Beatrice Stern research files Wertical Files, Box 5, W
From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATIONS

Foundations

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Relations WOAI

COLUMBIA

HARVARD

OXFORD

GENERAL (HUNTINGTON LIBRARY)

WRIGHT, LOUIS B.

Biographical

AYDELOTTE, F.

The source of this note is D. File, American Civilization Study, which was initiated in correspondence between Kraxman Aydelotte and Wright. Originally the idea was Wright's writing from Huntington Library in 1941. It did not take rapidly, and there was a period of jockeying around. Dodds of Princeton was very much interested, and so also was Professor Chinard,

Professor of French at Princeton University. The original plan contemplated a group of seminars. Earle of the Institute was enthusiastic for a while about the seminars, but whether he became disinterested, or whether his work for the MWXXXXXXXX United States Navy during the war actually interrupted his concentration on the seminars is an open question. He did not pursue it. Ultimately, Stewart and Warren took it up. Ultimately, also, Aydelotte, who had secured a promise from Louis Bamberger of \$75,000 to finance the seminars for one year on the basis of the budget; /died. Aydelotte at first is not dubious about what is in his will, but later on he says that since the legacy is only residual, it will not be possible to count upon it for the \$75,000. As will be apparent from the file, the Rockefellet Foundation firmly rejected aid twice, and caused Aydelotte to endeavor to make the seminars a cooperative effort as between the various universities involved. There is no evidence that the seminars were ever held or that the program materialized. The file simply shows that the subject spun out into nothing at the end of 1944.

DxRitexxamericanxCivilizationxStudy

(Memo continued)

(Could it have been that Wright promoted the seminars with the idea of strengthening his position with the Huntington Trustees. Correspondence at the beginning of the subject indicates that he needs strengthening with his Trustees, and is not sure of his position. In the middle of the discussions, he akks Aydelotte to reassure his trustees as to the importance of the project.)

Documents on this subject are filed with this note in the Vertical File under "W" for Wright, Louis B.

D File, American Civilization Study

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION 49 West 49th Street New York 20

September 30, 1943

Dear Aydelotte:

I am sorry to be negative a second time in replying to your letter of September 18 on assurances for the second year of your new project. The circumstances, in general are as before. In spite of your hope to have free funds for the first year, I could not forecast what will be the possibilities for review of the matter a year from now. That, I feel, is impracticable for me personally to do, and something that would be unusual in practice for the Foundation. Any later discussion ought to start de novo, in the light of current circumstances.

Though these comments do not help to clear the way for a two-year program, I hope that the last two weeks have developed in prospects that you did not foresee when you last wrote to me. As before, I am ready to write further on the general subject or to discuss it at any time. I am sure that talks with others from the proposed group of workers would have added little to clear accounts given me by you and Earle. I appreciate all that was done to give me background on the entire matter.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) David H. Stevens

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey
DHS: MPB

September 23, 1943

Dear McIlwain:

In our discussions at various times we have made out a list of topics, without taking the trouble to formulate them very precisely. When I made application to the Rockefeller Foundation for funds for this study they asked for such a list and Earle and I drew one up rather hastily. I was never satisfied with it, but Chinard and I have today somewhat revised it. I enclose a copy of the list in its revised form, which is yet far from final. I should be grateful if you would go over it and re-phrase it in any way that occurs to you and give me any comments or amplifications which you think of which would make the list clearer to officials of a foundation.

Earle and I made a tentative budget for the study for two years of \$75,000 a year, in addition to which we should have some substantial assistance from Princeton University. I have a pledge of half this amount provided I can find the other half from some other source. I was in hopes that I could get it from the Rockefeller Foundation, but their first reaction was negative. Dr. Stevens has, however, offered to discuss the matter with me further and I am trying to prepare some more convincing material for him.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Prof. Charles H. McIlwain 43 Village Rola Road Belmont, Massachusetts

FA/MCE

COPY

September 18, 1943

Dear Stevens:

I am deeply disappointed to receive your letter of September 16th and particularly regret that you should have reached an unfavorable decision without an opportunity of talking with some of the scholars who will be particularly active in the project. I blame myself for not having arranged this.

Under the circumstances I do not know whether the pledge of \$75,000 which I received will hold good or not, but if it does and if we should start work on the project, is there any chance that the Foundation would consider supporting it for a second year provided the results of the first year's work were sufficiently impressive?

If we started work on such a plan it would probably be wise to restrict the scale of the whole project so that the amount involved would not be so large. I do not want to seem importunate, but if this proposal is in the range of possibility I should like to come over to discuss it with you. I think it might easily happen that the carrying through of this project would be the most important thing ever done at the Institute.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Dr. David H. Stevens The Rockefeller Foundation 49 West 49th Street New York City

FA/MCE

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION 49 West 49th Street New York 20

September 16, 1943

My dear Aydelotte:

I now am due to send you a general negative on the part of the Rockefeller Foundation on the informal request for participation over two years in a project of the Institute for Advanced Study on fundamentals of American civilization. This is indicated in spite of the extraordinarily fine news that you now have in sight a conditional pledge of one-half the \$150,000 desired for the plan over two years. I believe that my notes on conversations and the two memoranda explaining the project provided a good basis for examining this proposal with reference to the programs and plans of the Foundation. As always with unusually promising proposals, I regret that favorable action is not possible and simultaneously wish them the fullest measure of success.

I shall be happy to talk with you on this particular matter or any other in the range of humanistic work. As I know your plans are in the making, I think it best to send word now by letter rather than delay for a talk.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) David H. Stevens

Mr. Frank Aydelotte, Director Institute for Advanced Study Princetoh, New ersey

September 3, 1943

Dr. David Stevens
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 W. 49th Street
New York City

Dear Stevens:

I enclose the tabulation of possible topics which I promised you over the telephone. The whole study is an attempt to explore the ways in which America is an outpost of Europe and to study the changes which European ideas have undergone in their new setting on this side of the Atlantic and the very interesting cultural lag which extended in some cases from the 16th to the 18th century. It ought to lead to a truer, more fruitful and more modest conception of American civilization.

The plan on which we propose to work is one of broad synthesis as versus the dry as dust elaboration of detail which is the curse of research in humanistic subjects at the present time. Obviously it is the kind of study which is not worth making unless it is made by first-rate individuals. The more I think about it the more I am impressed with the immense possibilities of its effect on humanistic scholarship in this country and on liberal education in the postwar world.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure

FA-

10 August 1943

Memorandum for Professor Earle:

Here is a tentative budget for the study of the fundamentals of American civilisation:

Professorial salaries

	Wright Nicolson McIlwain Toynbee or Tawney	10,000 10,000 12,000 12,000	844,000
Stipends			15,000
Wiscellaneous	Reference books Secretarial assistance Travel and enter- tainment	5,000 5,000	15.000
			374.000

At this rate the seminar for two years would cost about \$150,000, over and above our present budget. Your salary is, of course, included in the Institute budget, and I assume from the interest which President Dodds has expressed that Princeton University would take care of Chinard and other members of the Princeton faculty who would cooperate. In addition President Dodds has promised to make available some funds for stipends. We should furthermore expect that some members of the seminar might secure fellowships from the Gusgenheim Poundation or other similar sources.

PRANK AYDELOTTE

Fundamentals of American Civilization

European Ideas in American Environment: English and European thought in the 16th and 17th centuries and the transit of ideas to 18th century America

- Concepts of liberty, both political liberty and freedom of thought
- 2. Religion, not merely Puritanism, but also Methodism and the Anglican and Catholic traditions
- 3. The classical heritage
- 4. Social reform, equalitarianism and natural rights
- 5. Concepts of property
- 6. Legal and political thought
- 7. Impact and applications of scientific thought
- 8. Travel and exploration
- 9. Theories of education
- 10. Social behavior; concept of a gentleman

A Program for the Investigation and Interpretation of the Fundamentals of American Civilization

[Mr. Aydelotte:

The rough draft below is intended to serve as the basis for discussion of the kind of preliminary statement that we might draw up. I thought it was desirable to group the topics in the original list that you sent me in main divisions that indicated a somewhat greater unity.

December 8, 1943

Louis B. Wright]

At a time when the United States must irrevocably put aside the illusion of isolation from the rest of the world, the study of the background of American civilization has a peculiar value and significance. In our traditional interpretations of the development of American life and institutions, a proper sense of historical perspective has been too often lacking. Schoolboys sometimes never learn that anything occurred between the Creation and the Discovery of America. And adult American historians in the past, more often than not, have given the impression that a great nation arose on this continent by spontaneous generation.

The necessity of a broader and more profound understanding of the bases of American culture is now recognized throughout the historical profession. During the past two decades considerable progress has been made in the exploration of peripheral fields previously ignored. More and more, scholars are turning to the investigation of those subjects which help explain the evolution of American patterns of thought and behavior.

Believing that a new appraisal of heritages from the European past will make possible a better understanding and interpretation of contemporary American life, the Institute for Advanced Study and Princeton University propose to organize a Seminar for the study of this background and its implications.

Americans in their study of history often become so preoccupied with the rise of a new nation that they forget that the English colonies in North America represent the continuation of ancient streams of culture, not merely English but Continental as well. Frequently modified by new conditions, sometimes almost transformed, these cultural legacies—like the political institutions which the settlers brought with them—gave the colonies social, intellectual, and spiritual stability and enabled them to build rapidly on secure foundations.

From the very start, the colonies were a melting pot of ideas and a meeting place of varied modes of life. Prompted by the spirit of adventure, the hope of bettering their fortunes, or the desire for freedom of worship, men came from every social rank, from almost every creed and religion, and from many nationalities. Predominant of course were the British elements—English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish—but important too were French, Spanish, Dutch, German, and other Continental groups, each of whom brought distinctive characteristics which survived in America.

The North European tide from the Atlantic seaboard was not the only stream of culture that requires examination, though one sometimes gets the impression from historical treatises that the conquest of the North American continent was almost entirely a projection from the Atlantic westward. On the contrary, two other great cultural groups exerted a vast influence upon the country. Across the southern border to Louisiana, into the great arid plains of the west, and eventually along the Pacific coast, the Spaniards filtered and left a permanent mark. From the St. Lawrence, along the Mississippi and its tributaries, the French established themselves and their record became a part of the tradition of the country.

In New Orleans, Spanish, French, and British influences flowed together.

In the two centuries between the settlement at Jamestown and Jefferson's Embargo (which accelerated the development of independent industries in the United States), Europeans gradually became Americans—a people characterized by a manner of life which put a premium on independence, individualism, enterprise, daring, courage, and fair play. Frontier conditions tended to emphasize these qualities, and to stimulate certain other traits not so enviable: lawlessness, land hunger, and ruthless greed.

In a classic answer to the rhetorical question, What is an American?, Hector St. John De Crèvecoeur in 1782 replied: "He is either a European or the descendant of a European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones, from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry which began long since in the east. They will finish the great circle."

But the new American did not leave behind him "all his ancient prejudices and manners," as De Crèvecoeur imagines, nor did he immediately acquire "new ones from the new mode of life" that he embraced. The process by which the European became an American was slow, and it represented a modification and a subtle transformation of the stock of ideas which he brought with him. To understand the characteristics displayed by Americans in later periods of history, one must comprehend more fully the customs, habits, traditions, and ways of thinking which De Crèvecoeur suggests that the immigrant discarded.

Since the British influence, politically and socially, was predominant in the first two centuries of American life, the study of the British background in this period is of immense importance. Although books by the hundreds have been written about colonial America, and about the England which produced the settlers, the truth is that we have as yet a very inadequate understanding of intellectual and social history in this period, are either for England or America, and many of the older studies/based on the most superficial investigation. The scientific study of the transit of ideas to America is still in its infancy.

The state of our knowledge of legal history illustrates this need.

That the traditions of English law profoundly influenced American life is a commonplace in the history books, but yet to be written are comprehensive treatises on the way those traditions took root in this country, and the manner in which they were modified. Legal histories are available, it is true, but most of them are written from the point of view of the professional lawyer, and they treat law as an abstraction divorced from the realities of everyday life. A book, for example, on the influence of the English common law in the development of American ideas of liberty would have great value if it were written for the comprehension of laymen, or for scholars other then members of the legal profession.

