New York, or anywhere else, so that an interchange of men and ideas would take place from the very beginning. We discussed the advantages of this kind of interchange time and again.

Before we left Oxford Adams and his wife had practically agreed to come to America next summer and stay with us for a month in Canada. He is undoubtedly one of the most influential members of the council, and as he is a wise, good-humored and absolutely unselfish, and as his term of office will extend long beyond Lindsay's, I have the feeling that he may prove to be the person through whom most will be accomplished.

Abraham Flexner

Oxford  
June 7, 1938

Sir William Beveridge

I saw Beveridge on the Sunday evening prior to leaving. I had previously seen him on my visit to Oxford and left with him a copy of our latest bulletin, which he had read with very great care. We dined in hall and immediately thereafter retired to his study. He had formed some very definite notions of what, in my place, he would do. After briefly discussing the difficulties in the way of clean-out action or delay at Oxford, he explained his own notion - something very different from anything that he had ever done or attempted to do at the London School.

"My idea," he said, "is to take hold of some concrete economic problem, be it unemployment, population, or finance, get a group of persons big enough to be sure that you will attack the problem fundamentally and thoroughly, supply them with such clerical and other help as they need and let them alone. Keep them out of the rough and tumble of actual life, in the hope that they can produce a thoroughly well-documented statement which will guide public men, business men, officials, etc. Don't try to form prematurely an economic science. It may be a hundred years until problems enough have been attacked to warrant any such step. Follow the plan you have followed in mathematics: admit no one who is not competent to participate in the activities of this school. We have nothing of the sort now in England - not even at the London School."

He, Adams, and Lindsay all dwelt upon the fact that their funds were insufficient. I pointed out that at the outset this would be an advantage. It would make them think many times before they resolved upon a particular step and would therefore develop caution. This had not occurred

Sir William Beveridge

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to any of them, and Mrs. Adams, who on one occasion heard me point out to her husband the advantage of poverty, recurred to the subject several times when she and I were talking together. "I had never thought," she said once, "that it would be a positive advantage not to have too much money. Now I see that the mere fact that Lord Nuffield has not given us his final gift is a blessing in disguise, for, if instead of a million pounds we had two million, heaven knows what we should have been driven to undertake."

I told them of the small sum upon which we had been operating and that I had never wanted much leeway, though I did not feel that with my experience at the Rockefeller Foundation I was really in any danger of reckless action, but that I could always say in reply to any proposition, "We cannot afford it," and that gives one time to think.

A.F.

June 7, 1938

Oxford - H. A. L. Fisher

Before leaving I had a somewhat briefer talk with Fisher at New College, and with him I reviewed the ground I had covered in my previous interviews. He was immensely interested, and though he made no specific suggestions the thing that most impressed him was the importance of the school at Princeton and the college at Oxford.

"I served for some years," he said, "as a member of Lloyd George's Cabinet during the war and, looking back, I can see how enormously we would have been helped in our economic decisions and in our general policy of a strong college devoted to economic and social studies had existed here at Oxford. There is," he pointed out, "a great gap between academic activity and practical life, but that is a gap that can be bridged by men of good sense and sound judgment. The important thing is, first, that the academic <sup>should</sup> men ~~dox~~ really appreciate practical problems in the crude form in which they present themselves to men who have to act. In the second place, it is equally important that the men who have to act should appreciate the kind of light and insight which they can obtain from first-rate academic minds not burdened with practical responsibility. A final decision must often be reached by practical men, but it will be immensely influenced and illuminated by what they have quietly heard from those who have given themselves to thought but who have never detached themselves from reality."

He saw very clearly a point which I have had in my mind for years, namely, that the professors in the School of Economics and Politics should be men who knew at first hand practical problems and practical life and who then for a period could withdraw, and that they should never make

H. A. L. Fisher

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themselves responsible for practical policies, because of the irrelevant elements that often enter into the decision of ~~an~~ industrial and political problems.

Abraham Flexner

June 7, 1938

OXFORD

I have spent three days in Oxford, in the course of which I have had long and frequent talks with Adams, Beveridge, Woodward, Lindsay, and several of the younger men. Inasmuch as Lindsay is the creator of Nuffield College, I will begin with my interview with him.

It appears that Lord Nuffield offered the University, through the Vice-Chancellor, one million pounds for the creation of a school of business and accountancy. Lindsay had read my book and was on his own account leerie of the importance and usefulness of the kind of institution which Lord Nuffield contemplated, for Nuffield had in mind an ad hoc college which would train Oxford and Cambridge and other graduates for immediate positions in the business world. He did perceive the gap between academic life and business life, and he thought he could bridge it by establishing a graduate college, a large part of the direction of which would be in the hands of business men and a large part of the teaching in the hands of practical men of business affairs. Lindsay saw that this was wrong.

Nuffield is not a man who is very easy to persuade. He is a kind of Henry Ford, who has made a great practical success and who believes in practical men and practical things, with a sort of contempt for scholarship and theorists so-called. Lindsay is fortunately another type. He is by no means blind, as will appear, to the practical side, but he knows that a short cut to a practical end is doomed to failure and that success must rest upon something much more fundamental. Everyone at Oxford agrees that he showed extraordinary diplomatic skill and patience in weening Nuffield away from his own conception and in inculcating him with sound doctrines. From the standpoint of general principle, this he has succeeded in doing perfectly, but



Oxford (Lindsay)

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there are certain serious difficulties in the Oxford situation from which we at the Institute, and in America generally, are free. Oxford has a way of doing things - the result of 800 years of history - and this way forms a pattern which cannot be broken.

Lindsay limited himself to the main point, namely, the object which the new college should serve. He stirred up no academic opposition because he has followed in most respects the usual Oxford procedure. One difference appears at the very outset. The other colleges are governed by their Fellows, subject from time to time to parliamentary action. In the present case there were no Fellows, and it is not easy to see how a group could have been created, for Lindsay is not an economist but a philosopher, interested deeply in social questions. He naturally shrank from appointing a group of Fellows, and it is doubtful whether he could have got consent to do so. Nuffield College, therefore, is the only one of the Oxford colleges which is directly under the control of the Hebdomadal Council, which in turn has appointed a council or committee to have charge of it. At the present time the most important members of this latter council are Lindsay, Adams, Beveridge, etc.

There is another difficulty. Lord Nuffield, unlike Mr. Bamberger, wants results. He wants to see something, and it will not do to block him too often. It was therefore necessary to appoint a director, which was very wisely done, and to begin at once the discussion of buildings, chapel, library, etc. This is very unfortunate, because it is impossible to forecast what will be needed. More than this, certain minutiae which should have been left to time and experience have been decided upon, though they can be changed

Oxford (Lindsay)

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by the action of the council. There are, for example, to be a definite number of professors, of professorial tutors and junior professorial tutors - forty of the latter, if I remember correctly - a definite number of outside practical men who are to give a few lectures apiece annually to keep the thing from being too academic. All these details have had to be arranged while Butler, the Master, is in Geneva, overwhelmed with winding up his connection with the I.L.O.

There is infinite confusion in the minds of the men at Oxford as to what to do and how to do it. After Lindsay told me his story he asked about our procedure and I gave him a simple but perfectly adequate account, ~~of~~ the main point of which was that we were biding our time, not hurrying any decision, but feeling our way. He saw clearly the advantages of our procedure, but he did not believe that it would have been possible at Oxford, either from Nuffield's side or the Oxford side. I discussed with him, as I had previously discussed with Butler, the immense importance of keeping these two institutions, both being just born, in close touch with one another, exchanging ideas, personnel and experience continuously. I suggested that when Butler left Geneva on January 1 he should come to America. This he thought impossible because of the need of having some sort of building which Lord Nuffield could see, but he saw no reason why he should not come the following term, get to know our men, the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Federal Reserve Board, and prominent economists elsewhere.

We parted with the distinct understanding that we would work along parallel lines. I think I left with him the impression, though I expressed it with caution, that I was afraid of the haste with which they were moving. But Lindsay's own term of office is limited; his successor, Gordon, is now professor

Oxford (Lindsay)

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of English in the University and head of Magdalen College; he will take less interest in Nuffield; so that both for the sake of the College and for the sake of Lindsay's own satisfaction, as well as that of Lord Nuffield, action is more important than it is in our case at Princeton.

He spoke of Nuffield College as a clinical institution as compared to a hospital. "But there is," he said, "this great difference: you can put sick people into a hospital building, but you cannot put industrial, commercial, social, or political problems into a building. You must go out and see them. You cannot study them in your study and you cannot bring them to you. The particular difficulty of conducting Nuffield College or your own school will be to keep men from tending either to run about needlessly and fruitlessly, on the one hand, or sitting in their studies and relying upon documents, statistical or other."

I was really surprised to find how closely the line of thinking at Oxford had run to the point of view which I have so often expressed in Princeton and in my reports to the Board, and I am convinced now more strongly than I ever was before of the soundness of taking men like Riefler and Stewart, who know theory and who have had practical experience, and putting them in a position at Princeton where they are free either to read and study at Princeton or to go out with one another or with their own advanced workers to observe, on the spot, practical difficulties and problems that emerge in conducting an enterprise.

Abraham Flexner

May 30, 1938

Geneva

I spent the day at the League of Nations. Sweetser called for me in the morning and showed me through the Palace of the League. It is a very impressive structure, and especially beautiful are the rooms set aside for the Council and the Assembly. We spent a while talking about the work of the League and its future and it was borne in upon me that those who decry the League on the ground that it has failed are really taking snap-judgment. It has ~~not~~ unquestionably not achieved 100% success in every problem, but the problems before the League are the problems of life and could not be foreseen. If in another hundred years it will have abolished war and brought about a much larger measure of human activity, it will have amply justified itself, and surely a century is a short span of time in which to pass judgment on an institution created out of hand to be worked by fifty nationalities. Even so, the League would have won in the case of Abyssinia if Laval had kept his word--so narrow is the margin between success and failure in a particular case.

We then saw the Rockefeller Library, which is really a very imposing structure, which again in the course of years will become a research institution in history and economics and politics and various social and international problems. The home is there and workers are already active. They will come in larger numbers as the facilities are increased.

After luncheon I had a long talk with Loveday. Almost his first reference was to Riefler and he rated Riefler as highly as Clay had done, namely, as probably the ablest young economist in the world. He had heard of the Institute but was vague as to precisely what it is doing. I explained at some length. His comments were very illuminating, and when I told him that I would not ask him for an opinion at the moment but that I would prefer that

Geneva

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he think it over, discuss it with Riefiler, and perhaps write me a memorandum at his convenience, he said he would do all this but that there were certain things that occurred to him at once.

"Economics," he said, "in the sense in which you are trying to develop it exists in only a few countries"- a statement, by the way, that is identical with one made later in the day by Butler of the I.L.O. "There is no economics in Italy or Russia or Germany, or if there is it is subordinate to the arbitrary political conception that is in process of being forced upon those three nations. The countries in which economics can be said to have a chance are America, Great Britain, and Sweden, and some of the lower countries. I have the conviction," he went on to say, " that, in addition to amassing statistics and dealing with current problems, economists require a philosophy of life, and that only in the light of an explicit philosophy will their work become intelligible and significant. Economics is therefore subordinate in a sense to politics, but the difference between the situation in England and in Russia is that politics in England may develop freely and economic change may accommodate itself thereto, whereas in countries like Russia politics are doctrinaire. They are based upon worn-out philosophies or unjustified and unproved deductions, so that neither politics nor economics can be said to be fairly rooted in the spontaneous development of the people."

He was quite clear that economists must have enormously greater freedom of motion than academic economists have hitherto had. You cannot know economics if you stay at home. You must come to Geneva; you must go to London and Paris and Basel and New York and Washington from time to time. You must keep in touch with movements and with problems, and this can only be done by

personal contacts. He thought, therefore, the idea of a flexible and moving body of permanent appointees, plus a body of younger members who would go and come for a year or two, might be the best feasible solution, as it has been found to be in mathematics. He himself expressed the keenest desire to visit America again - he was there three years ago - and to come to Princeton for the purpose of seeing how we are working out the problem.