Investigations of the transmission to this continent of English and Continental attitudes toward manners, morals, learning, and law are seriously needed. In some cases, we cannot generalize about the transit of such ideas

because we know too little about them in their European milieu. Much new ground, therefore, remains to be broken before we can cultivate the American field.

The Seminar will follow a comprehensive program for the study of European influences upon America in the period before the Industrial Revolution. It expects to investigate English and Continental thought of the Renaissance—the intellectual background of the first settlers. It also plans to examine the changes in Renaissance thought which took place in the seventeenth century, and the qualities of the eighteenth century which were especially influential in their colonial repercussions.

The completion of a program of this kind will require a long period of time. Indeed, such studies, in the very nature of learning, can never be "complete" in the sense of being finished. But the Seminar will try to chart a way through what has been a wilderness in which woodsmen from time to time have felled trees but have blazed no definite trails. If it can mark out pathways which lead to precise destinations, its work will be worthwhile.

Some of the broad fields in which fresh research and new interpretations are needed may be suggested by the following topics. Many books and
monographs have already been written, of course, on some of these subjects,
but a reappraisal of most of them is believed to be necessary, particularly
in relation to the transfer of influences from the old to the New World.

In a few instances, a study of the influence of the New upon the old World
would clearly yield valuable results. The topics given here are not meant
to stand for titles of prospective monographs but merely to suggest in
general terms fields for profitable investigation. The list might be
expanded and subdivided almost indefinitely.

I. The Legal Heritage

- 1. Ideas of personal liberty
- 2. Ideas of property
- 3. The place of church and state
- 4. Influence of the common law
- 5. Influence of civil law; Continental legal traditions
- 6. The Puritan belief in biblical law (e.g., the first New England codes)
- 7. The adoption of legal and political forms and institutions
- 8. Traditional legal systems in conflict with frontier practices

II. The Heritage of Learning and Literature

- 1. The faith in education
- 2. Secularization of education
- 3. The classical tradition
- 4. Learning as a democratic force
- 5. Education as a nationalistic force (Noah Webster and the Blue Back Spellers, e.g.)
- 6. European learning in a wilderness environment
- 7. The gradual development of higher education
- 8. The growth of libraries, private and public
- Books and their influence. Importation of books.
 The reading public. American publishing
- 10. The growth of a conscious literary interest
- 11. Literary creation; imitation of European models
- 12. The influence of European authors on colonial manners and morals, e.g., sermon writers, political and social philosophers; compilers of conduct books; Milton, Bunyan, Addison, and Steele
- 13. The colonial interest in history and historical writings

III. The Kingdom of God

- 1. The impact of religion on economic views
- 2. Religious dissension as a factor in colonial expansion
- 3. Religious cults and their spread to America
- 4. Influence of frontier conditions on religious belief and practice
- 5. Decay of ritualism and the effect on esthetics
- 6. The conflict between theocracy and democracy
- 7. European ideas of tolerance and intolerance in conflict with frontier life
- 8. Modification and change in sectarian beliefs
- 9. The influence of religion on law; on morals
- 10. The chief sects as social forces: Puritans, Anglicans, Catholics, Quakers, etc.

IV. The Spirit of Science

- The dead hand of the past; surviving medievalism; scholasticism; belief in witchcraft, astrology, alchemy
- The growth of the spirit of scientific skepticism and the development of experimental investigation
- 3. Impact of the New World on geography, botany, zoology, mineralogy, and related subjects
- 4. Colonial participation in European scientific developments.
 Royal Society. Communication between colonials and Europeans
- 5. Applied science in the Old and the New World. Beginning of an interest in new technological processes. Economic results
- 6. Impact of science on political thinking; on religious beliefs
- 7. Science and literature

V. The Inherited Relations of Man in Society

- 1. Codes of conduct: the theory and practice; e.g., the prescriptions of the conduct books as applied in everyday life
- 2. The theory and practice of individual liberty

- 3. The belief in the obligations of the aristocracy; the nature of the gentleman
- Class stratification and the transit of ideas of class to America. Levelling in theory and practice
- 5. The rise of the bourgeoisie, and the spread of bourgeois ideas
- 6. The status of the military caste. From feudal retainer to citizen soldier
- 7. Concept of leadership; contrasting ideals in various countries at various times
- 8. The gospel of work and its manifestation in various locales

VI. Philosophic Legacies

- 1. Theories of the state and man's relation to it
- 2. Political theories and their impact upon political institutions
- 3. The spread of rationalism and its impact upon morality, religion, and politics
- 4. Wan's speculation about nature and the natural world
- 5. Belief in the perfectibility of man; political and social effects
- 6. The cult of the noble savage
- 7. Humanitarianism

VII. The Realm of the Imagination

- 1. Travel and exploration: its stimulation of European imaginations; its intellectual repercussions
- The return to the past; renewed interest in the historical past. Individual interest in genealogy. Romantic notions of the ancient and medieval world
- 3. Man's esthetic aspirations; the manifestation of the artistic spirit: music, art, and architecture
- 4. The gradual emergence of a romantic attitude toward the Indians; popularity of the notion of descent from Ten Lost Tribes. Conflict between the idea of Indians as children of the devil and children of light

WEYL, HELENE Biographical
"In Memoriam Helene Weyl."

Filed in Vertical File under "W" for Weyl.

IN MEMORIAM

HELENE WEYL

Achim at the Hemorial Service for Hella, September 9, 1948.

Dear Friends: We thank you that you have gathered in mourning to take leave of Hella. It has been my father's wish that on this occasion you be told in simple narrative of her life.

Hella, Friederike Bertha Helene Joseph, was born in 1893 in a twostory brick house, whose wide solid facade joins continuously onto those of its neighbors, in the small town of Ribnitz in Mecklenburg, near the Baltic Sea in what is now the Russian zone of Germany. Her father was a competent and highly respected country physician whose practice took him on visits near and far over the surrounding countryside and she often accompanied him in his coach or sled. Her mother was an ailing sensitively wrought woman whose precarious and later failing health always made the atmosphere at home somewhat subdued. A younger sister grew up beside her in the parental home and still lives in the house today as wife of a physician who carried on her father's practice. Although the town of Ribnitz as such was far from the main current of contemporary happenings, her father's indomitable mind, thoroughly grounded in the classical humanities, and his active participation in the politics of the province, made his house a gathering and stopping place for public leaders and other interesting people. The atmosphere which shaped her mind was both stimulating and exacting, providing and requiring widely ranging information, imbued with progressive ideas politically and an incisive positivism philosophically.

Hella's ability, apparent at an early age, decided her parents to make it possible for her to prepare herself for university studies. In Recklenburg, then the most backward of the German provinces, this road was

still closed to women. Thus she was sent at the age of 14 to a pension in Berlin, where she attended the gymnasium, one of just a few girls among swarms of boys. Then 18 she received her diploma and was ready to enter a university. During her 4 years at Berlin she became enthralled with the theater. Lany an hour she spent backstage, getting acquainted with most of the theatrical stars of that time, when instead she probably should have been studying or sleeping: - a preoccupation not without its dangers, but the young girl intent only on the drama and its presentation proved herself immune against all temptations of this milieu. Hella has always retained a lively interest for the theater, and has participated much later in the performances of the Community Players here at Princeton.

Her first semester of university work she did at Rostock, the university nearest her home town, taking courses in philology and history. At that time she came in contact with Edmund Husserl's phenomenology, a philosophy which at a stroke captivated her agile mind. Already the next semester found her enrolled as a philosophy student at Göttingen where Husserl was then teaching. Her minor was mathematics. At the house of a Göttingen professor, a friend of Hella's parents, she met a few month later a young Privat-dozent, into whose classroom she had strayed at the beginning of the term in search of the meeting place of her calculus course, and to whom she had listened, even after discovering her mistake, for the entire hour with growing fascination. The two now saw each other frequently and were soon joined by a second couple; - Erich Hecke, then Hilbert's assistant, and Helga Unruh; -together they formed an inseparable four-leaf-clover. Hecke married Helga and Hermann Hella on the same day in the fall of 1913, 35 years ago.

Her marriage ended Hella's studies at Göttingen for she followed

her husband to Zürich where he had just accepted a professorship at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule. A more beautiful city in which to begin one's married life can hardly be imagined. My parents, however, did not find it easy at first to adapt themselves to the new atmosphere and in a few respects the acclimatization was to take the better part of the seventeen years they lived in Zürich. It was not its basically democratic aspect which they soon learned to appreciate, but the patrician tradition within narrow confines which made the native Züricher society so inaccessible to newcomers. Yet they were a happy couple and in good time they succeeded in making close and lasting friends among the native Swiss as well as among the other foreigners. During her first year in Zürich, Hella must have had a very carefree life: Household worries were few for she had been provided from home with an excellent cook. The young couple shared all of their activities. Hella's first winter's skiing in the Alps proved an exhilerating, even if overwhelming experience. She continued taking courses in mathematics, but the arrival of her first son put an end to this. In the future she used to listen gladly when my father told her in general terms of the mathematical ideas occupying him or common friends, but would no longer ask for detailed mathematical explanations. She is to have said once that it was not nice to be reminded of a building which had been abandoned after barely rising from its fundaments and which is now crumbling in wind and rain. It has remained up to the final months the only phase of Hella's life to which this saying could possibly apply.

My parents were vacationing in Göttingen when the outbreak of the first world war was imminent. They hurried back to Zürich, and in the next year, two months after my birth, my father was drafted into the German Army.

Hella ultimately followed him to Saarbrücken where he was stationed until, in the spring of 1916, the Swiss Government obtained his release. It must have been an hour of unimaginable joy to my parents when they returned in May to the beautiful and peaceful town of Lürich, and took again their first walk along its shining lake.

Then, in the fall of the following year, my brother Michael was born.

Zurich was then a cosmopolitan city. Its theater life flourished.

Hella herself took part in performance of a Euripides tragedy; it was during and after rehearsals that she became acquainted with Yvonne, then a student at the university, who in the course of the years has become the family's best and closest friend. Reunited with us after the turbulent years of the second world war, it was Yvonne who nursed her during the final difficult months. -- Hella, thus, gained access to a lively circle of actors, writers and other intellectuals who had sought temporary refuge in Switzerland; they were blown to the four winds at the end of the war. It was also in these years that Hella learned the joys of long hiking tours through the Swiss mountains. However, she did not take up real mountain climbing at that time; only much later, in the course of summers during the second world war, Hella took to mountaineering proper under the guidance of Reinhold Baer; but this was in the Rockies, not in the Alps.

The post-war years were hard ones also in Switzerland: Hella was not spared the experience of running her household on little money that would buy even less. But in the early twenties, conditions began to improve.

A new world was opened to Hella when in 1923 she went together with her husband for three months to Spain where he was to lecture at Barcelona and Madrid. The storm-tossed voyage on a small steamer from Hamburg to

Malaga, -- the first impact of the glowing magic of the Mediterranean landscape, were unforgettable, often retold, experiences. And the connections
which hella made there turned out to be of decisive significance. She became
so attached to Spain that she turned her back on mathematics for good and
took up the study of romance languages, especially Spanish. She came to know
the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset, and upon her return to Zürich, she
began to translate a number of his books into German. She has made several
more visits to Spain, a few times alone, and once more in 1934, together with
her husband, after they had settled here in Princeton.

Although she later translated into German also books by Jeans and Eddington, her role as one of the interpreters of Ortega to the non-Spanish world is Hella's outstanding literary achievement. She was attracted not only by his philosophical thought, which is rooted in the same phenomenological school in which Hella received her early training, but even more by Ortega's brilliant style. She made it her task to find its match in German, retaining the elegance, the scintillating, wilful imagery, and even some of the characteristic Spanish flavor without doing violence to the German language in letter or in spirit. English translations had followed her German ones, especially of the 'Revolt of The Masses', which also in this country aroused interest in wider circles. Ortega's name was, therefore, no longer unknown here when Hella herself, after having come to Princeton, tackled the difficult task of translating into English a number of collections of essays which she had selected herself. That she succeeded also in this undertaking was due partly to her fine and schooled ear for languages, which was remarkable even in matters of this most recently acquired tongue, but also to her tireless and disciplined work habits.

For five more years my father kept faith with Zürich, and they were certainly five years of contentment and happiness for Hella. Lany of the lasting friendships which tied her to Zürich until the very end were fully established during this period; and the town, too, showed us its friendliest face as we saw it from the balcony of our apartment high on the southern slope of the Zürichberg overlooking town and lake with the distant mountains beyond. Also from this time come my first own impressions of Hella as my mother. It is true that on account of her manifold activities, we her children enjoyed less of her company than children of that age generally have of their mothers'. But Hella's children meant more and more to her as they grew up into independent and intelligent beings. From those last years in Zürich onward, Hella became to us a mother not easily matched again in spirit or personality, as well as in loving and tolerant understanding.

Hella was introduced to this country in the course of a year's stay at Princeton during the academic year of 1928-29, and many who became her friends then have remained it to this day. After the year in the United States, there followed one final year in Zürich. The onset of more turbulent times was felt also by my parents: they lost their small fortune accumulated during the years in Switzerland, and with it vanished Hella's dream of her own house on the Zürichberg.

She left Zürich in the fall of 1930, going again to Göttingen, where my father had accepted the then vacated chair of David Hilbert. This must certainly have been a kind of homecoming for Hella, and at first her life there was one of happy activity, socially as well as intellectually, for she had never quite given up believing that this was the atmosphere into which she belonged. But slowly this joy was turned to wormwood. Germany was then

quivering on the brink of Nazism, which, besides its poignant menace to her very person, incorporated everything in its ideology which was anathema to her thinking, -- all the stupidity and vulgarity which throughout her life were the object of her scorn and intolerant contempt. The winter months 1932/33, during which it became apparent that my parents would have to leave Göttingen, were a deep crisis in Hella's life. Her mother died then, and she herself fell ill with a severe grippe, -- the last time she was to take to her bed before her final illness.

In the fall of 1933, Hella came with all of us to this country for good, and the next fifteen years were again very happy ones for her. Many of you will remember the zest and undaunted confidence with which she set about the difficult task of building a new life for herself and her family here in Princeton. She certainly felt that already after a year she had been accepted more fully here than after seventeen in the reserved atmosphere of Switzerland. In 1938, she built this, her house, and it will remain Hella's house to all of us as long as it stands. From her desk she maintained an extensive correspondence: she excelled as a letter writer. The exacting intellectual work of her translations was done there, too. Over house and garden she watched with indefatigable care, putting in many an hour of hard labor. Guests and visitors, whom she entertained, always found that she would turn smalltalk very soon into a conversation where what interested them most was being discussed intelligently and with lively understanding on Hella's part. It was characteristic of her who seemed forever young that she kept always in touch with youth, and among her personal friends were members of her children's generation whose lives she followed with interest and whose intellectual adventures she shared and deepened.

After the serious operation which Hella had to undergo in the spring of last year and from which she outwardly recovered once more completely, it was granted her to spend one more summer in her beloved Zürich and in the Swiss mountains. Intensively she enjoyed the reunion with her old friends after the separation of the long war years, and with cheerful eagerness she began to mend again the far-flung web of her life. Yet for Hella it was to be a leavetaking. Her last illness overtook her in May of this year, and still in the final months she impressed those who saw her by the innate strength of her personality and the luminosity of her spirit, even as they were failing. It is fall again, the season which so often in Hella's life has brought an end and new beginning; up to this last one, which has broken through the bonds of individual existence. It may be presumption to say that her life was blessed by God, but it surely was a blessing for all of us, -- and many a one who met her has taken with him from such meeting some light, some joy and confidence to accompany him on his road.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE VON HELENE WEYL

(Abkürzungen: * = Bücher. NZZ = Neue Zürcher Zeitung. DV = Deutsche Verlagsanstalt Stuttgart-Berlin.)

Eigene Arbeiten.

Gedruckt:

- Andalusische Reiseblätter, 1.2. NZZ, 29. Juni, 1. Juli 1923. Nrs. 885, 891. Cf. 7.
- Die Ausgrabungen in den Kalifenschlössern bei Cordoba,
 NZZ. 3. Aug. 1923. Nr. 1055.
- 3. "Die Macht des Schicksals." [Kurze Notiz über die spanische Vorlage des Textbuches der Verdi'schen Oper.] NZZ,
 4. April 1926. No. 541.
- 4. Unterwegs. 1 5. NZZ, 14. 20. April 1930, Nrs. 722 762.
- 5. Die "Residencia de Señoritas". NZZ, 3. Juni 1932, No. 1031.
- 6. José Ortega y Gasset. Kölnische Zeitung, 17. Juli 1932.
 No. 385.

Manuskripte.

- 7. Aufzeichnungen über unsere erste Spanienreise. Cf. 1.
- 8. Hochzeit. Eine Novelle.
- 9. Hyazinthus. Eine lyrische Szene.
- 10. Anfang und Material zu einer Novelle ohne Titel.
- 11. Das Inkareich in Peru, ein sozialistischer Staat. Vortrag.

Uebersetzungen Ortega y Gasset's.

Gedruckte Uebersetzungen ins Deutsche.

*12. Der Austand der Lassen. DV.

- *13. Die Aufgabe unserer Zeit. DV. Enthält ausserdem:

 Die Vertreibung des Menschen aus der Kunst. Gedanken

 über den Roman. Atlantiden.
- *14. Stern und Unstern. DV. Enthält: Von Madrid nach Asturien. Theorie Andalusiens. Aufbau und Zerfall einer Nation.

 Meditation im Eskorial. Tagebuch einer Sommerfahrt.
- *15. Buch des Betrachters. DV. Enthält: Kosmopolitismus.

 Reform der Intelligenz. Phrase und Aufrichtigkeit. Die
 beiden grossen Metaphern. Vitalität, Seele, Geist.

 Kant, oder über die Psychologie einer Philosophie. Anhang
 zu meinem Aufsatz"Kant". Um einen Goethe von innen bittend.

 Hegels Philosophie der Geschichte und die Historiologie. Cf. 22.
- *16. Ueber die Liebe. DV. 1933. Enthält: Vom Einfluss der Frau auf die Geschichte [übersetzt von Fritz Ernst]. Betrachtungen vor dem Porträt der Marquesa de Santillana. Schema Salomes.

 Meditation über den Rahmen. Züge der Liebe (Ein Fragment).

 Schweigen, das grosse Brahman.
- 17. Kunstapathie. Neue Schweizer Rundschau 19, 1926, 867 -872.
- 18. Die Ethik der Griechen. Neue Schweizer Rundschau 20, 1927, 330 340.
- 19. Oknos der Seilflechter. Basler Nachrichten, Sonntagsblatt
 Nr. 40, 2. Okt. 1927.
- 20. Randbemerkungen zu einem Hemoirenbuch. NZZ, 1. Spt. 1929, Nr. 1671.
- 21. Der Sinn der politischen Umwälzung in Spanien. Europäische Revue 7, 1931, 564 568.

- 22. Um einen Goethe von innen bittend, Die neue Rundschau 1932, 551 570. [Mit vielen handschriftlichen Verbesserungen!]

 Cf. 15.
- 23. Die Wiederbelebung der Provinz. Kölnische Zeitung, 20.
 März 1932. Nr. 159.
- 24. Goethe, der Befreier. 1,2. NZZ, 20. und 27. März 1932, Nrs. 530 und 575.
- 25. Geld. Kölnische Zeitung, 17. Juli 1932, Nr. 385.
- 26. Ueber die Vereinigten Staaten. Europäische Revue 9, 1933, 353 360.
- 27. Die Sendung des Bibliothekars. Europäische Revue 11, 1935, 584 599.
- 28. Die Lage der Wissenschaft und die historische Vernunft.

 Neue Schweizer Rundschau 1935, 321 335.
- 29. Von der Lebensfunktion der Ideen. Europaische Revue 13, 1937, 40 51.
- 30. Zum "Aufstand der Massen" (Vorwort für die französische Ausgabe). Berner "Bund", 30. Jan. 1938.

Gedruckte Uebersetzungen ins Englische.

- *31. Toward a Philosophy of History. W.W.Norton 1941. Contains:

 The sportive origin of the State. Unity and diversity

 of Europe [transl. by Eleanor Clark]. Man the Technician.

 History as a System [transl. by Prof. Atkinson]. The Argentine and the Argentinean State.
- *32. Concord and Liberty. W.W.Norton 1946. Contains: Concord and Liberty. Notes on Thinking its Creation of the world

- and its Creation of God. Prologue to a History of Philosophy.

 A chapter from the History of Ideas Wilhelm Dilthey and the Idea of Life.
- *33. The dehumanization of art and Notes on the novel.

 Princeton University Press 1948.
- 34. Kant and the modern German mind. The Yale Review 31, 1941, 95 115.

Manuskripte.

- 35. Geschichte als System.
- 36. Mirabeau, oder über den Politiker.
- 37. Mittelmeerkultur.
- 38. Prolog für Deutsche.
- 39. Zum Kapitel der Volkstracht (Handschrift).

Andere Uebersetzungen aus dem Spanischen.

Gedruckte Uebersetzungen ins Deutsche.

- *40. Pedro de Alarcón, Der Dreispitz. Insel-Bucherei Nr. 223.
- 41. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Der Cid in der Geschichte. "Iberia" 5. 24 Seiten.
- 42. Cervantes, Der eifersüchtige Estremadurer, 1-9. NZZ, 30. Sept. 9. Okt. 1924, Nrs. 1452 1504,
- 43. Azorin, Eine Flöte in der Nacht. Das Kunstblatt 1925, 84 86.
- 44. Pedro de Alarcón, Der Fischzug. NZZ, 24. Mai 1925, Nr. 806.
- 45. Ramón Lenéndez Pidal, Das Nachleben des Cid. NZZ, 27. Sept. 1925. Nr. 1500.

- 46. Antonio de Villegas, Die Geschichte von dem Abencerrajen und der schönen Jarifa. Wissen und Leben 18, 1925, 464 478 (Eit vielen handschriftlichen Verbesserungen!) Cf. 57.
- 47. Tirso de Molina, Die drei gefoppten Ehemanner, 1-8.
 NZZ, 28. April 6. Mai 1926, Nrs. 676 -724.
- 48. Benjamin Jarnés, Kurzes Loblied der Mode. NZZ, 28. Aug. 1927, Nr. 1439.
- 49. Pio Baroja, Leben im Schatten. Europäische Revue 3, 1927, 506 511.
- 50. Juan Ramon Jiménez, Platero und Ich, 1.2. NZZ, 27. Mai und 3. Juni 1928. Nrs. 974 und 1010.
- 51. Benjamin Jarnés, Der ewige Fluss, 1-3. NZZ, 18. 20. Sept. 1929. Nrs. 1788, 1793, 1805.
- 52. Benjamin Jarnes, Viviana und Merlin. Europäische Revue 5, 1929, 479 494.
- 53. Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, Die standhafte Cordobesin,
 1-5. (Dem Spanischen nacherzählt von Helene Weyl.)
 NZZ, 23. 26. lärz 1930, Nrs, 542, 547, 559, 565, 572.
- 54. Ramon Perez de Ayala, Die traurige Adriana, 1-6. NZZ, 9. 15. Nov. 1931, Nrs. 2123 2159.

Gedruckte Uebersetzungen ins Englische.

- 55. Francisco Romero, Man and Culture. [Soon to appear.]
- 56. Leopoldo Zea, Porfirism and the Positive Philosophy.

 [Soon to appear.]

Manuskripte.

57. Die Geschichte von Abindarraez und der schönen Jarifa. Hit einem Nachwort über die Geschichte der Novelle. Cf. 46.

58. Federico Garcia Lorca, Bluthochzeit. (Lyrisches Drama.)
Uebersetzungen aus dem Englischen ins Deutsche, oder umgekehrt.

Gedruckt.