His general reaction to the need of a school of economics and politics and to the importance of linking economics and politics and history, and to doing these at a high level with intelligent men who had already learned what is to be learned from the past, was therefore most favorable. I left with him a copy of Bulletin No. 7 and he looked forward eagerly to talking over with Riefler our general problem.

This is a sketchy outline of what passed between us, but it will serve to remind me of the main points which he made. He is a man of great ability and large experience and large experience and knowledge.

He called my attention particularly to a young Dutchman who is with him, whose name is J. Tinbergen, and explained that Tinbergen had been asked by the Dutch government to establish in Holland an economics institute. "He is a man," he said, "on whom one should keep one's eye, for he is, beyond question, a brilliant and most promising youngster."

Abraham Flexner



Geneva  
May 30, 1938

Interview with Harold Butler

At six o'clock I called on Butler at the I. L. O. To my surprise, our roles were reversed, for Butler wanted more from me than he could possibly give to me, though our conversation was helpful and will, I believe, lead to cooperation with Nuffield College. At the moment he has not really had time to think his problem through. The whole matter has been managed by Lindsay, the Vice-Chancellor, who, he says, has done his part extremely well. Nevertheless, Butler is greatly puzzled. Nuffield College is to be a graduate institution. Where are the workers to come from? Who is to be the permanent staff? How is the college to be related to the other Oxford colleges? I did not undertake to answer these questions, but I explained to him what we had done, namely, that I had done nothing for two years except talk with persons in various parts of the world. That got his attention at once and he said, "Tell that to Lindsay when you see him. I must not be hurried." I also explained how differently the various schools had developed and that I was prepared for a still different development in the field of economics and politics, for there was no reason whatsoever for our attempting uniformity.

Butler is himself convinced that the great economic problems in the future do not lie in the Occident, but rather in the Orient. "Consider," he said, "what is going to happen in the next twenty-five or thirty years. India, China and Japan are just beginning to realize that people in those countries are miserable and that they have in their own hands the weapons with which to obtain better conditions. These weapons are largely economic. When Indian cotton becomes<sup>a</sup> thoroughly developed industry, what will happen

Harold Butler

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to American cotton? When in some other country wheat is produced with less labor and finer quality than is now possible anywhere there will have to be a redistribution of wheat cultivation. The monopolies, whether in growing products or manufacturing them, hitherto enjoyed by the United States, England and Germany, etc. are gone forever. Great adjustments and readjustments will have to be made. They ~~may~~ cannot be made, in the first instance, by politicians, for politicians see only what is close at hand. They must be made by thinkers who have no preconceptions, and these thinkers must be in position to roam all over the earth, precisely as our astronomers who seek to observe an eclipse."

He jumped at the suggestion that when he retires from his present office on January 1 he would come to America and see the Institute. He had already been told by Lindsay and others that he would get more enlightenment from our brief experience in Princeton than from any other source.

"If you look at the papers," he said, recurring to a former topic, "Czechoslovakia looms largest, but you are looking at Czechoslovakia through a microscope. Economics needs a telescope, for these distant economic phenomena are going to have a tremendous rebound upon the entire economic and political structure of the western world."

He had been having a day of conferences and was looking forward to a month of successive conferences, so that his time was relatively short and he was obviously tired. I told him, as I told Loveday, that I was not looking for immediate advice - that I knew would be unfair to expect - but what I wished to do was to put my problem before them and get them to thinking what they would do were they in my place. I am to lunch with him and his prospective successor, Governor Wynant, today. In the meanwhile he will have

Harold Butler

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had some opportunity perhaps to read Bulletin No. 7 and to give some thought to the matter, but he is in a position of learning rather than advising.

I urged him to make as few commitments as possible, but to do at Oxford what I had done at Princeton, namely, begin quietly and unostentatiously and make his way. He said laughlinly, "We can do that except in one respect: we will have to have some kind of a building to cover us or Oxford will think us non-existent.

The idea of exchanging professors and members made an immediate appeal to him, and in the exchange he included himself. I replied that for the last thirty years I had myself been a sort of educational tramp and that I had never done anything without seeking advice and experience elsewhere. In the case of the Institute I found nothing that I could really imitate, but I saw differences and the moment I saw two things that were different my mind had something to work upon.

I came away with the feeling that, though I had been plainly helped by his broad vision and vast experience, I had also helped him to see daylight in the midst of a confused and busy life, in which he is winding up one institution and snatching moments in which to think of another at Oxford, where his freedom is likely to be greatly impaired by precedent and pattern unless he proceeds so cautiously that for a time nobody pays any attention to him. He felt sure that if he succeeded in doing something notable Lord Nuffield would back his new college with increased liberality.

I can see now much more clearly than I have ever seen before the importance of visiting professorships, of bringing to Princeton not only young men who have shown promise, but older men who have performed something notable. The two are not inconsistent. Both should be kept moving. These things must

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not be allowed to drop. They must be kept going. It is not enough to do them once. They need not necessarily take place every year, but the intervals must not be allowed to become too long.

Abraham Flexner

London  
May 25, 1938

Professor Henry Clay

Last night I dined at the Reform Club with Professor Henry Clay. He knows Riefler, Stewart and Wolman well and has a very high regard for all of them. Riefler he thinks perhaps the keenest mind that he knows, and he told me that in 1933 he was sent to America by the Governor of the Bank of England to consult three men as to their views of what was likely to happen. Riefler hit it off with absolute correctness. Stewart he thinks a man of capacious intellect and great experience and wisdom, who is being lost and wasted in the kind of work he has been doing.

Clay described himself as being lacking in the sort of training and experience which Riefler and Stewart have had. His position in the bank is far less educational to him than the positions which Stewart and Riefler had occupied, for the practical men who have to make decisions go ahead and make them and he usually lags in the rear, so that his counsel has more effect on the next decision than on the one just taken.

The curse of economics, in his opinion, has been its theoretical character. It has been expounded from books by men who have not had the responsibility for action. Neither the one type nor the other reveal a satisfactory result. When I compared training and research in economics with training and research in medicine he fairly leaped at the analogy. He said, "That is absolutely correct. The difficulty is simply a practical one. Can we train a group of men who have some immediate awareness of the problems of economic life and who also possess the detachment and independence necessary to the economic thinker?" I told him of Riefler's relationship to the Equalization Fund and of its termination, and <sup>that</sup> he had had no physical responsibility or title and accepted no remuneration - not even expenses.

Professor Henry Clay

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He thought that an ideal arrangement and saw no reason why an Institute abundantly financed could not carry out a policy of this kind in any branch of economics or finance. "If you get this thing started," he said, "I want to come to Princeton. Mynors' year with Riefler was epoch making in his career and will unquestionably lead to his occupying a very high post in the Bank some day. He got from Riefler and from his American connections made by Riefler something he could not have gotten anywhere else in the world."

He made various comparisons meanwhile with religion and philosophy by way of showing the low estate into which economic thought had fallen, precisely at the time when clear thinking based upon experience and restrained by wisdom was most necessary. "We are asking too much of the universities," he said, "for we expect them to train in their departments of economics men who will step into business and banks and railroads and run things. That they cannot and should not do, but they should do an undefinable something for a man's intelligence which would equip him to adapt his academic training to the study and solution of practical problems, as no one who possesses either practical training alone or academic training alone can possibly do.

Stewart he regards as far and away the largest intellect in the economic field.

I left with him, as I have left with others, a copy of Bulletin No. 7. He is going to read it through very carefully in the next week or ten days and when I return to London he proposes that Stewart, Wolman and Warren, Riefler if he is here, and I shall have a field day in the country discussing how and what to do.

When I showed Clay the kind of persons who had come to America he at once said that he had in mind an extremely able young man - Stafford is his



Professor Henry Clay

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name, I think - who ought to have a year or two of just the sort of experience that Mynors had ~~had~~ at Princeton.

If we can train a few such people we will transform economics, never making of it a science in quite the same sense, but nevertheless putting into it a degree of intelligence that it has never as yet possessed in any country.

In addition to the complexities introduced by the human element the economist should not lose sight of additional complexities due to political or other uncontrollable forces. For example, take the English economic situation today. The general physical and economic policies of the country are profoundly influenced by the fact that, contrary to precedent and experience, there is no opposition party. Neither the labor nor the liberal group is strong enough to form a government. The government is therefore in the hands of a protectionist conservative group which are often the minority. It will under no circumstances be an extremist government, but it will have its influence on such questions as the gold standard, the tariff, and unemployment legislation.

The part that can be played by academic authorities in ~~economic~~ government is not as yet clearly defined. Undoubtedly an academic authority has something to say which the practical politician will do well to weigh, but, on the other hand, there can be no greater mistake than to expect men trained in academic life to determine public policy from moment to moment and day to day. I asked Clay whether Salter had made any impression in Parliament. He replied, "None at all." And yet Salter is, in addition to being an academic figure, also a person who has had large practical experience.

The public is apt to expect too much from universities. They can

Professor Henry Clay

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do a good deal for the training of men and the enlargement of their horizon, but they cannot supply environment which will take the place of practical experience in politics or business.

I told Clay the story of Viner and Mr. Willard and he thought it a very characteristic example of the academic reaction, showing very clearly its limitations.

Abraham Flexner

London  
May 23, 1938

Sir William Beveridge

I had a long talk today with Sir William Beveridge, in the course of which he told me that he had submitted to Mr. Fosdick, at Mr. Fosdick's suggestion, a memorandum giving his views as to what the social sciences require. In what follows I am giving his views - not mine.

There has been enormous expansion in the social sciences, in the ground they cover, in the ways in which they seek to be useful, and in the number of those engaged in teaching and studying them. As Beveridge looks back over his seventeen years' experience at the London School, he is clearly of the opinion that none of this is justified by the condition in which economics and other social sciences find themselves. They are in a chaotic condition. The work that is done is hasty and journalistic on the one hand or deductive and philosophical on the other - both clearly futile. Nevertheless, there has never been a time in the history of the world when it was more important to study deliberately and calmly social phenomena, but if anything good is to come of the process greater ability, more patience, and infinitely more time will be required. At the moment there is no institution, except perhaps the small one which Hall is now starting, which is not driven by time and numbers - both futile to scientific progress, or progress that is as nearly scientific as the nature of the material allows.

Beveridge does not look back upon his career at the London School as successful. Had he to do the whole thing over he would do it very differently. He would get rid of its bias; he would restrict its numbers; he would keep out of politics and the giving of advice. On the other hand, he would keep as close as possible to phenomena, thus combining

Sir William Beveridge

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both detachment and disinterestedness with the closest possible clinical contact - the word "clinical" is mine. He was quite jubilant at the idea that the Institute was contemplating a development in the social sciences that would be as solid as possible, and which might furnish the starting point for an entirely new development of economic theory and ultimately economic practice.

I left with him a copy of Bulletin No. 7, which he promised to read, and he promised to put to himself the question, "What would I do if I were in Flexner's place"?

He handed me a copy of the memorandum which he had prepared for Fosdick and gave me a good many details illustrating his experience at the London School. The main impressions which I carried away are given in this brief summary, which I shall elaborate when I see him again in early June.

Abraham Flexner

London  
May 20, 1938

Interview with Mr. Carr Saunders,  
Director, London School of Economics

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We had three hours together today, including luncheon. He had heard of the Institute, but, like others I have seen, was very vague about its general character and individuality. In these he was enormously interested. He bitterly complained of the fact that the London School has 3000 students of all kinds and that they are now erecting a huge stone building across the street from the present building.

The scheme of the Institute, which I briefly outlined to him, seemed to him, to use his own words, "a perfect paradise". He was greatly struck by two features: the autonomy of the separate schools, and the high level at which men and women are alone permitted to enter. "That, in the course of time," he said, "will leaven all America."