- *59. Eddington, Dehnt sich das Jeltall aus? DV 1933
- *60. Jeans, Die neuen Grundlagen der Naturerkenntnis (mit Lothar Northeim). DV. 1934.
- *61. Jeans, Die Wunderwelt der Sterne. DV 1934.
- *62. Jeans, Durch Raum und Zeit. DV 1936.
- 63. Edgar Neville, Die letzten Menschen. Der Querschnitt 9, 1932, 650 654.
- 64. Jeans, Das neue Weltbild der Physik. Europaische Revue 12, 1936, 312 325.
- 65. J.Robert Oppenheimer, Die Physik in der heutigen Welt,
 1 4. MZZ, 19. 26. Mai 1948, Nrs. 1057, 1072, 1081,
 1112.
- 66. Hermann Weyl, Mathematik und die Naturgesetze. Die Tat, Zurich 1948.

Hanuskripte.

- 67. Edgar Neville, Sein einziger Freund.
- 68. Karl Jaspers, Nietzsche and Christianity. Unvollendet.
- 69. Toynbee, Civilization on Trial. Unvollendet, nur ein Kapitel übersetzt.

1942-50

vert file "w"

WEITZMANN, KURT

Biographical

Appointed jointly by Princeton and I. A. S. as permanent-Associate Professor (Research Associate) Rrinceton; Field Medievalist
by I. A. S.--\$5,000 p. a. 1945. 1946 raised by both to \$5,500.
In 1950 made full professor at \$7,000, and in 1952 at \$8,000
I. A. S. partnered. (Weitzmann offered professorship at
University of Vienna. See his letter January 23, 1950 to
Oppenheimer).

Material on this filed in Vertical File under "W" for Weitzmann.

D, Weitzmann

June 6, 1942

Dear Dr. Weitzmann:

I am sorry for the confusion which was occasioned in your mind by this statement of Dr. Flexner's. I consulted him about it last year and have done so again since receiving your recent letter. In reply to my inquiry Dr. Flexner says: "In connection with his reentry permit and later in order to enable his family to come to Princeton he requested an affidavit stating permanent tenure. I thought I made it clear to Weitzmann that "permanent" was for visa purposes only and did not mean lifelong but rather indefinite."

No recommendation was ever made by Dr. Flexner to the Trustees that you should be appointed on permanent tenure, and the present situation is such that the Trustees could not possibly at this moment add to the permanent staff of the Institute. It is for this reason that I have to recommend your appointment year by year on a one-year basis, and I hope that you will not consider that this action indicates any lack of appreciation of the value of the work you are doing. I feel myself a very strong sense of pride in having you as a member of our group and I hear the finest possible things about your work from Panofsky and Morey and indeed from everyone who knows about it.

I have at the same time the responsibility, as Director, of keeping the permanent commitments of the Institute within the limits of the income which we receive from our endowment, and in the uncertain state of investments at the present time it would be impossible for me to recommend to the Trustees any addition, however meritorious, to those permanent commitments.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Dr. Kurt Weitzmann 30 Nassau Street Princeton, New Jersey FA/MCE

June 9, 1942

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

Since Dr. Weitzmann was already affiliated with the Institute before I received my appointment and since most of the correspondence and interviews referred to in your letter of June 6th did not come to my knowledge, I cannot say much about the situation. I was instrumental only in establishing Dr. Weitzmann's position in the Institute as that of Field Mediaevalist. It was then my - and I believe everybody's - understanding that the purpose of this action was precisely to place Dr. Weitzmann's position on a permanent footing and to take him out of the class of persons whose appointment would have to be renewed at regular intervals.

In my understanding, the appointment of Dr. Weitzmann as Field Mediaevalist of the Institute was intended to give him a status comparable to that of the professors except for the amount of salary and a seat on the faculty. To what extent the word "permanent" was used in correspondence referring to the emigration of Weitzmann's family and whether or not it was then used in an "informal" sense is naturally unknown to me.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Erwin Panofsky

Beatrice Stern research files, Vertical Files, Box 5, W From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

May 18, 1942

Dear Walter:

COPY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Department of Art and Archaeology

Merch 18, 1946

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

The University, as you undoubtedly know, is making a general blanket "cost-of-living" increase of salary \$500) to go into effect on July 1st. Br. Kurt Weitzmenn in his new position, half in the Institute and half in Princeton University, is, therefore, entitled to an increase of \$250. I do not, of course, know what plans the Institute has made to meet the rising cost of living, but I am writing to you at President Dodds' suggestion to see if you would be able to make a similar increase for Dr. Weitzmann. You may recall that at the time when we arranged to have both the Institute and the University pay one-half of his salary, we found that with the deductions for a retirement allowance his \$5000 salary was reduced in actual income to very little more than he had been receiving. I can assure you that Dr. Weitzmenn fully deserves any increases that are possible, because he has already proved himself a very able teacher in addition to his reputation as a productive echoler. I am already beginning to be worried for fear Dumberton Caks or some other institution will try to get him away from us.

I realize, in bringing this matter to your attention, that it may open up the rather complicated arrangements that have been worked out for Dr. Weitzmenn, but I do not recall whether we agreed that any future increases in salary for him would be balanced by both institutions.

Very sincerely yours,

E. BALDWIN SMITH

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, N. J.

March 21, 1946

Professor E. Baldwin Smith Department of Art and Archaeology Princeton University Princeton, New Jersey

Deer Professor Smith:

The matter of a possible increase of salary to Dr. Weitzmann of \$250 a year corresponding to a like proposed increase from Princeton University will be considered by a committee recently appointed by the Trustees to study all such questions. It is unlikely that any conclusion will be reached until Dr. Aydelotte returns in May and the Board of Trustees meets in the latter part of May.

It is gratifying to us that you have found Dr. Weitzmann on able teacher as well as a productive scholar. I can assure you the committee will give Dr. Weitzmann most sympathetic consideration.

Very truly yours,

Marston Morse 'Chairman of the Standing Committee

WH:jar

Copy to Miss Miller

CURRICULUM VITAE OF JOSEPHA WEITZMANN-FIEDLER, Dr. Phil.

Born June 27, 1904 in Berlin, Germany, of Russian parents.

- 1915-1924 I attended the Realgymnasium in Berlin.
- 1924-1930 I studied at the University of Berlin. My major fields were History of Art and Classical Archaeology and my minor fields were Mediaeval History and Philosophy. My chief teacher in History of Art was Adolph Goldschmidt and in Classical Archaeology. Ferdinand Noack.
- In 1930

 I received the degree of Dr. Phil. with "cum laude" at the University of Berlin. My thesis was "Die Aktdarstellung in der Malerei vom Ausgang der Antike bis zum Ende des Romanischen Stiles" (written under the supervision of Adolph Goldschmidt and Ferdinand Noack and evaluated "eximia"). This thesis was published in 1934 as Vol. 298 of the series "Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte", Strassburg 1.E.
- 1930-1933 I was an assistant at the Archaeological Seminary and at the Museum of Casts and the Collection of Vases of the University of Berlin.
- I was employed by the "Archaeologische Institut des Deutschen Reiches" helping with the new edition of the "Katalog des Deutschen Reichsinstituts in Rom, Mau-Mercklin-Matz" and working at the Photo-Archive at the Institute.

For eight years I was teaching History of Art and Archaeology privately and guided my classes through the Museums.

- I came to the United States, following my husband, Dr. Kurt Weitzmann, who was called to Princeton in 1935, where he is a member of the Institute for Advanced Study.
- 1941-1943 I attended the New Jersey School of Industrial Art, section: Architecture.
- 1943 I received the Diploma in Architecture.
- 1943 I become a citizen of the United States.
- Since 1930 I continued to do research work in the field of mediaeval book illumination, particularly the history of the Italian bibles of the Romanesque period, a study for which I made two trips to Italy in 1936 and 1937. In 1935 I published an article entitled "Ein Evangelientyp mit Aposteln als Begleitfiguren" in the Festschrift für Adolph Goldschmidt. I am working on bronze vessels with classical subjects in western Mediaeval time.

Besides German, Russian and English, I know French, Italian and Polish.

1948

Vortical file.

9/9

WEYL, HERMAN

Biographical

In memoriam of Helene Weyl.

Filed in Vertifal File under Weyl, Herman, "W"

A File, Hermann Weyl

IN MEMORIAM

HELENE WEYL

Achim at the Memorial Service for Hella, September 9, 1948.

Dear Friends: We thank you that you have gathered in mourning to take leave of Hella. It has been my father's wish that on this occasion you be told in simple narrative of her life.

Hella, Friederike Bertha Helene Joseph, was born in 1893 in a twostory brick house, whose wide solid facade joins continuously onto those of its neighbors, in the small town of Ribnitz in Fecklenburg, near the Baltic Sea in what is now the Russian zone of Germany. Her father was a competent and highly respected country physician whose practice took him on visits near and far over the surrounding countryside and she often accompanied him in his coach or sled. Her mother was an ailing sensitively wrought woman whose precarious and later failing health always made the atmosphere at home somewhat subdued. A younger sister grew up beside her in the parental home and still lives in the house today as wife of a physician who carried on her father's practice. Although the town of Ribnitz as such was far from the main current of contemporary happenings, her father's indomitable mind, thoroughly grounded in the classical humanities, and his active participation in the politics of the province, made his house a gathering and stopping place for public leaders and other interesting people. The atmosphere which shaped her mind was both stimulating and exacting, providing and requiring widely ranging information, imbued with progressive ideas politically and an incisive positivism philosophically.

Hella's ability, apparent at an early age, decided her parents to make it possible for her to prepare herself for university studies. In Recklenburg, then the most backward of the German provinces, this road was

still closed to women. Thus she was sent at the age of 14 to a pension in Berlin, where she attended the gymnasium, one of just a few girls among swarms of boys. Then 18 she received her diploma and was ready to enter a university. During her 4 years at Berlin she became enthralled with the theater. Thany an hour she spent backstage, getting acquainted with most of the theatrical stars of that time, when instead she probably should have been studying or sleeping: - a preoccupation not without its dangers, but the young girl intent only on the drama and its presentation proved herself immune against all temptations of this milieu. Hella has always retained a lively interest for the theater, and has participated much later in the performances of the Community Players here at Princeton.

Her first semester of university work she did at Rostock, the university nearest her home town, taking courses in philology and history. At that time she came in contact with Edmund Husserl's phenomenology, a philosophy which at a stroke captivated her agile mind. Already the next semester found her enrolled as a philosophy student at Göttingen where Husserl was then teaching. Her miner was mathematics. At the house of a Göttingen professor, a friend of Hella's parents, she met a few month later a young Privat-dozent, into whose classroom she had strayed at the beginning of the term in search of the meeting place of her calculus course, and to whom she had listened, even after discovering her mistake, for the entire hour with growing fascination. The two now saw each other frequently and were soon joined by a second couple; - Erich Hecke, then Hilbert's assistant, and Helga Unruh; -together they formed an inseparable four-leaf-clover. Hecke married Helga and Hermann Hella on the same day in the fall of 1913, 35 years ago.

Her marriage ended Hella's studies at Göttingen for she followed

her husband to Zürich where he had just accepted a professorship at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule. A more beautiful city in which to begin one's married life can hardly be imagined. My parents, however, did not find it easy at first to adapt themselves to the new atmosphere and in a few respects the acclimatization was to take the better part of the seventeen years they lived in Zürich. It was not its basically democratic aspect which they soon learned to appreciate, but the patrician tradition within narrow confines which made the native Züricher society so inaccessible to Yet they were a happy couple and in good time they succeeded newcomers. in making close and lasting friends among the native Swiss as well as among the other foreigners. During her first year in Zürich, Hella must have had a very carefree life: Household worries were few for she had been provided from home with an excellent cook. The young couple shared all of their activities. Hella's first winter's skiing in the Alps proved an exhilerating, even if overwhelming experience. She continued taking courses in mathematics, but the arrival of her first son put an end to this. In the future she used to listen gladly when my father told her in general terms of the mathematical ideas occupying him or common friends, but would no longer ask for detailed mathematical explanations. She is to have said once that it was not nice to be reminded of a building which had been abandoned after barely rising from its fundaments and which is now crumbling in wind and rain. It has remained up to the final months the only phase of Hella's life to which this saying could possibly apply.

My parents were vacationing in Göttingen when the outbreak of the first world war was imminent. They hurried back to Zürich, and in the next year, two months after my birth, my father was drafted into the German Army.

Hella ultimately followed him to Saarbrücken where he was stationed until, in the spring of 1916, the Swiss Government obtained his release. It must have been an hour of unimaginable joy to my parents when they returned in May to the beautiful and peaceful town of Lürich, and took again their first walk along its shining lake.

Then, in the fall of the following year, my brother Michael was born.

Zurich was then a cosmopolitan city. Its theater life flourished.

Hella herself took part in performance of a Euripides tragedy; it was during and after rehearsals that she became acquainted with Yvonne, then a student at the university, who in the course of the years has become the family's best and closest friend. Reunited with us after the turbulent years of the second world war, it was Yvonne who nursed her during the final difficult months. -- Hella, thus, gained access to a lively circle of actors, writers and other intellectuals who had sought temporary refuge in Switzerland; they were blown to the four winds at the end of the war. It was also in these years that Hella learned the joys of long hiking tours through the Swiss mountains. However, she did not take up real mountain climbing at that time: only much later, in the course of summers during the second world war, Hella took to mountaineering proper under the guidance of Reinhold Baer: but this was in the Rockies, not in the Alps.

The post-war years were hard ones also in Switzerland: Hella was not spared the experience of running her household on little money that would buy even less. But in the early twenties, conditions began to improve.

A new world was opened to Hella when in 1923 she went together with her husband for three months to Spain where he was to lecture at Barcelona and Hadrid. The storm-tossed voyage on a small steamer from Hamburg to

Malaga, -- the first impact of the glowing magic of the Mediterranean landscape, were unforgettable, often retold, experiences. And the connections
which hella made there turned out to be of decisive significance. She became
so attached to Spain that she turned her back on mathematics for good and
took up the study of romance languages, especially Spanish. She came to know
the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset, and upon her return to Zürich, she
began to translate a number of his books into German. She has made several
more visits to Spain, a few times alone, and once more in 1934, together with
her husband, after they had settled here in Princeton.

Although she later translated into German also books by Jeans and Eddington, her role as one of the interpreters of Ortega to the non-Spanish world is Hella's outstanding literary achievement. She was attracted not only by his philosophical thought, which is rooted in the same phenomenological school in which Hella received her early training, but even more by Ortega's brilliant style. She made it her task to find its match in German, retaining the elegance, the scintillating, wilful imagery, and even some of the characteristic Spanish flavor without doing violence to the German language in letter or in spirit. English translations had followed her German ones, especially of the 'Revolt of The Masses', which also in this country aroused interest in wider circles. Ortega's name was, therefore, no longer unknown here when Hella herself, after having come to Princeton, tackled the difficult task of translating into English a number of collections of essays which she had selected herself. That she succeeded also in this undertaking was due partly to her fine and schooled ear for languages, which was remarkable even in matters of this most recently acquired tongue, but also to her tireless and disciplined work habits.

For five more years my father kept faith with Zürich, and they were certainly five years of contentment and happiness for Hella. Tany of the lasting friendships which tied her to Zürich until the very end were fully established during this period; and the town, too, showed us its friendliest face as we saw it from the balcony of our apartment high on the southern slope of the Zürichberg overlooking town and lake with the distant mountains beyond. Also from this time come my first own impressions of Hella as my mother. It is true that on account of her manifold activities, we her children enjoyed less of her company than children of that age generally have of their mothers. But Hella's children meant more and more to her as they grew up into independent and intelligent beings. From those last years in Zürich onward, Hella became to us a mother not easily matched again in spirit or personality, as well as in loving and tolerant understanding.

Hella was introduced to this country in the course of a year's stay at Princeton during the academic year of 1928-29, and many who became her friends then have remained it to this day. After the year in the United States, there followed one final year in Zürich. The onset of more turbulent times was felt also by my parents: they lost their small fortune accumulated during the years in Switzerland, and with it vanished Hella's dream of her own house on the Zürichberg.

She left Zürich in the fall of 1930, going again to Göttingen, where my father had accepted the then vacated chair of David Hilbert. This must certainly have been a kind of homecoming for Hella, and at first her life there was one of happy activity, socially as well as intellectually, for she had never quite given up believing that this was the atmosphere into which she belonged. But slowly this joy was turned to wormwood. Germany was then

quivering on the brink of Nazism, which, besides its poignant menace to her very person, incorporated everything in its ideology which was anathema to her thinking, -- all the stupidity and vulgarity which throughout her life were the object of her scorn and intolerant contempt. The winter months 1932/33, during which it became apparent that my parents would have to leave Göttingen, were a deep crisis in Hella's life. Her mother died then, and she herself fell ill with a severe grippe, -- the last time she was to take to her bed before her final illness.

In the fall of 1933, Hella came with all of us to this country for good, and the next fifteen years were again very happy ones for her. Many of you will remember the zest and undaunted confidence with which she set about the difficult task of building a new life for herself and her family here in Princeton. She certainly felt that already after a year she had been accepted more fully here than after seventeen in the reserved atmosphere of Switzerland. In 1938, she built this, her house, and it will remain Hella's house to all of us as long as it stands. From her desk she maintained an extensive correspondence: she excelled as a letter writer. The exacting intellectual work of her translations was done there, too. Over house and garden she watched with indefatigable care, putting in many an hour of hard labor. Guests and visitors, whom she entertained, always found that she would turn smalltalk very soon into a conversation where what interested them most was being discussed intelligently and with lively understanding on Hella's part. It was characteristic of her who seemed forever young that she kept always in touch with youth, and among her personal friends were members of her children's generation whose lives she followed with interest and whose intellectual adventures she shared and deepened.

After the serious operation which Hella had to undergo in the spring of last year and from which she outwardly recovered once more completely, it was granted her to spend one more summer in her beloved Zürich and in the Swiss mountains. Intensively she enjoyed the reunion with her old friends after the separation of the long war years, and with cheerful eagerness she began to mend again the far-flung web of her life. Yet for Hella it was to be a leavetaking. Her last illness overtook her in May of this year, and still in the final months she impressed those who saw her by the innate strength of her personality and the luminosity of her spirit, even as they were failing. It is fall again, the season which so often in Hella's life has brought an end and new beginning; up to this last one, which has broken through the bonds of individual existence. It may be presumption to say that her life was blessed by God, but it surely was a blessing for all of us, -- and many a one who met her has taken with him from such meeting some light, some joy and confidence to accompany him on his road.

BIBLIOCRAPHIE VON HELENE WEYL

(Abkürzungen: * = Bücher. NZZ = Neue Zürcher Zeitung. DV = Deutsche Verlagsanstalt Stuttgart-Berlin.)

Eigene Arbeiten.

Gedruckt:

- Andalusische Reiseblätter, 1.2. NZZ, 29. Juni, 1. Juli 1923. Nrs. 885, 891. Cf. 7.
- Die Ausgrabungen in den Kalifenschlössern bei Cordoba,
 NZZ, 3. Aug. 1923. Nr. 1055.
- 3. "Die Macht des Schicksals." [Kurze Notiz über die spanische Vorlage des Textbuches der Verdi'schen Oper.] NZZ,
 4. April 1926. No. 541.
- 4. Unterwegs. 1 5. NZZ, 14. 20. April 1930, Nrs. 722 762.
- 5. Die "Residencia de Señoritas". NZZ, 3. Juni 1932, No. 1031.
- 6. José Ortega y Gasset. Kölnische Zeitung, 17. Juli 1932.
 No. 385.

Manuskripte.

- 7. Aufzeichnungen über unsere erste Spanienreise. Cf. 1.
- 8. Hochzeit. Eine Novelle.
- 9. Hyazinthus. Eine lyrische Szene.
- 10. Anfang und Laterial zu einer Novelle ohne Titel.
- 11. Das Inkareich in Peru, ein sozialistischer Staat. Vortrag.

Uebersetzungen Ortega y Gasset's.

Gedruckte Uebersetzungen ins Deutsche.

*12. Der Austand der Massen. DV.

- *13. Die Aufgabe unserer Zeit. DV. Enthält ausserdem:

 Die Vertreibung des Menschen aus der Kunst. Gedanken

 über den Roman. Atlantiden.
- *14. Stern und Unstern. DV. Enthält: Von Madrid nach Asturien. Theorie Andalusiens. Aufbau und Zerfall einer Nation.
 Meditation im Eskorial. Tagebuch einer Sommerfahrt.
- *15, Buch des Betrachters. DV. Enthält: Kosmopolitismus.

 Reform der Intelligenz. Phrase und Aufrichtigkeit. Die
 beiden grossen Metaphern. Vitalität, Seele, Geist.

 Kant, oder über die Psychologie einer Philosophie. Anhang
 zu meinem Aufsatz"Kant". Um einen Goethe von innen bittend.

 Hegels Philosophie der Geschichte und die Historiologie. Cf. 22.
- *16. Ueber die Liebe. DV. 1933. Enthält: Vom Einfluss der Frau auf die Geschichte [übersetzt von Fritz Ernst]. Betrachtungen vor dem Porträt der Marquesa de Santillana. Schema Salomes. Meditation über den Rahmen. Züge der Liebe (Ein Fragment). Schweigen, das grosse Brahman.
- 17. Kunstapathie. Neue Schweizer Rundschau 19, 1926, 867 -872.
- 18. Die Ethik der Griechen. Neue Schweizer Rundschau 20, 1927, 330 340.
- 19. Oknos der Seilflechter. Basler Nachrichten, Sonntagsblatt
 Nr. 40, 2. Okt. 1927.
- 20. Randbemerkungen zu einem Hemoirenbuch. NZZ, 1. Spt. 1929, Nr. 1671.
- 21. Der Sinn der politischen Umwälzung in Spanien. Europäische Revue 7, 1931, 564 568.

- 22. Um einen Goethe von innen bittend. Die neue Rundschau 1932, 551 570. [Mit vielen handschriftlichen Verbesserungen!]

 Cf. 15.
- 23. Die Wiederbelebung der Provinz. Kölnische Zeitung, 20. März 1932, Nr. 159.
- 24. Goethe, der Befreier. 1,2. NZZ, 20. und 27. März 1932, Nrs. 530 und 575.
- 25. Geld. Kölnische Zeitung, 17. Juli 1932, Nr. 385.
- 26. Ueber die Vereinigten Staaten. Europäische Revue 9, 1933, 353 360.
- 27. Die Sendung des Bibliothekars. Europäische Revue 11, 1935, 584 599.
- 28. Die Lage der Wissenschaft und die historische Vernunft.

 Neue Schweizer Rundschau 1935, 321 335.
- 29. Von der Lebensfunktion der Ideen. Europaische Revue 13, 1937, 40 51.
- 30. Zum "Aufstand der Massen" (Vorwort für die französische Ausgabe). Berner "Bund", 30. Jan. 1938.

Gedruckte Uebersetzungen ins Englische.

- *31. Toward a Philosophy of History. W.W.Norton 1941. Contains:

 The sportive origin of the State. Unity and diversity

 of Europe [transl. by Eleanor Clark]. Man the Technician.

 History as a System [transl. by Prof. Atkinson]. The Argentine and the Argentinean State.
- *32. Concord and Liberty. W.W.Norton 1946. Contains: Concord and Liberty. Notes on Thinking its Creation of the world

- and its Creation of God. Prologue to a History of Philosophy.

 A chapter from the History of Ideas Wilhelm Dilthey and the Idea of Life.
- *33. The dehumanization of art and Notes on the novel.

 Princeton University Press 1948.
- 34. Kant and the modern German mind. The Yale Review 31, 1941, 95 115.

Manuskripte.

- 35. Geschichte als System.
- 36. Mirabeau, oder über den Politiker.
- 37. Mittelmeerkultur.
- 38. Prolog für Deutsche.
- 39. Zum Kapitel der Volkstracht (Handschrift).

Andere Uebersetzungen aus dem Spanischen.

Gedruckte Uebersetzungen ins Deutsche.