Coming down to the social scientists, I posed for him this question: "You see what we have done in mathematics, and you see the kind of thing we are doing in the humanistic field; suppose you were in my shoes and had to do the same sort of thing in economics - how would you proceed, and with whom?"

"Do you expect me," he rejoined, "to answer that now?"

"I expect your immediate reaction now, but I will not hold you to it. I will give you our latest bulletin, and two weeks in which to think it over. Then I hope Stewart and Riefler and Wolman may be here and four or five of us may sit down to dine together."

"By that time," he said, "I think I may have formed some notion which I would be prepared to defend, but I am only too glad to tell <sup>you</sup> how your project strikes me even as I hear it for the first time. Economics," he went on to say, - "and what is true of economics is true of other social sciences - is not in the position precisely of any other science, for, though no science is to

be considered as static, there are certain considerations which affect economics which do not apply at all, or in any considerable measure, to the natural sciences. For example, there has got to be a long history and a definite philosophy behind any type of economics that a country may select. There are no ultimate truths in economics, and, though there may be no ultimate truths in any science, the facts and phenomena go much farther back than they do in economics. We have here in England a long history. Our view of life has been tremendously influenced by our philosophers, like Bentham, T. H. Green, and by the common law, by the fact that we ~~have~~ are a small island which is the center of a great empire and that we have passed through various economic phases forced upon us even against our will by external circumstances and agitation, such as free trade, the gold standard, etc. What we should do, therefore, is largely influenced and determined by what we can do, and, being a free country in which every man and woman is privileged to lead the sort of life he or she wishes, our economic order is dependent upon a general concensus of compromise or majority and may be altered from time to time. Indeed, it is bound to change with the change of technology and politics and international relations. Nevertheless, if I were free to select what seems to me to be the most important factor in our economic life or in our economic thinking, either as a nation or as separate individuals, I should say it is our philosophy. What kind of state, what kind of nation, what kind of society are we aiming to create? Our economics in the long run depend upon that. Then it is not impossible," he was careful to emphasize, "that a country like England could embrace socialism or communism and pursue any such doctrine or follow it to its logical consequences. Indeed, this London School is still haunted by the fact that it was founded by a group of socialists called Fabians. We are trying to shake that label off. We have not even yet succeeded."



"Our good friend Laski," he continued (and Laski was sitting at the other end of the table), "makes two mistakes. In the first place, he thinks it part of his business to try to influence government directly and frequently. He would influence it far more effectively if he kept out of the newspapers, studied, reflected, taught and trained a few men. Moreover, he tags himself "socialist", and from that tag he derives deductively a great many consequences which, if we tried socialism, might or might not - in my judgment they would not - prove to be the real consequences that would ensue."

"Precisely the same is true of communism, nazism, totalitarianism, or any other "ism". Economics is dependent upon detachment and the accumulation of data, the use of reason, the choice of ends - all of which are more or less arbitrary and may vary from one nation to another, but economics is not logical and cannot be so long as men, being free agents, select the main purposes which they wish to realize in social life."

"I have been greatly struck - very greatly struck - by your young man Knight, of Chicago, who is lecturing here at the School this year. He was brought up on a farm, where his father kept him until relatively late, in the effort to make a farmer of him. Then he broke loose and educated himself. Back of his economic thinking, however, and prior to which lies the conscious or unconscious - I hardly know which - philosophy of life which has directed and sharpened his economic thinking. Viner I regard also as a great man - perhaps the greatest you have in America. We are not so fortunate in England. Our leading economists are either the mathematical group, who are ineffective and remote, or Keynes, who, with all his brilliance, is an incongruous mixture of business man, politician, journalist and economist. I suppose he too has a philosophy, but his outlook is so confused by his conflict of interests that he is helpless as a guide and thinker. Clay is a clearer man by far, for most of his life has been spent in an academic institution, but in recent years he has been in contact with facts and phenomena, and I have great respect for his

mental integrity. How much thinking about goals underlies his economics I do not know."

This is the gist of what Carr Saunders said, but he pocketed the bulletin and we are to talk further and at length somewhat later.

Then I went over and called on Laski. I asked him, in the first instance, his impression of Mitrany. He told me he had not seen Mrs. Mitrany in more than six months; that she is living in a flat here with a nurse or companion and is well as far as he can learn; that the feeling of people who know the couple is that she wishes to break off with Mitrany but that neither he nor she will face the fact, and until they do there is no future for them. Her books were excellent but had no sale, which was a tremendous disappointment, and, in his judgment, her psychoanalytic course is a cover for her failure. She is in the hands of <sup>a</sup> psychoanalyst who will not let go of so good a thing from a financial point of view, nor will he call in anyone else.

I then asked Laski about Rumney. He spoke of him as a person of great industry and patience, but not a person from whom any sparks would fly.

His opinion of Mitrany's native ability is high. Whether anything will come of it depends, in his judgment, upon his ceasing to divide his life.

We then spoke of the general situation of the social sciences in America. He thought them nothing short of chaotic and the project method employed by the foundations was an effort to direct thinking and work from a central source, which could produce nothing valuable. No first-rate thought or idea or performance has yet come out of any of this kind of thing, and it never will. There is only one way to help economic and social thinkers, namely, the way in which you help Greek or Latin or any other scholars: endow them, choose the best men you can, and let them alone thereafter. He too promised to think over the Institute plan, and on returning to London I shall see him and Ginsberg.

Laski called my attention to two brilliant young Americans whom he had met on his last trip - Louis Hacker, historian, at Columbia, and Frank Manuel, history and government, at Harvard.

London  
May 20, 1938

Interview with Professor Demuth

Yesterday afternoon I had a long talk with Professor Demuth, Secretary of the Academic Assistance Council. He was formerly head of the School of Economics in Berlin, but was promptly dismissed on Hitler's accession because of his Jewish origin. Since the death of Lord Rutherford the Chairman of the Board is the Bishop of Birmingham, with Sir William Beveridge and others as Vice-Chairmen.

Professor Demuth is finding the task of providing places for German scholars in England difficult, not from any lack of sympathy - though, especially since the loss of Austria, sympathy with Germany has rapidly decreased - but because the number of available posts is small even for native Englishmen. There is no doubt in his mind that the center of what has hitherto been European culture is destined to shift to America and the English-speaking dominions. He told me of the interesting conversation he had had a year ago with Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer, in which he pointed out the great opportunity which South Africa now had. Hofmeyer agreed but nothing has been done. Everyone looks to America and if only prosperity returned, the cream of all Europe, and especially of Central Europe, could be settled in our south and west.

He asked me about persons for whom I had succeeded in getting places or for whom the Duggan Committee had succeeded. When I mentioned Richter it was obvious that he shared the view expressed by others that Richter was not a deserving person. He described Richter as reactionary and very obviously was of the opinion that he had not deserved well of others. However, he was kind enough to say that he would stand in no man's way in this emergency and that, though Richter is not a first-rate scholar, undoubtedly in a country like America there are places which he could fill with credit.

He himself felt sure that he would be taken care of in England. He is a widower and his family is scattered, probably never to be reunited. On the other hand, like all the Germans I have seen, he was cheerful and brave about his future.

We discussed at some length the revision of the book on Universities, ~~which~~ He thought it very important to re-write especially the chapter on Germany. We talked of the different topics which would have to be treated, namely, the political aspect of the universities, the restriction of Jewish candidates for admission, the choice of professors, the dismissal of professors, the interruption of university work by political and military duties, the lowering of standards, etc. He also mentioned the infinite number of ordinances issued by the Cultus Ministerium and the efforts made to unify all university administration, as well as the minor role now played by the faculties in every respect. Love of learning as such has disappeared. The more-or-less distant consequences of this are, in his opinion, inevitable. "How long," he asked, "can a nation keep up its commercial and inventive productivity when once sciences like chemistry and physics have been seriously weakened?"

Politically, the great error had been, he thought, not to stop Hitler when he went into the Rhineland. When that was over, everything else followed automatically, unless sooner or later England and France call a halt. On the surface, conditions in Germany appear almost normal, but that only emphasizes the extent of the terror, for no one dares to act or speak in any way that would give rise to suspicion.

He was of the opinion that in order to bring the chapter on Germany up to date it would be necessary to send someone into Germany to make a rapid survey, for even he, with all the opportunities at his command, cannot keep up with the pace at which the German universities are being demolished and perverted.

He said he would accept no remuneration - for I insisted he should be remunerated. Of course, the expense of his emissary I should have to meet.

He promises to think the matter over, and we left with the intention of meeting again in the near future. He struck me as an upright, straight-forward, intelligent and, of course, very well-educated man.

Abraham Flexner

London  
May 19, 1938

Interview with Professor N. F. Hall, Director,  
The National Institute of Economic & Social Research  
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To my surprise I found that at Oxford he had studied and that after getting his degree there he had gone to Princeton, where he worked for two years with Kemmerer and Frank Fetter. His admiration for Fetter is unbounded. He regards him as one of the ablest economic thinkers he has ever met. Returning from America, he became professor of economics at University College, the Provost of which was my old friend Gregory Foster. There he remained until quite recently when this Institute was founded.

This Institute is supported by grants - seven years in duration - made by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Pilgrim Trust, and one or two other organizations, and its governing body is a small council, though there is a larger advisory board which meets once a year. The Institute is part of the University of London, but will be quite independent. Its staff will be small. At present it occupies a building where there are a number of offices and a library of several thousand volumes. Its plans are vague, though perhaps on the second review I may discover that they are more definite than the impression which I received today. Hall proposes a small permanent staff, like the Institute, with members who will be, like our own members, men occupying academic posts, from which they will be detached for relatively brief periods - three months or thereabouts. He was surprised that our members usually come for an entire year and thus gain in addition to the year two vacations - a period of fifteen months - and I could see that this arrangement set him to thinking.

He told me he was still in doubt as to the procedure of those who were permanent members of the staff, but that he thought by the time I saw him again the point would be cleared up. He also informed me that there are a number of economists, men of great learning and experience, who are retired and who, like Capps, will be invited to come to the Institute and pursue their



Professor N. F. Hall

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individual work further there. One of them, Professor Bowlby, is a man of considerable distinction, who has already joined the staff.

How fundamental Hall's approach will be I could not make out, and I did not wish to press the point at our first interview. I therefore contented myself by handing him Bulletin No. 7 and asking him to reflect on the problem as to what course he would pursue if he were in my position in Princeton. It was obvious that he had never contemplated anything as far-reaching as we are contemplating at Princeton, but he is alert, intelligent, well-trained, and I expect that on my next visit to him I shall get far more out of him. There was a certain timidity in his attitude which suggested to me the advisability of going slowly; so we talked a considerable part of the time about allied subjects like contemporary politics, Princeton, English education, etc. I was with him about three hours, at the end of which time I felt that the ice had been broken and that on my next visit I shall get far more fully the benefit of his thinking than I did on my first encounter, which is natural enough, for he is a young man, about 35, and I think had the feeling that I know more economics than I really do.

Abraham Flexner

November 4, 1938

Dear Mr. Loveday:

I am deeply obliged to you for your kind letter of October 17. You have done precisely what I hoped you would do, namely, sent me a memorandum viewing the economic and financial problem from the outlook which your activities suggest. I am quite sure that in your position you are more acutely aware of certain problems than anybody can possibly be who spends his time either in London or New York or Princeton. I am myself, as you well know, quite incompetent to pass a judgment upon any suggestion or even to coordinate various suggestions that come from different competent sources. I hope you will not object if I allow Riefler and Warren and Stewart - both Warren and Stewart are coming to the Institute as professors in January - to read your memorandum and to take it into account in forming their plans for the future.

Please accept my very grateful thanks, and believe me, with all good wishes,

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

A. Loveday, Esq.  
League of Nations  
Geneva, Switzerland

AP:ESB

Adresse télégraphique: NATIONS GENEVE

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

DANS LA RÉPONSE PRIÈRE DE RAPPELER:

PLEASE QUOTE REF. NO. IN REPLY:

NO.