- *40. Pedro de Alarcón, Der Dreispitz. Insel-Bucherei Nr. 223.
- 41. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Der Cid in der Geschichte. "Iberia" 5. 24 Seiten.
- 42. Cervantes, Der eifersüchtige Estremadurer, 1-9. NZZ, 30. Sept. 9. Okt. 1924, Nrs. 1452 1504.
- 43. Azorin, Eine Flöte in der Nacht. Das Kunstblatt 1925, 84 86.
- 44. Pedro de Alarcón, Der Fischzug. NZZ, 24. Mai 1925, Nr. 806.
- 45. Ramón Lenéndez Pidal, Das Nachleben des Cid. NZZ, 27. Sept. 1925. Nr. 1500.

- 46. Antonio de Villegas, Die Guschichte von dem Abencerrajen und der schönen Jarifa. Wissen und Leben 18, 1925, 464 478 (Mit vielen handschriftlichen Verbesserungen!) Cf. 57.
- 47. Tirso de Molina, Die drei gefoppten Ehemanner, 1-8.
 NZZ, 28. April 6. Mai 1926, Nrs. 676 -724.
- 48. Benjamin Jarnés, Kurzes Loblied der Mode. NZZ, 28. Aug. 1927, Nr. 1439.
- 49. Pio Baroja, Leben im Schatten. Europäische Revue 3, 1927, 506 511.
- 50. Juan Ramón Jiménez, Platero und Ich, 1.2. NZZ, 27. Mai und 3. Juni 1928. Nrs. 974 und 1010.
- 51. Benjamin Jarnés, Der ewige Fluss, 1-3. NZZ, 18. 20. Sept. 1929. Nrs. 1788, 1793, 1805.
- 52. Benjamin Jarnés, Viviana und Merlin. Europäische Revue 5, 1929, 479 494.
- 53. Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, Die standhafte Cordobesin,
 1-5. (Dem Spanischen nacherzählt von Helene Weyl.)
 NZZ, 23. 26. März 1930, Nrs. 542, 547, 559, 565, 572.
- 54. Ramón Perez de Ayala, Die traurige Adriana, 1-6. NZZ, 9. 15. Nov. 1931, Nrs. 2123 2159.

Gedruckte Uebersetzungen ins Englische.

- 55. Francisco Romero, Man and Culture. [Soon to appear.]
- 56. Leopoldo Zea, Porfirism and the Positive Philosophy.

 [Soon to appear.]

Manuskripte.

57. Die Geschichte von Abindarraez und der schönen Jarifa. Hit einem Nachwort über die Geschichte der Novelle. Cf. 46.

58. Federico Garcia Lorca, Bluthochzeit. (Lyrisches Drama.)
Uebersetzungen aus dem Englischen ins Deutsche, oder umgekehrt.

Gedruckt,

- *59. Eddington, Dehnt sich das Weltall aus? DV 1933
- *60. Jeans, Die neuen Grundlagen der Naturerkenntnis (mit Lothar Northeim). DV. 1934.
- *61. Jeans, Die Wunderwelt der Sterne. DV 1934.
- *62. Jeans, Durch Raum und Zeit. DV 1936.
- 63. Edgar Neville, Die letzten Menschen. Der Querschnitt 9, 1932, 650 654.
- 64. Jeans, Das neue Weltbild der Physik. Europaische Revue 12, 1936, 312 325.
- 65. J.Robert Oppenheimer, Die Physik in der heutigen Welt,
 1 4. NZZ, 19. 26. Mai 1948, Nrs. 1057, 1072, 1081,
 1112.
- 66. Hermann Weyl, Mathematik und die Naturgesetze. Die Tat, Zurich 1948.

llanuskripte.

- 67. Edgar Neville, Sein einziger Freund.
- 68. Karl Jaspers, Nietzsche and Christianity. Unvollendet.
- 69. Toynbee, Civilization on Trial. Unvollendet, nur ein Kapitel übersetzt.

Robert Beach Warren

WALTER W. STEWART

Robert Beach Warren

 $1891 \sim 1950$

OBERT WARREN chose "An Attempt at Perspective" as the title for the Penrose Memorial Lecture he gave at the American Philosophical Society in 1948. In so doing he revealed the distinctive trait of his mind; throughout his life he was in search of perspective. In the pursuit of it he cultivated a degree of detachment so that he might look even at the present in a kind of retrospect. He was fully aware of the hazards imposed by ignorance and bias upon such an attempt, but even partial success seemed worth the continuing effort.

Our present he regarded as particularly exposed to the evils of immediacy. Modern facilities for rapid communication, he believed, had tended to destroy our sense of time and distance. In the days of the great quarterly reviews an article had still to be relevant when, delivered by sailing ship, it finally reached a reader in the most remote quarter of the English-reading world. The writer was thus required to keep a sense of depth in time, in contrast to the present-day reporter whose daily assignment does not permit him the interval necessary for reflection. Inadequacies of reporting, he thought, were aggravated by the narrowness of interpretation resulting from over-specialization. Robert Warren pitted himself against these corrupting influences and with a sensitive awareness and a disciplined mind, he persisted in his attempt to create perspective.

His native temperament supplemented by the experience of his formative years prepared him for such a task. Immediately after graduation from Hamilton College in 1912 he went to Constantinople and for three years was an instructor of history in Robert College. From this point of vantage he learned in his early twenties to recognize peculiarities in the institutions

of the West, to measure events from a different base line, and to form the habit of historical triangulation. As he lived in a different culture and observed it, he came to take the longer view of human history—sometimes tragic, sometimes ironic, but always human. Frequent references in his writings to the institutions of Turkey and to the Moslem world show an intimate knowledge and an understanding not learned from books.

Whatever the topic on which he was speaking—whether on the changing structure of society, as he did at McGill University in 1939, or the search for security, as he did at Columbia University in 1940, or on our experience with monetary controls, as he did on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Bureau of Economic Research—he spoke from a consistent point of view. This consistency did not lead him into repetition. Each inquiry was a new venture, pursued in humility and in wonder. All the inquiries, however, were an exploration of human nature and human institutions. They took him over familiar ground. Any particular topic was only another facet of the way human beings behave—their hopes and achievements, their anxieties and disappointments.

To find his way through our bewildering present, he took his bearings by certain landmarks. Man, for instance, is neither the victim nor the beneficiary of deterministic forces that assure catastrophe or progress. Consequently no man can with honor escape the moral obligation of facing the problems of his own generation. Man's weakness predisposes him to turn aside from the hard way that might lead to more enduring solutions and to follow illusions that subject him to a repetition of errors. Each man in society is a member of many bodies, the family, the church, the state, the economy. Thus he is under the influence of a pluralism of loyalties, and when one institution encroaches upon another, there not infrequently arises a conflict of loyalties. Also there exists the ever-present risk that the dominant institution of the day will encroach upon the individual and subordinate him to the status of a mere subject. Against such risks each person must assert himself and never abdicate his function of resolving, as best he can, the conflict of loyalties within him. If he abdicates he becomes the prey of the institutions surrounding him and of which he is a part; he ceases to be the individual center for which they exist. Even with the best of good will and reasoned attitude, there are situations in which he can exercise

only limited control; but it is the exercise of choice within those limits that gives expression to man's freedom and meaning to his life.

Further landmarks guided Robert Warren when he considered institutions in perspective. During long periods of gradual change, institutions have a recognizable continuity. When the rate of change becomes more rapid, the cumulative result alters the content of institutions even though their names may remain the same. Thus Warren was always looking under the label and asking whether the names concealed an extent of change so large as to create a discontinuity. He understood that a lag in the recognition of fundamental change in social structure is usual and that those who deplore the change continue to hope that it is only a deviation from a norm that will reassert itself in time. Major breaks in continuity mark the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. One such structural change occurred with the discovery of the New World, a theme to which Warren frequently returned. Another, he was convinced, occurred with the outbreak of World War I, and became increasingly evident in the sequel. The conduct of war imposes large burdens upon the state, which patriotism requires the citizen to accept, but with the end of war the increased scope of state activities is not easy to abandon.

This change, perceptible in all countries, expressed itself in diverse forms. As observer and student Warren seldom argued in print the merits or demerits of the change. Privately, however, he was apprehensive of a process that tended to establish the state as the incarnation of a common mind and a single will, thus deepening the conflicts of loyalty within the individual and between groups. On occasion he took counsel of these fears but he had too fine a sense of the ludicrous to imagine that a fascist or communist lurked in every person whose political opinions differed from his own. For the most part he was content to point to the changed position of the state in society as creating a historical discontinuity—a different institution masquerading under the same name.

Even though Robert Warren cultivated detachment, he never aspired to Olympian aloofness. He accepted the fact that recorded history retains elements of personal bias. But he was unwilling to remain complacent in the face of prejudices that could be removed by reason. To his mind, a primary function of the student of society was to help mankind lift those

controversies that reflect mere emotional prejudices up into the area of reason and reconciliation.

This abbreviated statement of Warren's point of view, out of context and without elaboration or concrete example, is more explicit than he would have permitted himself; but it is richly implied in much that he wrote and said. Fully aware of the complexity of problems, he allowed himself room to turn around and view them from several angles. In his view, facts were not created equal but differed in magnitude; facts in a cluster had more meaning when kept together than when considered separately. Despite the complications of facts and problems, Warren attained a clarity of view through a simplicity of approach. He used general ideas appropriate to the habits of his own mind as tools of analysis and interpretation. These general ideas he did not try to erect into categories. Consequently his thought was always fresh, free from pedantry, and unhampered by a systematic theory of his own making.

His mind, piqued by an event, found a place for the observation in the rich storehouse of his memory. Later, after some indeterminate period, other observations would join it and the meaning and value of each would arise out of its relations to the others and to the whole. He had an unusual power of holding ideas in suspense and in contemplation without forcing them into specific patterns. He brooded on ideas but he did not count them before they hatched.

Though he had a fine sense of history, Warren never regarded himself as a historian. The training presumed to be necessary to the professional historian had in his case been interrupted. This may explain the freedom and breadth of his thought, for he had acquired no vested interest in any particular segment of history. He was an economist in the sense that he had a deep understanding of a political economy. Its basic problem, he felt, was the reconciliation of social aspirations of the day (or the "good society") with the current state of the industrial arts. In a more specialized field he was an economic student of the problems of finance. He possessed great technical knowledge of the nature of money, the function of banking, and the conduct of public finance, and over a long period he made this knowledge available to government and to monetary authorities.

More broadly and more distinctively he was, for the want of a better

term, a social philosopher. He took little stock in the aspirations of social studies to become "scientific" by imitating the natural sciences. He studied the available measurements of economic change and used quantitative material when relevant to his problem. He did not, however, regard objective measurement as a substitute for interpreting economic motivation and behavior. His economic thinking was kept closer to history and the humanities than to the sciences. Among his unpublished papers—one of many in the incubating stage—is a memorandum to himself entitled, "Toward a Social Philosophy." It was to this lodestone that his mind returned, and on any topic at any time he talked like a philosopher.

No amount of cajolery could persuade him to release for publication any of his writing that did not meet his standards. Seldom in these days has a man written so much in relation to the amount he published. Beside his desk, within easy sight, he kept posted this maxim from Helvetius:

A writer who is desirous of the favor of the great, and the transitory applause of the present hour, must adopt implicitly the current principles of the time, without ever attempting to examine or question their authority.

A steady stream of writing, not aimed at publication, moved from his desk either to the wastebasket or the office files. The process of writing met an organic need; once fulfilled the product no longer interested him. By almost daily and private expression he maintained continuity against the diversions of the purely transient. Through this process of partial externalization of events, he suffered the torment of the day's news less poignantly. Those who, over the years, were privileged to read these notes and memoranda as they flowed freshly from his pen were fortunate.

Less definable is the debt of those with whom he talked. He made their problems his own, and surrounded each inquiry with observations that extended its scope and implications. Under his guidance, discussion moved gradually toward a consideration of major premises and the various aspects of the question assumed new proportions. This was the habit and style of his conversation. No one, unless impatient or insensitive, ever left without knowing that he had been in the presence of a generous spirit. Robert Warren's calm and poise, his kindness and insight, and his great intellectual resources were an inspiration to the large number who sought his counsel.