*Personal*

NO.

GENEVA, October 17th, 1938.

Dear Mr. Flexner,

I am afraid I have been a very long time indeed in keeping the promise which I made when I had the pleasure of meeting you earlier in the year. I had intended to turn the question which you put over in my mind while I was on leave and to dictate something when I got back; but then we ran into these distressing and distracting weeks and I found it difficult to pick up again my line of thought.

I have felt, too, a certain hesitancy, a certain "Verlegenheit", in complying with your request, as I feel that you have round you persons who are much more competent than myself, constantly and closely considering the question which you put with real knowledge of the facts. If I write now I would like what I say to be looked upon rather as evidence submitted from a certain angle than as in any way a judgment on the problem. Indeed, I have not the elements for framing a judgment.

Mr. Abraham FLEXNER,  
The Institute for Advanced Study,  
20, Nassau Street,  
PRINCETON, New Jersey.

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It has occurred to me, however, that the principles which would apply in the formation of a financial research group, or rather a group of financial researchers, which is not quite the same thing, would differ somewhat from those which would be required for a group of pure economists. Economists must, I think, to a greater extent than those specialising on finance postulate a certain environment and conduct their research within the limits set by those postulates.

In the case of finance, the situation is different because those responsible for finance determine to so large an extent the nature of that environment. The Government through its fiscal policy can influence the distribution of wealth and the benefits which the individual may derive from the possession of private property. The banking community may to a large extent determine consumers' income and render credit cheap or dear - or cheap or dear to this or that faction of the community. Financial phenomena are more determined than economic by policy - that is, by the will of a selected group of persons - and less determined by the aggregate of acts of the citizens acting independently. I am aware, of course, that it may be argued that this is not the case in autarchic States where the whole economic life may be and is determined by the will of a relatively small group of persons. But even there the medium through which these persons act is normally, in the first instance at any rate, financial.

If this general line of thought is valid, then it is important that the group of persons considering financial phenomena should be in constant touch with others who are concerned with

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political philosophy; for the policy adopted by those responsible for finance will be largely determined by the state of general politico-philosophical opinion and by the current teleological conception of the State.

The student of finance must, I think, keep himself informed of the broad changes in politico-philosophical outlook and, if he does not, he runs the risk either of degenerating into a pure technician or of condemning vainly as bad finance practices which are essential to a political or politico-economic ideal different from his own.

Therefore, I would be inclined to suggest that any group of financial researchers would be greatly strengthened were there alongside it a group of students not of the science of politics but of political philosophy. The financial specialists would, I think, gain greatly by daily contact with these men who are studying the great social and philosophical forces which, whether the financial community realises it or not, determine the trend of financial evolution.

My next point follows directly, if somewhat unexpectedly from the preceding line of argument. It is this: Finance is a quantitative science floating in a medium of ideas. It requires quantitative analysis of a high order, but it requires of those responsible for its direction an understanding of the philosophical environment. They must

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therefore couple quantitative analysis with philosophical conceptions and, to do this successfully, they must be relieved of all the drudgery of the former; they must be adequately equipped with purely technical and computative staff. They must have the time and leisure required to allow their imagination and their vision to work. Finance has, as I see it, the same relation to economics that physics has to chemistry.

Hence, alongside my financial group I would have two very different classes of men: on the one hand and on the same level, my students of political philosophy and, on the other hand and on a different level, my competent statisticians with their necessary mechanical and personal equipment.

May I repeat what I said at the outset that I submit these reflections with considerable hesitation, fully realising that they may in no way fit in with the conception of the work which you yourself have formed.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

*A. H. H. H.*



June 7, 1938

Oxford - E. L. Woodward

With Woodward our discussion took mainly the form of the importance of developing ultimately a historical background to the study of economic development. This was not new to me, but I was glad to have Woodward pounce upon it. He did not think that we could undertake a broad school of history, but, in his opinion, it would be wiser to start with economics, develop it up to a certain point, and then bring up, first, history and then politics, for, as I have myself often observed, history determines economic and political activities, just as it now really determines such activities in Germany and Italy. The three things should, he thought, remain under one roof, so to speak, but each should preserve its own independence, and contact between them should be easy, informal, and voluntary. This was in my mind when I started out on this basis. I wonder whether Mitrany is going to be equal to his role in this trio. If not, someone else will have to be found.

Abraham Flexner

*Res. Faculty members  
as Trustees*

69 ALEXANDER STREET  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

January 10, 1938

Dear Dr. Flexner:

I am sending you here copies of the letters that Betty's father gave me in Nashville. Please keep them if you want to put them in your file. If you do not want them, I will be glad to take care of them here at 69 Alexander Street.

Sincerely yours,



Dr. Abraham Flexner  
20 Nassau Street  
Princeton, New Jersey

BDM:MBG

May 23, 1936

Dear Vice-Chancellor:

I have your very kind note of May 9. It was with a distinct pang that I asked Lowe to come to Princeton, for I have a very deep-seated reluctance to doing anything that might interfere with the University of Oxford. I shall therefore be very happy indeed to have you make any arrangement with Lowe that commends itself equally to your judgment and his as respects the summer term. Indeed, in writing to Meritt some time ago I went further and suggested that we might find it possible to develop a kind of exchange, not between students but between dons and professors in the field represented by Lowe and Meritt, precisely as we have done in the field of mathematics with both continental universities and the University of Cambridge. From the latter in two successive years we have had Biras and Fowler, and in the same two years Alexander and von Neumann went to Cambridge for the spring term. Does this seem to you possible? For the purpose your men might come to us during the winter or spring vacation, while some of ours went to you for the summer term. Of course, the choice of men and the arrangement of time and details we have always left to the men themselves.

May I ask you to give my warmest greetings to Mrs. Lindsay, and believe me

Always sincerely,

The Vice-Chancellor  
Oxford University  
Oxford, England

ABRAHAM FLEXNER


From  
THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

TEL. 4429.

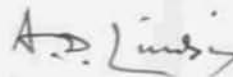
BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

May 9, 1936

Dear Dr. Flexner,

  
The University, and especially the Faculty of Literae Humaniores, has heard with regret that Dr. E. A. Lowe will be leaving Oxford this summer to take up his work at the Princeton Institute of Higher Studies. While we congratulate him on his appointment, and are proud of the distinction shown to a member of our University, we are anxious, if possible, to maintain connexion with him and to continue the advantage we have so long enjoyed from his lectures; for there is no one who could take his place. An opportunity presents itself in that it appears that he would be free to come here during the Summer Term in each year, and an arrangement has been provisionally made with him that he should deliver two courses of lectures in that Term. We understand that it would be an advantage for his work with you that he should be in touch with the Libraries of Europe, and able to supervise the completion at the University Press of his great work on the Codices Latini Antiquiores. Before making this arrangement final, we would like to be assured that it would commend itself to you and to the authorities of the Princeton Institute.

Yours sincerely,



Dr. A. Flexner.

Extract from letter from Professor George E. Hale of the  
Mount Wilson Observatory, dated November 6, 1935

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My own work is slight in comparison with your own, as you have created an entirely new and greatly needed type of institution, secured funds for it, and staffed it with men of the highest order. I congratulate you very warmly on the great advances you have made and the powerful influence of your work on universities and other institutions. Such shining examples, reaching aloft because of their unequalled standards of true values, are greatly needed in this modern world, where quantity is so often preferred to quality.

September 20, 1932.

Dear Professor Hale:

I am very deeply touched by your sympathetic and understanding note of September 7. Meanwhile I have heard from Einstein himself, and he reiterates his conviction that for the present he needs not only peace of mind and security, but a fixed "locus" for he has been leading a sort of troubador life which can not be to his permanent advantage.

Should you be coming east, do let me know in advance. Meanwhile, believe me with all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Professor George E. Hale  
Mount Wilson Observatory  
Pasadena, California.

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

AF:FTF



*Flexner*

May 1, 1935

Dear Toynbee:

I was delighted to have a line from you, especially in approbation of the appointment of Ed Barle. His health seems almost wholly restored, though I am not sure that it would be wise for him to begin work next autumn. It is, however, a matter of relatively slight importance when he begins. The important consideration is that he should be able to begin without being too cautious about his own condition. I saw him the other day and I confess that his mental powers seem to me keener and more brilliant than they were several years ago. It is amazing how he has kept in touch with everything that has happened during these long and tedious years. I showed him and his wife your letter, which they were both very happy indeed to see.

The Institute has now taken one further tiny step. We have established a School of Humanistic Studies, which will begin with two professors, one - please tell this to Professor Murray - a young Hellenist, who will visit Oxford in the autumn - Professor Meritt of Johns Hopkins University. The other is one of Hitler's exiles, an art historian, Professor Erwin Panofsky. The Institute will henceforth have three legs instead of one. Mathematics has prospered far beyond anything I could have dreamed of. I hope that we shall

Arnold J. Toynbee, Esq.

May 1, 1935

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accomplish something in economics, and I am eager to re-establish myself in the good will of the classicists by making a beginning in the Hellenistic field.

We have our usual summer in Canada ahead of us, though we are planning to get a few weeks of vacation in the early spring.

I hope that you and your wife and children are all well. Please let us have a line from you at your convenience.

With warmest greetings to you all,

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Arnold J. Toynbee, Esq.  
3, Melina Place  
St. John's Wood, N.W. 8  
London, England

AF/LCE

F. W. TAUSSIG  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

April 18, 1935

Dear Mr. Flexner:

Thank you very heartily for your note of April 12. (note here)  
You are most kind in what you say. I am quite aware that, as is perhaps inevitable for the generation about to pass off the stage, there are many matters in our subject which have been developed not only beyond my acquaintance, but even beyond my competence. It is high time for the next generation to take the helm.

Needless to say I shall watch with great interest what happens at the Institute for Advanced Study. When you issue reports or bulletins, do not fail to remember me.

Cordially yours,

*F. W. Taussig*  
F. W. Taussig

Mr. Abraham Flexner, Director  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
20 Nassau Street  
Princeton, New Jersey

April 18, 1935

Dear Professor Hale:

Thank you very much for your charming note of April 12. I am delighted beyond expression that you approve of the way the men have proceeded in mathematics. We should not attempt any further expansion unless we had the assurance of increased resources which will enable us to do precisely the same sort of thing in the humanistic field and in the economic field as we have done in mathematics.

I share all your skepticism and doubts about economics, but I find in them a challenge. During the last five years in this country and in Europe I have been searching for a few persons who, to use your words, are free from "political, emotional, and social doctrines". The three men, who are coming together in the autumn understand that they have a perfectly free hand, that they need not have any students or workers until they wish them, and that we are not looking for practical advice for business or Congress or Government in any form. We are trying to find out whether there is any rhyme or reason in the field of economics. I suppose that it will be as slow and difficult as was the process of evolving chemistry from alchemy, but it is so important to the welfare of the institution community that it ought somewhere to be done, and it can be done in a non-teaching/ such as the Institute, if anywhere.

We are grateful to you for your invitation to cooperate with

Professor Hale

April 18, 1935

the Huntington Library. I know that the humanists, when we find them, will be delighted to take advantage of its splendid opportunities.

With all good wishes and very high regard,

Very sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor George E. Hale  
Mount Wilson Observatory  
Pasadena, California

AF:ESB

CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON  
MOUNT WILSON OBSERVATORY  
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

G. E. Hale

D 9AS 049

April 12, 1935

Dr. Abraham Flexner  
Director of the Institute for Advanced Study  
20 Nassau Street  
Princeton.

Dear Dr. Flexner:

I regret that I have been delayed by illness in replying to your welcome letter of March 23. I have read your Bulletin No. 4 with great interest and pleasure, and I admire the excellent judgment you have shown in selecting such an able group of investigators and giving them a free hand. This is the way to accomplish results of the highest order.