These same qualities increased his value to his fellow workers on the Committee on Research in Economic History and at the National Bureau of Economic Research. The debt of the group at the Institute for Advanced Study to Robert Warren for his advice and guidance perhaps exceeds that of any other. His counsel was always freely available to members and colleagues over a period of more than ten years. Their love for him, however, is greater than their debt and his warm companionship dearer than his learning. He was one of those selfless persons who, being securely in possession of himself, shared his abundance with others and communicated to them some part of his spirit.

In memory of a friend and associate, Robert Warren some years ago said:

There is a Fellowship more ancient than history, more exclusive than royalty, more select than the most carefully chosen priesthood. Its origin is as old as humanity and its future extends to the last days of mankind. Its membership is not bounded by race or creed or latitude. Its members have always been few, yet in all time the chapter has never become extinct; there have always been enough to carry on the tradition, and always younger hands have been waiting to grasp the falling torch. . . . These, then, are the insignia of the Fellowship—the bold spirit that prefers hazard to security and conflict to peace; the eager mind intent upon far horizons; the steadfast will that accepts victory without vanity, and defeat without regret; and the heart so possessed of its dream as to be cleansed alike of pride and malice and deceit. . . . For one admitted to the Fellowship, life can never be complete, for the Search will never cease; yet it is at any time complete, for the Search itself is its own culmination.

On March 23, 1950, after a lifetime of membership, Robert Warren began his pilgrimage to join those other members of the Fellowship who had preceded him.

To be published in the 1950 Year Book of the American Philosophical Society

R. B. WARREN April 30, 1947

TOWARD A SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

For years people have been hoping that, out of the dispersion of the Social Sciences, there would come a new synthesis. The dispersion had added enormously to the world's knowledge of history, economics, sociology and anthropology. But knowledge came and wisdom lingered. We knew more and more about the elements of human society; but our knowledge of society as an integrated organism was dissolved in an increasing labyrinth of ideologies. None of these attempted to encompass the new knowledge; several of them were hostile to it, defensively acknowledging that their particular dogmas could not survive it. Increasingly, the ideologies became anti-intellectual, and became pure appeals to emotion; while the Social Sciences, except as their practitioners were willing to deny their character and become mere advocates of this or that dogma, took refuge in their narrow academic havens.

There is evidence that the tide is turning. The current work of Dr. Lindberg and Dr. Tannenbaum is evidence in this country; the writings of Toynbee an example in England. Unlike as they are, they are all in their several ways attempts to describe or explain society in more comprehensive terms than have hitherto been employed, while at the same time making use of the specialized knowledge developed in recent years.

Of the three I have named, none was a sociologist. Toynbee and Tannen-baum are historians, Lindberg as economist. If the list were extended--and a few names could be added--it would show similar diversity. There would be a disciplined competence in a specialized field; a feeling of need for integration; and a theory of integration. Each is scientific, in the sense

that it establishes norms of reference generally applicable; but none is "scientific" as that word has come to be used in the Social Sciences—in the sense of making use of elaborate mathematical devices. They are alike in moving over time and space; in their insistence on the continuity of society in time, and its intrinsic identity over space. But all avoid the antiquarian role in history, and the emphasis on the curiously exotic in social organization.

While these have much in common, it must not be supposed that these approaches are idential or even similar; nor their conslucions. In this memorandum I shall emphasize the similarities between Lindberg and Tannenbaum, because the parallel seems to me illuminating. But it must be remembered that Lindberg has not yet completed his manuscript, and Tannenbaum has only a pamphlet outline of his concept. This comment is in no sense a critique. It is an advance notice that semething new in the Social Sciences is in the process of formation.

In the Lindberg approach, society has four functional conditions of survival—production, reproduction, order and defense. If all are present and in equilibrium with each other, the conditions of survival are physically present. In the Tannenbaum approach, society is represented by four institutions—the business organization, the church, the family, and the state. If all are in equilibrium, the society is a "going concern." Both lindberg and Tannenbaum reject the doctrine of rectilinear progress; both reject the cyclical determinism of Spengler and Henry Adams; both emphasize functional or institutionalism equilibrium as an attainable ideal; both emphasize the continuous tendency of any one of the four to magnify itself at the expense of others, and so set in motion the forces of disequilibrium and regression.

In the Lindberg approach, the world is itself a dualism of exterior forms and an inner (subjective) reality—thus following Plato. When the members of a society find its outer forms in accord with the inner reality, the society is tranquil. With Tannenbaum, the relation of the four institutions determines a culture, which in turn creates the social "ethos" or "spirit" of the culture. This ethos is the composite of the norms of the society—its ideas of good and evil, justice and injustice, appropriate and unappropriate, polite and rude—in short its moral sense.

In supporting his argument, Lindberg has drawn upon the Greek-Roman-Christian scene. Tannenbaum has drawn upon his Latin American experience.

Lindberg's quotations from Plate and Aristotle are paralleled by Tannenbaum's observations of Inca and Astec culture.

It will be noted that both approaches are, in the abstract at least, valid over time and space. Since both are normative and pragmatic, they may be applied to any given society, regardless of its political or economic forms. One can apply them with equal aptness to Periclean Athens, Stalinist Russia, or the United States.

In both, the ultimate requirement of society is spiritual. With Lindberg, this is the content of the "inner kingdom"; with Tannenbaum, it is the "ethos". Both are normative concepts, and represent ultimate validity. Both are positive—or optimistic—in affirming that the ends of society are volitional and attainable; man is neither predestined to the "good society" as in the doctrine of the Enlightenment (and of Marx), nor is he a mere creation drifting on the stream of time, happy and miserable by chance. In both, man is responsible for his own condition, miserable or happy; but in

both there is a denial that misery or happiness can be described in purely material terms. Both are scientific in that their arguments and conclusions are continually tested against observed facts, drawn from the whole range of the social sciences; both are anti-"scienfitic" in recognizing the limits of mathematical mensurability.

Both regard a given society as an organism, both avoid the pathetic fallacy of many organic sociologists. While society is an organism, both regard it as composed of equally living organisms; as deriving its own integrity and vitality from its living organisms. In both, the validity of the individual and of the group is so described that there is no conflict between the two.

As I said above, this is not a summary of content, nor a critique.

While I have emphasized their parallels (and I might have made a third parallel from Toynbee) it must not be supposed that these are duplicates.

Nor should these parallels be understood as comparisons; indeed, at this time, no comparison is possible.

All I have wished to do is to give notice that a long-awaited philosophy of the Social Sciences is appearing; that it is normative and universal; and that it is a statement of ends rather than means. It gives cohesion to the whole group of Social Sciences, giving each a new meaning and value.

It is praise to group Lindberg and Tannenbaum with Toynbee, but it would be dubious praise to group them as being the leaders of a new school of thought. It would not be true, for there is more diversity among them. But I believe it can be said that among them they are doing something more important. They are leaders in a new way of thinking about things which are very old and which are as eternal as mankind itself.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
JOSEPH H. WILLITS, DIRECTOR
ROGER F. EVANS, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
ANNE BEZANSON

Cable Address: Rockfound, New York

May 2, 1947

Dear Bob:

I am not going to do more than reply briefly now to your letter of April thirtieth. It takes chewing. You are right that the synthesis must come and is beginning - otherwise we have no standards of appraisal or tests for policy. I don't want to say more than that now until after I have chewed and digested your very interesting memorandum.

Thank you for sharing it with me. I hope you continue to do so.

I will be writing you again about it.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Mr. Robert B. Warren
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton
New Jersey

JHW: DAA

December 31, 1941

Dr. Vannevar Bush 1530 P Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

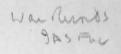
My dear Dr. Bush:

Your letter of December 23d, in regard to the advisability of writing a personal letter to the younger men of our group who are taking part in the research work being done under contract with your office, has come while Dr.

Aydelotte is away on a short holiday. It will have his attention as soon as he returns.

Very truly yours,

Secretary to Dr. Aydelotte



OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

1530 P STREET NW. WASHINGTON, D. C.

VANNEVAR BUSH Director

December 23, 1941

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
Institute of Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

Your organization is conducting important research and development under contract with the Office of Scientific Research and Development, which is a definite part of the war effort of the country. In this work you have scientists or engineers together with junior personnel as assistants.

At this time, when the nation is beginning to put forward its real strength, some of these men may not appreciate the essential part which they play in the organized effort. The senior men will appreciate the need for determined effort; but one cannot blame a youngster for being restless when the steps between his daily work and the effectiveness of the fighting forces may appear many and vague.

If you feel that a personal letter from me to these younger men would help, and will give me their names, I will be glad to write them directly. On the other hand, I do not wish to interfere in any way with your own handling of your internal affairs. In writing such a letter I would propose to emphasize the importance of the organized civilian effort in research and development, to urge that it be furthered with all possible effectiveness, and to impress upon some of the younger men that hasty steps on their part, without a complete grasp of the overall picture, should not be taken; that they should not make abrupt moves, in the hope of contributing more directly to our fighting efficiency, without seeking guidance, and making very sure that they are justified in so doing.

Sincerely yours,

V. Bush, Director

Beatrice Stern research files, Vertical Files, Box 5, W From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY SCHOOL OF MATHEMATICS PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

January 22, 1942

Dear Doctor Aydelotte:

The enclosed reports drawn up by Marston Morse and John von Neumann cover all that the School of Mathematics is doing in response to immediate war needs.

I myself have for the time being dropped algebra and directed my research efforts and teaching toward aerodynamics. But I suppose such unofficial and long-range activities should not be included in your report.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Frank Aydelotte HW:GB

Defense Work of Marston Morse

- a. Confidential research work in photogrammetry for the National Defense Research Committee, the Coast Artillery Corps and the Ordnance Department of the U.S. Army, over a period of a year and a half.

 The computational methods developed in this research are now in use.
- b. Chairmanship of the War Preparedness Committee of the American Mathematical Society and the Mathematical Association of America. The work is carried on under three committees,— on Research, Preparation for Research, and Education for Service. The mathematics in the Army texts has been investigated, and reports sent to 5000 principals of high schools. With the American Association for Advancement of Science, mathematics courses are now being organized for the colleges.
- c. Consultative work for the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, involving examination of the papers of candidates for deferment.
- d. Chief consultant of a new workshop of mathematicians organized for general mathematical consultation for the defense.

MM :GB

Report on Defense Activities

John von Neumann

The American Mathematical Society and the Mathematical Association of America have jointly appointed various Chief Consultants, and Consultants, for a number of applied-mathematical subjects which are of military interest. I am Chief Consultant for Ballistics. In this capacity I have chiefly given information to mathematics departments, in various colleges throughout the country, which wanted to introduce courses in ballistics or allied subjects; and also to faculty discussion groups, seminars, etc.

For several years, beginning with 1937, I have been in informal contact with several members of the Ballistic Research Laboratory at the Aberdeen Proving Ground, Aberdeen, Maryland. I have collaborated with them on various questions of mathematical physics (chiefly gas dynamical aspects of interior ballistics), and of statistics. For the last two years an official Scientific Advisory Committee to the Ballistic Research Laboratory has been in existence, which consists of about twelve members drawn both from the universities and from industry (some of them are Henry N. Russell, Theodor von Karmán, Harold C. Urey, I. I. Rabi). I have belonged to this Committee since its organization. It meets four times a year, each meeting being a two-day series of conferences with the members of the resident staff of the Ballistic Laboratory. These meetings form the background for further informal contact with the Laboratory,— actually I am visiting the Laboratory about once every three or four weeks.

Since the middle of last year I have been associated with the National Defense Research Committee, which is now a division of the Office

of Scientific Research and Development in the Office of Emergency Management. I have been, first, consultant, and then member, of one of its sections. The work done in this connection is of a confidential nature; it lies in mathematical physics, and has close connections with the physical sciences. Last summer Professor William W. Flexner of Cornell University worked with me in Princeton on these subjects. Beginning in January 1942 I shall direct a somewhat more extensive N.D.R.C. project in this direction, also at the Institute.

W. W. Riefler 1-22-42

My activities with relation to the war fall into four points of contact:

First, and most direct, is my work with the Board of Economic Warfare. I laid out the preliminary plans for organizing the Board for Vice President Wallace last year and have since acted as consultant for the Board, particularly in the field of post-war economic organization.

Second, I am participating actively at the Council on Foreign Relations in connection with their program of cooperation with the State Department. This involves frequent committee hearings, preparation of memoranda, etc.

Third, as Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia I have initiated a program for using the Federal Reserve Banks to organize business men and bankers for the sale of Treasury securities.

Fourth, in connection with the Program of Research in Finance at Hillside (National Bureau of Economic Research), I have helped to focus findings revealed by our research work on current national problems.

Professor Meritt has been chosen as voluntary consultant on Eastern Mediterranean affairs for the Office of the Coordinator of Information, operating under Colonel Donovan. He is in charge of a general control board set up in Princeton to study the political movements in Southeastern Europe and the repercussions of those movements on minority groups of citizens from that part of the world who are now in the United States. Professor Meritt is giving his particular attention to the Greek phase of the question, and Professor Panofsky is helping with the Italian phase.

Professor Richard Stillwell, who is a reserve officer in the artillery, is giving a course in gunnery at Princeton University. Beatrice Stern research files, Vertical Files, Box 5, W From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

January 20, 1942

Memorandum for Mr. Aydelotte:

War Work of Professor Earle's Seminar

During the summer, at the request of the President and Colonel William J. Donovan, Professor Earle collaborated with Mr. Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, in plans for the organization of the Division of Research and Analysis of the Office of the Coordinator of Information. Mr. Earle was partly responsible for the choice of President Baxter of Williams College as head of this Division and subsequently spent some time at Williamstown with Mr. Baxter in discussing questions of personnel and procedure. After the definitive establishment of the Division of Research and Analysis, Mr. Earle was invited to be a member of the Board of Analysts (which is the directing body and consists of the only persons who have access to all confidential materials released by the Military, Maval and other Intelligence

Services). With the exception of Major General Frank McCoy, he is the only member of the board who serves on a part-time basis.

During the week immediately following the attack on Pearl
Harbor, Mr. Earle prepared a series of memoranda for the War and Navy
Departments and for the Executive Offices of the President.

Upon the invitation of Colonel Herman Beukema, Head of the Department of History, Economics and Politics at the United States Military Academy, Mr. Earle collaborated with the Planning and Liaison

Division of the War Department in organizing an orientation course on the issues and military history of the war to be given as part of the fourteen weeks of basic training prescribed for all soldiers after induction in the service.

In addition, the members of Professor Earle's seminar (with the collaboration of individuals at Princeton University and Dartmouth College) prepared four of a series of fourteen lectures which constitute the subject matter of the course as well as submitted bibliographies, maps and other collateral materials. This work had to be done under great pressure of time and was, according to Colonel Beukema and his Assistant, Major G. A. Lincoln, done to the eminent satisfaction of the Planning and Liaison Division.

Mr. Earle and his colleagues have for some time been concerning themselves with the problem of leadership in a democratic Army including the whole hierarchy from company commanders to general officers. Some of the data gathered over the last months was presented orally in December to Mr. Grenville Clark, special assistant to the Secretary of War, and at his suggestion was subsequently discussed in New York in January with a special committee of the Military Training Camps Association of which Major Kenneth Budd was acting chairman and Mr. Elihu Root one of the members. These preliminary studies are being supplemented by further investigations and will be utilized not merely for special articles but perhaps for memoranda to be submitted unofficially and informally for the consideration of the Secretary of War. One of these preliminary studies, "Age in Field Command" by Dr. Alfred Vagts, will appear in the Spring 1942 number of Military Affairs.

Dr. Stefan Possony has published during the past year a number of notable articles on psychological aspects of modern war. These publications brought him to the attention of the Office of the Coordinator of Information and the Columbia Broadcasting System. As a result, Mr. Possony has now taken a post with the Columbia Broadcasting System in connection with their short-wave programs to Central Europe which are conducted in close association with the New York office of Colonel Donovan's organization.

On January 20, the firm of Farrar and Rinehart published a syllabus, War and National Policy, which was prepared by the members of Mr. Earle's seminar in collaboration with the Departments of History and Government of Columbia University. This syllabus, which we believe to be an important contribution to the understanding of American foreign relations and international politics, will be widely used in colleges and universities as well as in the Armed Services during the coming year.

It is probably unnecessary to point out that there exists in the Princeton community a center of military studies which is unique in the United States and which enjoys opportunities for continued and more extended national service. Fortunately, the basic research to which Mr. Earle's seminar has been devoted will continue because a large portion of it is relevant to the problems now facing the War and Navy Departments and those responsible for the formulation of a grand strategy for the prosecution of the war. In fact, the very term grand strategy is one which originated in discussions held in Fuld Hall and has slowly found its way into the terminology of Anglo-Saxon statesmanship.

Edward Mead Earle

January 2, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR NON-CITIZEN MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTE:

New regulations have been issued by the Department of Justice governing travel of enemy aliens and possession by them of specified equipment. For the benefit of those who may not have read these regulations in the newspapers, I should like to call attention to the following points:

The new travel regulations permit the following travel:

"First, travel within the boundaries or limits of the municipality, town, village, locality, or community in which they reside and to go from place to place in such a manner as would enable them to engage in the activities usual in their communities:

"Secondly, commute from their homes to their places of business; and "Thirdly, travel between their homes and places of religious worship, schools, colleges, or institutions of learning at which they are in regular attendance, or to any Federal, State, or local government agency with which they are required to transact business."

All other travel is prohibited unless the enemy alien files with the United States Attorney for his district, one week in advance of the projected trip, a statement containing the following specific information: (1) his name, (2) his nationality, (3) his alien registration number, (4) the purpose of his trip, (5) his destination, (6) the date of departure and of return, (7) the route to be followed, and (8) the carrier bracket - railroad, bus, automobile, etc. Travel by airplane is specifically prohibited. It is my understanding that permission will be required for travel to New York.

Applications for permission to travel outside this community should be made to Honorable Charles M. Phillips, United States Attorney, Post Office Building, Trenton, New Jersey. My office is prepared to give assistance, if necessary, in filing such applications.

All enemy aliens are required to surrender to the local police authorities before 11 P.M. Monday, January 5, 1942, all firearms, radio transmitters, short-wave radio receivers and cameras in their possession. The regulations state specifically that "no enemy alien who is found in possession of any short-wave radio receiving set will be excused in any manner on the ground that he did not know that the set was a short-wave radio receiving set." The responsibility for determining whether or not the radio set falls within the prohibited class rests, under the regulations, with the enemy alien owner. It is my understanding that if one has a short-wave set that is also a regular receiving set, he can have the short-wave portion removed and retain the regular receiving portion of the set.

All cameras turned over to the Institute for safekeeping are, on instructions from the local police authorities, being held for the time being at the Institute, but the instructions of the police are that if any of our people coming in the class of enemy aliens have in their possession at the present moment any cameras, short-wave radio equipment, or firearms, this equipment should be turned over directly to the police — to the Borough police if you live in the Borough, or to the Township police if you live in the Township. Borough Hall is located at 50 Stockton Street and Township Hall on Somerville Road.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Former subjects of enemy countries who have not yet been naturalized

Dr. and Mrs. Valentin Bargmann 44 Park Place tel. 1797-W

Dr. and Mrs. Alfred T. Brauer 24 Wilton Street tel. 2066-R

Mrs. Lotte Brodfuhrer 10 Bayard Lane tel. 2174

Dr. Kei Won Chung 33 Witherspoon Street

Dr. and Mrs. Charles de Tolnay 293 Nassau Street tel. 1671

Mrs. Pauline Fiedler 30 Nassau Street tel. 1845

Dr. Paul Frankl 19 Vandeventer Avenue tel. 160-J

Prof. and Mrs. Guido Fubini 94 Bayard Lane tel. 714-W

Dr. Felix Gilbert 345 Nassau Street tel. 1255-R

Dr. and Mrs. Kurt Goedel 3 Chambers Terrace tel. 2433-W

Prof. Ernst Herzfeld 10 Bayard Lane tel. 2174

Prof. Shizuo Kakutani 56 Jefferson Road tel. 2095-J

Dr. Karl L. G. Kalisch
47 Wiggins Street tel. 555-M

Dr. and Mrs. Robert A. Kann 162 Jefferson Road tel. 1174-W

Dr. Doro Levi 103 Moore Street tel. 975-J

Prof. and Mrs. Wolfgang Pauli 15 West Palmer Square tel. 984 Dr. Bargmann hasfirst papers Mrs. Bargmann is applying for first papers

Both have first papers

Has first papers Sister of Professor Ernst Herzfeld of the Institute faculty

A Korean, but a political subject of Japan. Not eligible for U. S. citizenship

Both have first papers

Has first papers. Mother-in-law of Dr. Kurt Weitzmann, who is a member of the Institute and U.S. citizen

Has applied for first papers

Both have first papers

Examined for final papers Dec. 2, 1941

Both have first papers

Now making application for final papers. Member of faculty of the Institute

Not eligible for U. S. citizenship

Has first papers

Both have first papers

Has first papers

Both have first papers

Dr. and Mrs. Stefan Possony 5 Murray Place tel. 406-M

Dr. Anthony E. Raubitschek 43 Wiggins Street tel. 605-J

Dr. and Mrs. Hans Samelson 46 Park Place tel. 1797-W

Prof. Carl L. Siegel 243 Jefferson Road tel. 1218-W

Dr. and Mrs. Hanns Swarzenski 347 Nassau Street tel. 590

Dr. Paul Tedesco

Mrs. Klara von Neumann 26 Westcott Road tel. 2186

Mrs. Josepha Weitzmann 30 Nassau Street tel. 1845 Both have first papers

Examined for final papers Dec. 1, 1941

Both have first papers

Has first papers

Examined for final papers Dec. 1, 1941

Now at Yale University

Wife of Prof. John von Neumann, member of faculty of the Institute and U. S. citizen. Mrs. von Neumann's naturalization proceedings are under way.

Examined for final papers June 5, 1941. Wife of Dr. Kurt Weitzmann, who is a member of the Institute and a U. S. citizen

Extra Com

February 19, 1946

Dr. Frank Aydelotte c/o The Warden Rhodes House Oxford, England

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

You will be interested to hear that the School of Economics, with the approval of the Standing Committee, has invited Professor E. L. Woodward, Montague Professor of International Relations at Oxford University to come to the Institute as a member for the autumn term of 1946 with a stipend of \$2,000 and a supplementary grant of \$1,000 for differential in living costs. Professor Woodward is also being invited by Princeton University to participate in a conference on International Relations to be held in connection with Princeton's Bicentennial exercises. Mr. Ragnar Nurkse has also been invited to membership in the School of Economics for one year beginning April 1, 1946 at a stipend of \$4,000. He has accepted but wishes to begin May 1.

Your cablegram concerning the presence of an Institute representative at the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the University of North Carolina arrived in good time for the meeting of the Standing Committee yesterday. The Faculty are now being consulted as to a suitable representative.

The Standing Committee has approved the recommendation of the School of Mathematics that Professor P. A. M. Dirac be invited to the Institute for the first term of the academic year 1946-1947 with a stipend of \$4,000. Professor Dirac has accepted an invitation to give a lecture at Frinceton University in September 1946. After Professor Veblen has explored this possibility with Dirac, a formal invitation will be sent to him.

The Standing Committee has approved the appointment of an assistant to Wes Dauncey and Mr. Arthur Pollard has been engaged at a beginning salary of \$125 a month. So far he seems very satisfactory.

Professor and Mrs. Pauli have made arrangements to sail from Jersey City on the Gripsholm for Ireland on February 27th.

Gil has asked me to say that he has sent a copy of the corrections to Appendix I to the Oxford University Press in Oxford. He has also made arrangements with the Princeton Press

Beatrice Stern research files, Vertical Files, Box 5, W From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

to have the cartoon, "Rhodes Scholar, no doubt!" removed from your book.

A very nice note arrived last week from Howard J. Savage of the Carnegie Foundation informing you that Dr. Carmichael has taken office as president of the Foundation. It reads in part: "He (Dr. Carmichael) will, I know, be glad to see you when you are in the city. He asks me to transmit to you his warm personal regards." I wrote to Mr. Savage saying that I would pass this word on to you.

I hope you have finally succeeded in ostracizing the flu bug. With best wishes from all at the Institute.

Sincerely,