Even with the large funds at your disposal you have been very wise in concentrating your efforts in a single field. Perhaps my own tendency would not be to attempt any material expansion. But I appreciate the importance of humanistic studies, as you know from my long interest in the Huntington Library, now a research institution.

I am afraid of economic studies, unless some means can be found of attacking them as objectively as in the case of the physical sciences. We are observing at present a pitiful display of the influence of political, emotional and social doctrines on the disordered horde at Washington and the division of so-called economists into opposing groups. To overcome this tendency would be a useful service, but it appears to me extremely difficult to accomplish.

If you decide to go into the humanities, I trust some scheme of cooperation with the Huntington Library can be developed, as I think it might be advantageous to both institutions.

Believe me, with kindest regards,

Yours very cordially,

GEH:G

George E. Hale



George C. Hale

March 23, 1935

Dear Professor Hale:

My attention was called this morning to your card acknowledging receipt of Bulletin No. 4. I hope that you may have an opportunity to read it and that you will not hesitate to make any suggestions that occur to you. How do you feel about our making a gradual start in the humanistic studies so as to avoid being lop-sided?

Financially we are proceeding very cautiously so that we are taking no steps and having no steps in mind which will not leave us a financial margin. As yet we have no buildings, though we have been giving some thought to the question of providing them, but they will be simple affairs reminiscent of the Hopkins in its early days. We are holding our resources so that the income can be devoted to salaries even if we continue to live in rented quarters.

The other evening we were dining at the Morgan Wards' and there met Professor Russell and his wife. Naturally we all spoke of you. Perhaps your ears tingled, as we did so. I hope that you are well and that all goes happily at the California Institute.

With warmest greetings to you and Mrs. Hale,

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor George E. Hale  
Mount Wilson Solar Observatory  
Pasadena, California

December 19, 1934

Dear Master:

I have just received yours of the sixth. I am giving a good deal of time and thought to the social sciences in the hope of making a modest beginning next year with a very few persons who have first-rate intellectual ability and open minds - as very few of our economists have.

I shall be delighted if you will let Fulton come to Princeton to talk with those who are making the start. There may not be more than two or three of them to begin with, but I think he will find that they represent a somewhat different approach to the social and political problems than has been usual, certainly in this country.

With all good wishes for you and Mrs. Lindsay for Christmas and the New Year,

Yours very sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

The Master  
Balliol College  
Oxford, England

AF:NEB

A. D. Linker

December 6  
1 9 3 4

FROM THE MASTER,  
BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

My dear Flexner,

Something that Adams said to me the other day made me think that you were hoping to start your research on social questions at least by next autumn. If in the process of it you are going to have any conferences and discussions on the subject, I wonder if you would think of inviting to them one of our Fellows, J.S. Fulton? We are giving him a year's leave to take a Rockefeller Fellowship, and he is going to America to study, among other things, the methods of research in social studies. On political subjects he is, I think, the most alive fellow in this University. He knows a good deal about social work, and I think you would find him very stimulating and interesting in any discussions; and I am sure it would be an enormous advantage to him, if you have conferences of the kind I thought you might be having.

Of course you will see that this letter is all rather conjectural on my part as to what

(2)

you will probably be doing, but I thought it was worth writing to you about it. He is so alive and so keen that I am sure you would appreciate him. He was at the School of Economics between taking his degree here and coming back to us.

Yours sincerely,

A. D. Lewis

Professor Flexner,  
150 East 72nd Street,  
New York.

*Linley*

## SOCIAL STUDIES IN OXFORD

No one can have any doubt that we need more knowledge about social questions. It is becoming a commonplace that man's power of controlling nature has outrun his power of controlling himself. No civilisation in the past has ever had anything in the least corresponding to the material wealth which ours has: <sup>few</sup> ~~for~~ civilisations nevertheless have ever been so full of panic and distrust and rumours of war as our own is at the present time.

If our power of controlling nature has outrun our power of controlling ourselves, must not that be at least partly due to the fact that we have let the so-called natural sciences outrun the humane studies? If anything like the money and energy which now goes to the study of the natural sciences were given to the study of mankind, if our Psychology were as advanced as our Physics, our Economics as our Chemistry, our Politics as our ~~our~~ wouldn't most of our difficulties be over? This is clearly only part of the truth. For we may in politics as well as in personal life know what needs to be done and not have the courage, or faith, or confidence to do it. Knowledge is not the only thing needed to get us out of our present difficulties. Nevertheless it is true that neither are courage and confidence the only things needed. Our social action if it is to be successful must be more <sup>informed</sup> with knowledge than it is at present.

The increasing consciousness that in this lopsided progress of our knowledge is a key to part of our troubles accounts for the remarkable growth in all the Universities of this country and of

America of Economic and Political departments and of the money that has been devoted, especially in America, to research in the Social Sciences.

The problems with which a modern government is continually faced are of a continually growing complexity, and call more and more increasingly for expert knowledge. To that proposition everyone would assent.

Yet no sensible man believes that most of our difficulties would be overcome just by putting as much money and energy into social studies as we do into the natural sciences and then entrusting the government of the country to a "Brain<sub>5</sub>Trust" consisting of the most eminent Professors in the social studies. We have gained enormously from the increase of knowledge of society which all this new organization and expenditure have produced. Yet we should most of us agree that we have not gained as much as might have been expected. It is becoming clear that the proper technique and method of research with all that concerns society are not easily discovered. There are two main reasons for this, not unconnected with one another. When we study our own conduct personal or social, we are studying something about which we feel intensely, where our emotions are necessarily aroused; and secondly we are studying something which has got to do with concrete action in a whole situation of bewildering complexity.

For the first reason research in the social studies is exposed to two *Concluded* dangers. If it concerns itself with the immediate practical situation, the passions and prejudices and assumptions

which are connected with that immediate situation may <sup>prevent</sup> prevent good judgment and turn what ought to be dispassionate enquiry into propaganda. The teaching in Germany of solemn nonsense like the Aryan myth as scientific anthropology is an extreme instance of what may happen in that way; and we have not to go to Germany to find instances of propaganda put forward as the result of scientific enquiry. The other danger is just as real. The researcher into social phenomena may easily be so afraid of bias and propaganda that he will study only those elements in the social situation where his knowledge can be exact, with the result that his results are so abstract that they have no practical application. Research in social studies therefore needs to be done <sup>where</sup> when academic standards of scholarship and dispassionate enquiry are strong enough to <sup>preserve</sup> preserve impartiality; when there is sufficient representation of all elements in the community and of other countries to ensure against that unconscious bias in the researcher, against which it is most difficult to guard, and <sup>the</sup> when the researcher is in close enough contact with men engaged in practical affairs to keep his research capable of practical application.

Secondly because in social affairs we are concerned with concrete action in a whole situation of bewildering complexity, the specialist has got to learn to see his special subject in the light of the whole situation. His temptation is to believe that his special subject - whether it be psychology or economics or population statistics is the key to the understanding of the whole or that the method appropriate to his special subject is the



universal method appropriate to all social studies. His danger is never to see *the woods for the trees* His only *salvation* is that he should be trained to grasp the situation as a whole and that he should be in continual contact with other specialists and with the practical man who spends his time in grappling with the concrete situation. Research in the social studies has got, if it is to be really fruitful, to be team work, and ~~then~~<sup>team</sup> work, not only between different specialists, but between academic specialists and men of affairs.

If these statements about the special nature of the social studies are at all true, Oxford ought to be peculiarly adapted for research in them. The University has a long tradition of training men to play their part in government, in political life, in the higher ranks of the civil service and in the civil service of India and of Africa. The University has been able to do that, not so much because men have got there the special knowledge necessary for their jobs, but because the great Honour Schools of the University and the common life of the Colleges have helped to train men in the judgment and insight necessary for the practical work of politics.

Before the war the most famous, though not the largest of the Oxford Honour Schools was "Greats", *Literae Humaniores* which with its combination of Philosophy and Ancient History aimed primarily at training men in a knowledge of the structure and nature of the Grand Roman world. Such studies seemed to some very remote from present day problems, but they had this inestimable advantage

which more than outweighed their remoteness. They gave men some insight into the structure of a civilisation as a whole. After the war the new Final Honour School of Philosophy, Politics and Economics was founded in 1920. The underlying idea in the foundation of the new School is indicated by its popular name 'Modern Greats'. This new School was to be a discipline in the structure and nature of modern society. Hence the retention of Philosophy (modern) along with the new subjects of Politics and Economics. The School is so arranged that candidates may specialise in either Philosophy, Politics or Economics but must make some study of all three sides of the School. This combination of subjects in a single Honour School was and remains unique and the School is thus as distinctive of Oxford as the School of *Litterae Humaniores* itself.

The new School grew steadily in numbers and has for some years taken its place beside the older Honour Schools. In 1934 there were 146 candidates; in 1935, 144, and in 1936, 152.

Oxford then has a preliminary training for research in social studies which is meant to give men a general understanding of modern civilisation as a whole, and some insight into and acquaintance with the very different techniques of historical, of political and of economic study and enough training in philosophy to be able to *reflect* critically <sup>on</sup> ~~in~~ methods and assumptions. From the close relations which through its Colleges it maintains with its old members and from its nearness to London, its teachers can be in contact with those actually engaged in the practical work

of society, politicians, administrators and civil servants and business men. <sup>More</sup> ~~More~~ Oxford teachers who work for the extra mural Delegacy, teaching classes organised by the Worker's Educational Association in industrial centers and in rural districts, can learn that side of social problems which so easily escapes the notice, not only of the academic theorist but also of the politician and the civil service. Finally the foundation of the Rhodes Scholarships has brought the University into close connexion with the Dominions and with the United States of America. Oxford ought to produce the balance between concern with the concrete and practical and academic impartiality, between specialisation and grasp of the whole situation, which is indispensable for profitable research in social studies.

In 1935 the Rockefeller Foundation gave the University a benefaction of £5000 a year for five years to inaugurate a scheme of research in social studies and the Committee appointed to direct the scheme has just issued its first report. The money has been used to found an Institute of Statistics, All Souls College having made it possible to found a Readership in Statistics--: to appoint Research Lecturers in Human Geography, in African Sociology; in Colonial Administration, in Public Administration and in Public Finance: in helping to found an Institute of Experimental Psychology and by helping with grants coordinated schemes of research.

The kind of work which this scheme is making possible will best be understood from the description given in the Committee's Report.

"The Committee has aimed at encouraging and helping such association and has therefore made grants to the following co-operative schemes.

"(a) Barnett House Scheme. The Committee has made a total grant of £1,500, the payment of which is spread over not less than three years, towards the cost of a survey of Social Services, both statutory and voluntary, in Oxford and the area adjacent to it. A report from Barnett House will be found in Appendix D.

"The aim of the Survey is to produce a unified picture of the services provided in the vicinity, to study the relationship for these purposes of the various statutory authorities, the relationship between the statutory authorities and the voluntary organizations. It is intended that the study shall help to educate public opinion, that it shall make definite recommendations, and that it shall be of practical use to any one dealing with the problems of the districts by supplying them with exact information on the locality.

"(b) In the Colonial field a co-operative survey of Kenya, with special reference to the problems of race contact, has been projected. The research work is expected to take three years, leaving the fourth year for the publication of the results. The work will comprise a general introduction by Professor Coupland; a Geographical Survey by a qualified geographer under Professor Mason's supervision dealing in special detail with the highland region; a concise History of Kenya from 1890 to the present day; a study of Native Administration by Miss Perham; an Anthropological Survey by Mr. Evans Pritchard; and an examination of the Economic and Financial Situation since 1890.

"The project has been approved by the Government of Kenya and the Committee has earmarked a sum of £800 for the project, which would be distributed as follows:

Emoluments to Economist . . . . .	£200
Travel costs: Geographer . . . . .	250
Mr. Evans Pritchard . . . . .	250
Secretarial Expenses . . . . .	10
Publication . . . . .	90
	<u>£800</u>

"Further funds have also been made available from other sources. A Summer School on problems of Colonial Administration especially designed for Civil Servants is being organized for July 1937.

"(c) A group of tutors in Economics has been formed to study factors governing fluctuations in British business activities since 1924. Leaders of industry and commerce are being invited to visit Oxford to meet the group for discussion on the basis of a prepared questionnaire.

"The Committee has granted £250 for five years for the salary of a Secretary and other expenses, and £25 for initial clerical expenses.

"(d) A similar group of tutors in politics and allied subjects is in process of being formed for co-operative research into the use of Advisory Bodies in relation to Central Government. This will also include such members as the Professor of Rural Economy, the Director of the Institute for Research in Agricultural Economics, and the Professors of those scientific subjects which are influencing most markedly social conditions. Students of public affairs who are working outside the University will also be invited to join it.



Periodical meetings of the group will be held, at which men of affairs will be asked to speak on the practical problems which are engaging their attention. The big group will split up into small groups for the co-operative study of special branches of the subject, with the idea of publishing ultimately a comprehensive work.

"A grant of £250 a year for four years has been made to this group. £200 a year will be paid to the Secretary, one of whose duties will be to guide as far as possible students for research degrees into subjects of study which will fit into the general scheme. £50 a year will be set aside for clerical assistance and travelling expenses.

"Taken together these activities cover a considerable field. Some of the schemes involved are in being; others are in embryo. But the Committee considers that these results of the first year's work of the grant are a satisfactory beginning and have promise for the future.

"The final test of success in our enterprise will not be in the foundation of individual lectureships or the completion of isolated pieces of research, but in the creation of an organic Postgraduate School of Social Studies, sound in itself and with a capacity of expansion, which would train students in these subjects and be a means of attacking vital social and political problems. The Committee believes that these nuclei of workers in colonial, economic, and political subjects may well develop into such a School.

"The essence of Social Studies is the investigation of questions, practical in themselves or their issues, by minds which can take a

wide view of the problems involved, trace their relations and interconnexions, and see the trees as a wood. Such studies are perhaps most fruitful when they are attacked co-operatively by scholars who can survey the field as a whole and by workers who have a practical and intimate knowledge of their own particular section of it. It is eminently satisfactory that this form of co-operation has already developed in the Barnett House Scheme, the work of the economic group, and the contacts established by the Lecturer in Public Administration with candidates who are working on theses for B.Litt. or D.Phil. degrees in the subject of public finance or subjects connected with it. This co-operative work is capable of considerable extension, to include, for instance, members of the Home, Colonial, Indian, Consular, and Municipal Services and others who feel the need for thinking out afresh the problems of their work. Use also may be made of the special knowledge possessed by the Tutorial Class Lecturers."

Although this scheme has only been in operation for a year, it is already clear what promising work in social studies such a scheme can make possible and how important it is, if the possibilities of Oxford for social research are to be realised, that the University should be able to extend it and to make it permanent, and if possible, to do something on the same lines to organise research in the other humane studies.

A. D. Lindsay



Princeton, New Jersey

May 14, 1934

Dear Professor Schumpeter:

I appreciate more than I can say your kindness in sending me with your letter of May 8 a number of references to young men of Cambridge, Oxford, and London. Should I go abroad this summer, which is possible, though hardly probable, I shall undoubtedly make an effort to see these promising scholars. I find myself so puzzled by the difficulties of moving into the field of economics and politics that for the present I am doing nothing but make inquiries, and I could in any event do nothing more, since the funds available for the school in question are not yet sufficiently large.

With all good wishes and very high regard,

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor J. A. Schumpeter  
2 Scott Street  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

AF:USB

J. A. Schumpeter

2 Scott Street,  
Cambridge, Massachusetts,  
May 8, 1934.

Mr. Abraham Flexner,  
The Institute for Advanced Study,  
20 Nassau Street,  
Princeton, New Jersey.

My dear Mr. Flexner:

It is I who have to thank you for the kindness with which you invariably receive my unsolicited opinions. If I keep on offering them it is due to my anxiety to contribute as best I can to the success of your labors, which seems to me to be particularly difficult to attain in my field. Economics is in such an uncomfortable stage of transition from inexact philosophies to exact methods that there is at present hardly any professional opinion to go by, such as in more fortunate fields points out the right persons with a high degree of reliability. At the London School of Economics, in Cambridge (England), in Vienna, and now also in Oslo, there are groups which are really alive and display some intellectual ardor. But hardly anywhere else. I could not adequately describe the sense of frustration I ~~lose~~ feel at my inability to create another one as I hoped I would, first at Bonn and later at Harvard, owing to a perfect want of understanding of, or sympathy ~~with~~, the goal to be attained on the part of those whose consent and support are necessary at every stage. Hence I am still more anxious than I otherwise should be to render whatever humble service I may to the future Economic Department of your Institute, for I really believe that you, being the only man I know of who commands both the understanding and the means, have a fair chance of creating what may in the end turn out the foremost centre of the study of exact economics. Therefore, as you may go to England in the summer, I venture to enclose a sheet giving a short list of names, the bearers of which seem to me worth watching. I assure you that I smile myself at my zeal. In drawing up the list I proceeded upon the hypothesis that what you want are first one or two leading men (about whom it is difficult to advise because most of those one would think of are probably not available, which, especially for England, certainly applies to Pigou, Keynes and Robertson), and second, around them a group of really brilliant young men (and it is with the English ones of them that the enclosed sheet deals).

With apologies and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,



J. A. Schumpeter.

### 1. Cambridge.

Although the great Marshallian tradition is <sup>still</sup> very much alive, and although Cambridge looms very large in the total picture of scientific economics, there are not more than two young people of first rate ability and promise there:

R. F. Kahn of King's, who so far has really only one paper to his credit, but a very good one, and who will soon publish what I look forward to as a major contribution.

Joan Robinson, author of a book on Imperfect Competition which has made quite a splash. I rate her very high and if you plan to have, say, yearly guests, I should strongly plead <sup>that</sup> you invite her for a year at least in order to look at her.

### 2. Oxford.

They have extended their teaching in economics and have about a dozen men, but only two of them are worth considering:

R. F. Harrod of Christ Church, al<sup>ready</sup> more mature, a very incisive intellect and much in the van of certain modern lines.

J. E. Meade, who has just published a good book entitled 'The Rate of Interest in a Progressive State!' and has also of late produced a number of articles which place him in the front rank.

*I must not forget, however R. Spence of Magdalen.  
(Then there is Marschak there).*

### 3. London School.

London itself and the whole Continent have jointly produced there a very lively milieu. I should like to mention three names:

R. G. D. Allen, undoubtedly a very clever young man who has made by his papers quite a name already.

A. P. Lerner, perhaps the best of the group, but still very young and personally not impressive. He will be difficult to place but is sure to leave his mark on the ~~scene~~ <sup>stage</sup> ~~stage~~ <sup>scene</sup>.

J. R. Hicks, a maturer man, author of a very good book on The Theory of Wages. Undoubtedly well worth having.

---

Bull. no. 3

M.L.

May 4, 1934  
E.S.A.

May 3, 1934

Dear Professor Schumpeter:

Many thanks for your kind favor of April 29 commending Dr. Marschak. I am delighted to have my attention called to him. I do not feel that we have as yet sufficient funds with which to embark on the School of Economics as the same level as the School of Mathematics, but I am gradually accumulating information, and I shall have to rely upon people like yourself to help me in the course of selection. There is a probability that I will go to England this summer, and, if so, I shall see Dr. Marschak. Meanwhile, may I say to you that I shall be delighted if at any time you can advise me out of the richness of your experience?

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor Joseph A. Schumpeter  
2 Scott Street  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

AF:ESB

April 30, 1934

Dear Mr. Simonson:

Thank you for writing me with the candor characteristic of your kind letter of April 25th. Despite our new gift we still need another million before I shall feel justified in launching the new school. I have been reading Mumford's articles in The New Republic for a long time, so that he is not unknown to me, and I shall also read his new book with the keenest interest. The difficulty of establishing a school in this field is enormous, because the field is one in which objective scientific spirit is not common. The men in it have made up their minds - whether from sufficient or insufficient data I do not myself know. However, I shall make a note of Mumford's name and see him when I get back from my vacation in the autumn. I imagine I can reach him readily in New York.

I am delighted that you did not hesitate to write me. The fact is that I can do nothing without the advice of persons who have inside experience like yourself.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Mr. Lee Simonson  
217 East 48th Street  
New York City  
AF/LCE

2 SCOTT STREET,  
CAMBRIDGE.

Sunday

My Dear Dr Flexner,

It has been suggested to me  
(not by himself!) that I should  
recommend to you, for possible  
consideration in filling your chair  
in economics, Dr Jacob Marschak,  
formerly of Heidelberg, now of  
All Souls, Oxford. I have no written

in doing so: A quantitative analysis in close connection with the theory of the Marshall-Pareto type is no doubt the scientific program of economics in the near future. The signs of the time point irresistably towards this goal of constructing a building which may some day bear comparison to that of physics. At yet, there are very few competent men in the field, as most economists - even those who can at all be called scientists, and are more than popular or philosophic writers on the questions of the day - lack either the theoretical or the statistical complement. Max Fried<sup>x</sup> is comfortable at Oslo, and Leontief in

Harvard (I hope so at least), and after them Marshall certainly stands in the first line. His book (on elasticity of demand) and his papers (especially on the determination of the constants of the monetary system) have earned for him an international name in his field, and he is young (about 30 or 32), and in full vigor, with a bright future prospect of achievement before him. If you consider young men at all, you will probably not be able to do better. Kindly excuse my intruding like this into your counsels and believe me  
very sincerely yours  
Jost J. Guempel



2 Scott Street  
Cambridge

C  
O  
P  
Y

Sunday (April 29, 1934)

My dear Dr. Flexner:

It has been suggested to me (not by himself) that I should recommend to you, for possible consideration in filling your chair in economics, Dr. Jacob Marschak, formerly of Heidelberg, now of All Souls, Oxford. I have no hesitation in doing so: Quantitative analysis in close connection with the theory of the Marshall-Parets type is no doubt the scientific program of economics in the near future. The signs of the time point unmistakably towards this goal of constructing a building which may some day bear comparison to that of physics. As yet, there are very few competent men in the field, as most economists - even those who can at all be called scientists, and are more than popular or philosophic writers on the questions of the day - lack either the theoretical or the statistical complement. Now Frisch is comfortable at Oslo, and Leontief in Harvard (I hope so at least), and after them Marschak certainly stands in the first line. His book (on elasticity of demand) and his papers (especially on the determination of the constants of the monetary system) have earned for him an international name in his field. He is young (about 30 or 32), and in full vigor, with a bright prospect of achievement before him. If you consider young men at all, you will probably not be able to do better.

Kindly excuse my intruding like this into your counsels, and believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Joseph A. Schumpeter

LEE SIMONSON  
217 EAST 48TH STREET  
NEW YORK CITY

Washington, April 25/34.

My dear Dr. Flexner:

Having read this morning  
that you have gotten your endowment for a  
graduate school of politics and sociology, I  
now rush in, post rambles of circumstances angels,  
to suggest that you consider Lewis Mumford as  
a possible member of the faculty.

I offer as evidence of  
his qualifications his new book "Technics  
and Civilization" - due to be published any day -  
of which I happen to have had an advance  
copy.

In this field I am of  
course the veriest amateur. But I read criticism,  
in several languages, to the exclusion of practically  
every other kind of book. And Mumford seems

to me one of the few mature critical minds of his generation. He has the sensibility of a creative artist and at the same time the dispassionate thoroughness of the scholar. He can really digest history without being made dyspeptic by the present. His first-hand understanding of the development of architecture, the fine arts, and literature as well, combined with the historic and philosophic scope shown in his new book, seem to point to him as a mind particularly fitted to train the graduate minds of his country. He is almost unique in his grasp of the dynamic interplay of all the elements which make the pattern of modern culture.

Mumford is entirely unaware that I am writing this, and might stop me if he knew. I rush in nevertheless, without consulting him, because "Technics" is only the first part of a triology which is to include Cities and Communities. And it occurred to me that as

LEE SIMONSON  
217 EAST 48TH STREET  
NEW YORK CITY

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institute such as yours would be the very place  
where he could complete it, without being dependent  
on the vagaries of the book market, and at the  
same time be made most effective as a  
formative influence.

I am aware that you no doubt receive  
a hundred letters like this a day; no doubt  
your eyelids are a little weary. So  
don't bother to acknowledge this one.

Sincerely yours,

LEE SIMONSON

Alumni

# PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

VOL. XXXIV, No. 15

JANUARY 12, 1934

\$5.00 A YEAR

## Queen of the Sciences

*Mathematics Gains New Importance in Princeton, and Princeton Holds New Interest for Mathematicians, because of the Presence in Fine Hall Not Only of University Scientists but also of Their Distinguished Guests, the Members of the Institute for Advanced Study*

A HOST, by the act of hospitality, honors his guest, but if the guest is distinguished his acceptance of hospitality honors the man in whose house he visits. This reciprocal relationship obtains this year in Fine Hall, where the Institute for Advanced Study is Princeton's guest of honor. The institute has been given temporary quarters in the University's mathematics building until such time as its own buildings are constructed.

The presence of the institute members, in addition to the University's own distinguished mathematicians, makes Princeton perhaps the most important mathematical center in the world. Albert Einstein is of course the most famous scientist on the Princeton campus today, but his co-workers both in the institute and the University include other men in the very top rank of the queen of the sciences.

### INFORMAL ASSOCIATION

NO ORGANIC connection binds the University with the institute, but scholarly cooperation between them is accepted practice. Princeton has extended hospitality not only by providing office space for the institute teachers, but also by welcoming the visitors to the library of mathematics and mathematical physics which is the most important feature of Fine Hall. As expressed in Bulletin No. 2 of the institute: "The combined opportunities of the institute and of the mathematical faculty of Princeton University will be open to students enrolled in either institution without payment of additional fees."

The two faculties, with their advanced students, constitute the Mathematics Club, and they collaborate in publishing the *Annals of Mathematics*.

Louis Bamberger and his sister, Mrs. Felix Fuld, founded the Institute for Advanced Study in 1930 with an initial gift of \$5,000,000. The board of trustees (which includes John R. Hardin '80 as a member and chairman of its finance committee) appointed Abraham Flexner as director. Princeton was chosen as the site both because the founders asked that it be somewhere in New Jersey and because of the possibility for fruitful though informal collaboration with Princeton scholars. When it was determined that the first school of the institute should deal with mathematics (an undetermined number of

### Guest of Honor

MATHEMATICS is queen of the sciences and Princeton, through the residence here of Einstein, Veblen, Eisenhart and other men great in the field, is one of the small group of really great mathematical centers in the world. Some of these men lending scientific brilliance to the town of Princeton are associated with Princeton University, some with the Institute for Advanced Study which has settled here and is temporarily the guest of honor of the University in Fine Hall. The accompanying article describes the unique organization and purpose of the institute and the distinguished personnel with which it begins work.

schools in other fields will be established later) Princeton offered temporary shelter in Fine Hall, the splendidly appointed laboratory given by the late Thomas D. Jones '76 and his niece, Gwethalyn Jones.

Mathematics was chosen as the field for the first school because of the availability

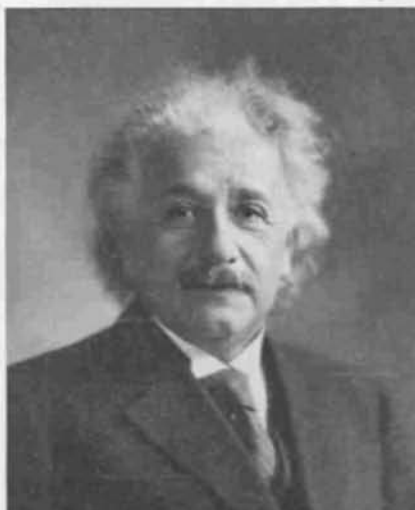
of distinguished workers in that science. At the organization meeting of the institute in 1930 Dr. Flexner said: "There are obviously various ways in which this institute may begin its work. . . . Where and how it begins must depend, in the first instance, on the men and women of genius, of unusual talent, and of high devotion, who may be found willing to associate with us." As the world now knows, Dr. Flexner "found" some of the leading living mathematicians, and the school of mathematics was organized forthwith.

### THE FACULTY

THE faculty is composed of five professors, one associate, and three assistants, most of them old friends of Princeton. Dr. Einstein has never held a full-term appointment on the University faculty, but as early as 1921 delivered a series of University lectures on the theory of relativity, and the printed version of those addresses was published by the University Press which thereby gained the distinction of being the first U.S. publisher to bring out a book by the most famous living scientist. Moreover, it is unusually appropriate that Dr. Einstein should have an office in Fine Hall, which has incorporated in its decoration several tributes to his genius. Over the mantelpiece in one of the lounges is carved his famous remark that "God is subtle but not dishonest," while two Einstein equations are used as the design for leaded windows.

Two of the professors—Oswald Veblen and James Waddell Alexander '10—were for many years professors in Princeton's Mathematics Department, while another, John von Neumann, had been professor of mathematical physics since 1930, dividing his time between Princeton and the University of Berlin. The fifth professor is Hermann Weyl, until recently professor of mathematics at the University of Göttingen. Walther Mayer is associate on the staff, having come from the University of Vienna. The three assistants are Charles Chapman Torrance, formerly instructor at Stanford; John Livezey Vanderslice, former part-time instructor at Princeton; and Leo Zippin, who served last year as resident assistant to Professor Alexander.

The "workers" (i.e. students) in the school of mathematics are as follows, last university position being indicated in the case of faculty members on leave of ab-



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NO CAPTION NEEDED



sence, and the institution where graduate work was performed for the others:

A. ADRIAN ALBERT, assistant professor, Chicago  
 WILLARD E. BLEICK, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins  
 LEONARD M. BLUMENTHAL, instructor, Rice  
 ROBERT L. ECHOLS, instructor, C.C.N.Y.  
 KURT GOEDEL, Venia legendi, Vienna  
 G. A. HEDLUND, associate, Bryn Mawr  
 RALPH HULL, Ph.D., Chicago  
 BÖRGE C. JESSEN, docent, Royal Veterinary and Agricultural College, and privatdocent, University of Copenhagen  
 D. H. LEHMER, Ph.D., Brown  
 ARNOLD N. LOWAN, Ph.D., Columbia  
 ROBERT S. MARTIN, Ph.D., California Institute of Technology  
 THURMAN S. PETERSON, instructor, Michigan  
 HAROLD S. RUSE, lecturer, Edinburgh  
 MEYER SALKOVER, associate professor, Cincinnati  
 MABEL F. SCHMEISER, Ph.D., Ohio State  
 I. J. SCHOENBERG, assistant, Jassy (Roumania), 1926-30; research assistant, Chicago, 1931-32  
 ANNA A. STAFFORD, Ph.D., Chicago  
 TRACY Y. THOMAS, associate professor, Princeton  
 EGBERTUS R. VAN KAMPEN, associate, Johns Hopkins  
 RAYMOND L. WILDER, associate professor, Michigan

#### TWO-TO-ONE RATIO

AS WILL be observed from the above list, the "student body" of the institute is like no other collection of students on earth. The majority of the twenty-one men and women are full-fledged university teachers (three of them associate professors) on leave of absence from their respective institutions. The ratio of students to teachers is about 1 to 2, as compared with the Princeton ratio of 1 to 7, which in itself is unusually high for universities, 1 to 15 or 1 to 20 being much more usual.

Many other features of the institute's organization and procedure are unorthodox. For instance: "The staff will aid students in deciding general methods and purposes of their work and, as occasion offers, in the details." Nor is any set method of instruction prescribed: "Each professor will be free to follow such methods as he prefers and to vary them from year to year." In regard to the curriculum, the bulletin states: "The program cannot be fixed definitely in advance because it must conform to the direction taken by the studies of those who are actively participating in it."

"Tuition," if it can be dignified by that term, is \$100 per year. This as well as the generous salary and retiring allowances for teachers and the fellowships for workers, are in keeping with the announced purpose of the founders and the directors to make the institute a "paradise for scholars" open to men and women of every race with all financial distractions removed.

#### FINANCIAL WORRY REMOVED

DR. FLEXNER has explained this policy by saying: "The sacrifices required of an American professor are to a high degree deterrent. The conditions provided are rarely favorable to severe, prolonged, and fundamental thinking. Poor salaries frighten off the abler and more vigorous, and compel the university instructor to eke out his inadequate income by writing unnecessary text-books or engaging in other forms of hack work. . . . We should endeavor to attract into the institute a small number of scholars and scientists who will be free from financial worry and concern, who will live and work amidst conditions favorable to intellectual activity. A professorship can

of course never be as remunerative as the practice of law or medicine or a successful career in business. It need not be, for it has much to offer that neither law nor medicine nor business can offer. But, on the other hand, the German universities long ago proved that adequate remuneration with sufficient leisure amidst attractive and congenial living conditions and associations is absolutely necessary to the upbuilding of an academic group." If the institute could establish conditions such as this, Dr. Flexner declared, it would "attract the most vigorous and best endowed minds of our generation."

#### ADVANCED LEARNING

THERE are of course to be no undergraduates in the institute, which in general is to provide training beyond that usually associated with a Ph.D. degree. The purpose was described by the founders

in their letter to the trustees: "While the institution will devote itself to the teaching of qualified advanced students, it is our desire that those who are assembled in the faculty or staff of the institution may enjoy the most favorable opportunities for continuing research or investigation in their particular field or specialty, and that the utmost liberty of action shall be afforded the said faculty or staff to that end. . . . Many of those who enter the institution will probably qualify themselves for professorships in other institutions of learning, but the institution itself is established not merely to train teachers or to produce holders of advanced degrees. The primary purpose is the pursuit of advanced learning and exploration in the fields of pure science and high scholarship to the utmost degree that the facilities of the institution and the ability of the faculty and students will permit."

## ON THE CAMPUS

SENIORS are beginning to feel that they are on the last lap. Of course their final term won't be under way for another month, but the last long vacation has passed and for most it looks like pretty steady work from now on. Adding to the sense of finality, the Department of Personnel has circulated its questionnaire to discover what jobs seniors have, or would like to have, lined up. Proposing to lend its assistance to this ripening crop of job-hunters, the department questionnaire also reminds the Class of 1934—if it needs to be reminded—that there's a lot of life left to be lived and that something must be done about it pretty soon.

No more will freshmen who bog down on the uniform tests read the sad news on the bulletin board in Nassau Hall. Instead the grades will be announced during class periods. That change is designed to do away with a lot of unsolicited tutoring which has become the bane of many a flunking freshman's existence. It seems that certain enterprising tutors round-about the town copied down the names of all who failed any of the first set of uniforms and secured addresses from the *University Directory*. All that remained was to apply the screws to each of the potential customers. In some cases tutors even wrote letters to persuade anxious families that their services were urgently needed to get young Roscoe through college. University authorities therefore took a hand in the matter.

There is one man in town—something of a genius, we are told—who does a highly profitable business by tutoring and taking care of boys during their first year here. He takes a small number of charges into his house, where they live throughout the year under strict supervision. His method of securing the guardianship is a letter to the parents. The scheme is the same as that of the ordinary tutors, but this gentleman assumes complete charge of the boys, regulating study, diet, exercise, and anything else stipulated by the parents. He sets an exceedingly high valuation on his services. His specialty is underdeveloped youths, for whom he postpones the possibly painful process of developing

self-reliance. Of course it's a perfectly legitimate occupation, though according to reports his letters do not reveal his exact status. Some parents have thought them official communications from the University.

Shortly before the vacation the *Princetonian* distributed a questionnaire in order to find out what the undergraduates thought of the paper, if at all, and what might be done to improve it. The replies were quite candid. The opinions expressed took both sides of nearly every possible question, but a large number consider the *Prince* too dry and conservative. Prevailing sentiment seems to favor sticking to campus news and eliminating the brief bits on national affairs which have appeared almost daily for some months. It is pointed out that metropolitan papers, easily available, are much more informative. Many, however, want not only more news but also more editorials on national affairs. The news style is called stereotyped and monotonous. Some disapprove the abandonment of the pictorial section. One critic tempered the effect of a few biting remarks by ending: "But it's the best damn collegiate paper in the world."

One day back in December the *Princetonian* board was nonplussed and at the same time rather amused by a startling telegram from the *Yale News*. It read: "Please wire collect concerning rumor that Primo Carnera will play for Princeton next year." The local journalists pondered over that for a while, then let it rest for a few days. At last, with a fine disregard for the playful spirit which had apparently seized the Yalies, the *Prince* replied quite soberly that the rumor was entirely without foundation. And there the matter died.

The School of Public Affairs has recently brought to Princeton two lecturers from Oxford, both authorities on international matters. Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, in discussing British policy toward Japan's Manchurian activities, was of the opinion that England and the United States should have cooperated, in the in-

THE EDITOR OF ISIS  
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CAMBRIDGE, MASS

September 6, 1933

Dear Dr. Flexner,

I have just received a letter from Prof. O. Neugebauer, of Göttingen, wherein he speaks of the great project which is now engaging his attention, to wit, the edition of a corpus of all the original documents of Babylonian mathematics. Within recent years our knowledge of that subject has increased considerably, and O. Neugebauer is one of <sup>the men</sup> ~~them~~ to whom we owe that increase. This brought back to my mind the pamphlets you so kindly sent to me some months ago concerning your new Institute (I am afraid I never thanked you for them). If you will forgive <sup>me</sup> for making



the suggestion and not think of me as officious - I

would say that the History of science would be a splendid  
field of study for your Institute. Why? Because (1)

it has been neglected by other agencies except by the Carnegie  
Institution. True it is many ~~more~~ colleges offer courses

on the subject but this is done so stupidly that it tends  
to debase it rather than the opposite. What could one

think of a college president asking ~~his~~ the botanist of his  
staff to teach American history ex-tempore? Yet he asks

the same botanist to teach the history of science ex-tempore -

which is infinitely more complex & difficult - & nobody

laughs.

(2) Because the hist. of science - i.e., the  
hist. of mathem., & other sciences down the scale - is the  
best introduction to the philosophy of science & synthetic  
knowledge.

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(3) Because it is the best means of humanizing science, - & of humanizing a culture based to an increasing degree upon science & technology.

(4) See P. S.

It occurred to me that that need - the organization of such studies in U.S. - could be reconciled with the urgent needs of many German scholars: a new opportunity to them, a great opportunity to this country.

As compared with Neugebauer I am only a dilettante. He works in the front trenches while I amuse myself way back in the rear - peering in the ones, blaming the others; saying this ought to be done, etc. & doing very little myself. What Neugebauer does is fundamental, what I do, secondary.

I am enclosing copy of a memorandum prepared for President Merriam, which may serve as an illustration, not of my needs, but of this country's need for the organization of such studies.

Hoping that you are feeling better, & thanking you for your kind letter of August 22, I am very sorry that Eleanor could not stop in Cambridge even for a day, but she was anxious to prepare for your coming in New York.

with kindest regards

John Sexton

Dr. Neugebauer did not ask me to write to you and made no appeal whatever to me.

P.S. (4) Because it would be an excellent preparation for the increasing group of people<sup>x</sup> needing a general scientific knowledge & intelligence rather than specialized & technical knowledge.

x i.e., scientific authors, publishers, keepers of scientific museums, libraries, repositories of scientific journals, the newspaper & civil servants

April 5, 1933

Dear Mr. Lynd:

Many thanks for your kind note which I shall take the liberty of showing Gregg, with whom I am lunching today.

Your analysis of the trouble in economics and business is absolutely sound. I am hoping that the next school started by the Institute will be a school of economics and politics, and every school will be on the full-time basis, as you will note from Bulletin No. 2, just issued, a copy of which I am sending to you today.

With all good wishes and very great appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Dr. Robert S. Lynd  
Faculty of Political Science  
Columbia University  
New York

AF:BSB

R. S. Lynd

Columbia University  
in the City of New York  
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

April 1, 1933

Dear Dr. Flexner:

I am heartily for the position you take in your note in the current issue of Science. I do not believe that the history of patents will bear out the position taken by Henderson on the same page. God knows we need people who are willing to take the slant you and Keynes do!

Have you considered at all taking Keynes' statement literally as a cue for any social science side of the Institute that you may build up? I do not feel that we shall get far in trying to free small segments from the profit spirit so long as the latter remains the overwhelmingly dominant aspect of the "cultural weather" in which our national life goes on. As I see it, the economists have rather been taken into camp by business: there are so many good problems in the field of business enterprise and business is such a fat source of research funds that it has been inevitable that economists should accept the concepts and problems of the business world and not look far beyond them. We need a group of men like Keynes and Wesley Mitchell who can be cut free from business schools and business problems and set to work to explore alternative radically different cultural set-ups not focussed on the profit spirit. This would involve a high order of imaginative work founded on fundamental analyses of resources and human needs. A social science program built along this line would attempt a commanding job not being done by our present welter of work within the concepts and problems of business for profit. It would also avoid or help us to avoid the long period of strife and friction that seems to impend.

Dont bother to acknowledge this pipe dream

Robert S. Lynd

TELEPHONE, WHITEHALL DIST.

Lothian  
SEYMOUR HOUSE,  
17, WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.1.

13th February 1933.

My dear Flexner,

You asked what I thought your Institute ought to consider in the field of government and economics. In my view two aspects of what is really one problem, the reconciliation or synthesis between socialism and individualism and between the national state and world government.

These are the two issues which, consciously and subconsciously are in human thought today, in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia alike. We shall not get to our new order until we find the answers to this world questioning.

To be more precise. Most thinking people, today, realise that both laissez faire and communism are extremes. There is a field and a growing field within which the political state, actuated by public opinion, restrains individual *economic* enterprise by law, protects the individual worker and shareholder against the evils of unrestrained competition, and in some degree plans the collective life of the community. There is also a field in which individualist competition must be given free play, both as the spur to progress, as the condition of virile character and initiative, and because universal regimentation is both beyond human capacity (and



tolerance) to-day and bad for the independence and spirit of man. Where is the dividing line? How far can state planning, state regulation, state management, state taxation replace the automatic balancing of supply and demand through the price system? If you go too far, not only may you impair human character but you will certainly break down democracy as we have known it. Our institutions have been developed to perform political functions. If you give them economic responsibility as well they will break down (as in Russia and Italy) and you will find yourself in the hands of dictatorship, political as well as economic. Is the day of democracy over, or is its prestige failing because we are overloading <sup>Parliaments</sup> ~~it~~ with economics?

Then we enter the second problem. As the outcome of the world war progressive opinion has come to recognise the necessity of balancing national sovereignty with international sovereignty. It has begun to do so in the League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact, the International Labour Office and the Disarmament Conference. These are only a beginning because vested interests are strong and the patriotism of humanity is a plant of slow growth. On the political side the road forward seems to me to strengthen and develop the institutions already in being. But so far the international movement has scarcely touched economics. Nationalism in tariffs, debts, subsidies, embargoes etc., is stronger rather than weaker than ever before. Because of the lack of any



economic covenant of nations every state is inflicting terrible wounds on every other state, which not only force these states (as with armaments) to retaliate, but to interfere with the <sup>internal</sup> ~~national~~ economic life by subsidies, quotas, equalisation and price raising schemes, which both dislocate the working of the economic system and overburden the governmental machinery of the state itself. The depression to-day is not due to the breakdown of capitalism, so called. There is no reason why it should not function f~~or~~ more successfully in this century than in the last, for the vast majority of the 2000,000,000 of humanity are still utterly poverty stricken and modern labour saving machinery is no more devastating to older methods than were the factory or the discovery of electricity. Moreover through factory acts, insurance against old age, sickness and unemployment, and taxation of large incomes, the grosser evils of the industrial revolution were beginning to disappear. But capitalism is not being allowed to work, for it depends upon free play in the market and national ~~interferences~~, external and internal, are increasingly throwing it out of gear. The depression is fundamentally caused by the maladjustment of supply and demand artificially caused by political action, by tariffs, subsidies, embargoes, and in some respects by ill advised taxation and trades-union action.

The economic problem, i.e. socialism v. individualism, is therefore inextricably mixed up with the political international problem. If we are to rise to a higher civilisation it will be

- 4 -

because we discover the true division of function both between individual initiative and socialism and between nationalism and world government. I hope your institute will discover it!

*P.S. It was nice seeing you again.*

*From Lord Lothian (Philip Kerr)*

Dr. Abraham Flexner,  
150 East 72nd Street,  
NEW YORK.

February 26, 1933.

My dear Lord Lothian:

I have your extremely interesting letter of February 15th, and I want to thank you most heartily for taking the time, in the midst of a busy life, that was required for the preparation of this memorandum. I am getting similar memoranda from a number of thinking people, and I hope very much that by next autumn I can put them in the hands of a small group who will have the competency and the leisure to study the problems and the suggestions and publish something that will command public attention and approval.

I wish I could feel that the incoming administration was going to be brave and wise. The whole Roosevelt family has been positively silly. Of the suggested cabinet the only one who has made a general reputation for absolute honesty and fairness is the Attorney General, Mr. Walsh. Persons who know the new Secretary of State speak well of him. He is on record as favoring the League and reduction of tariffs. The new Congress, containing as it does so large a number of utterly untried men, may or may not prove competent. All will depend upon Mr. Roosevelt's intelligence and fairness and indifference to reelection.

I shall not be coming over this spring, but I shall, I think, go abroad in the course of the next winter. Meanwhile, Not improbably,

The Marquess of Lothian

February 28, 1933.

- 2 -

I may have something further regarding which I should like your counsel.

With all good wishes and very deep appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

The Marquess of Lothian  
Seymour House  
17, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1  
London, England

AF/NCE

Lord Lothian

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Jan 23

1933

Dear Mr. Resner,

I am over for a flying  
visit to the D.T.A. a formal  
business & hope to be in  
New York for two or three  
days before I sail on  
the night of Feb. 5<sup>th</sup>. I  
should very much like to

RECEIVED AT PRINCE  
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, N. J.

have a talk with you,  
especially about your new  
instructions, before I return.

I'll get into touch with  
you <sup>when</sup> before I reach  
New York

Yours  
Lester

Envelope of

Working papers on

formation of Institute

borrowed by Mrs Stern

Filed under Corpse Vertical

Flexner's dropping  
Article 1/2/130-

Copy. letter to Inst  
back envelope



April 10 - June 10

Dr. Jastrow's Secretary, Miss Lois Steff  
National Aeronautics and Space Administration  
Silver Spring, Maryland  
DU 2-6145 8719 Colesville Road

(Alban Towers  
3700 Massachusetts Ave.  
Wash. 16, D.C.)

Charge: Personal  $\left. \begin{matrix} 25 \\ 15 \end{matrix} \right\} \left. \begin{matrix} 15 \\ 25 \end{matrix} \right\} \text{air}$

About June 15 - Leiden

June 16 — July 23 Denmark

July 26 — about August Palomar  
Sept. 25th, about.

Mont Wilson and Palomar Observatories  
813 Santa Barbara Street  
Pasadena, California

until July 23:

Observatoriet, Østervoldgade 3, Copenhagen K, Denmark