

Exiled in Turkey from Nazi Rule, Eminent Biochemist Felix Haurowitz Became Indiana's Adopted Son[⊕]

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INTRODUCTION

Felix Haurowitz is widely recognized as a major 20th century contributor to biochemistry and immunology. His lifetime contributions to knowledge have been well documented as has been most of his life story. What has been left unsaid is how this valuable intellectual was saved from Nazi racism in his native Czechoslovakia, his trials and tribulations in coming to America, and the difficulty in finding a job within a climate of pervasive anti-Semitism.

To be sure, much has been written about the migration of German intellectuals to America and the UK during the 1930s. However there is precious little, especially in the English language, about the larger topic of German, Austrian, and Czech migration of intellectuals to Turkey after the Nazis took over their countries. Starting in 1933 that migration involved over 1000 individuals including families, assistants, and colleagues, representing all disciplines and professions¹. In headcounts the biochemistry contingent was small – three to six individuals depending on who is considered a biochemist; in duration of their stay in Turkey it was short – a decade or two. Its impact on the host society however, was monumental. It was also significant in terms of the people-based knowledge that was preserved, conserved if you will, and allowed to develop – in a way placed in escrow for other societies and for future generations.

Haurowitz² lost the right to teach at the University of Prague soon after the Nazis took over Czechoslovakia in 1939. Like many of his colleagues he was caught at a crossroads and targeted in the cross fires of history. Events in his native land presented him with a Hobson's choice—leave if you can or die! However, anti-Jewish bias in the west, in America and its European allies, was silently effective in preventing safe passage across the Atlantic during the 1930s.

Recognizing the desperate situation of his colleagues, German Jewish physician Phillip Schwarz set up a Swiss-based organization to help place as many of his contemporaries as he could outside Nazi-dominated lands. One of the countries Schwarz contacted was Turkey. The expellees, though not all Jewish were the intellectuals and the professionals. Beginning in 1933, those who were chosen for what they could bring with them could look to Turkey as a safe haven. This held true until the war's end in 1945³. Turkey needed the brains and skills these men and women possessed and offered them contracts and accommodations. Felix Haurowitz was among the lucky ones to have been invited.

His life was saved because Turkey, a country heretofore alien in every aspect to the Haurowitz family, was at that time discarding the society and culture inherited from the

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Ottomans' derelict and shattered empire. As Turkey (personified by Kemal Atatürk) transformed into a republic, it recognized the need to modernize the country's society, culture, way of living, and system of higher education. At the time the Third Reich encouraged these emigrations since the process served several of its purposes, one which was to increase German influence in Turkey. Though the Reich would have preferred to send Aryan and especially Nazi professors in the early 1930s, few were willing to go. German Jews and *mischlings* (mixed breeds, to use the Nazi term) were considered the next best choice as many had property and relatives remaining in Germany. Also, for various self serving reasons Hitler wanted to keep Turkey neutral and to create chits he could invoke as and when necessary.

And to what kind of place were these émigrés going? The system of higher education inherited by the Republic of Turkey in 1923 consisted of a few hundred Ottoman vintage (Islamic) *medreses*, a fledgling university called the *Dar-ül Fünun*, and three military academies, one of which was expanded into a civil engineering school around 1909. With secularization now enshrined in its constitution, the new government had to meet a need for modernization or westernization throughout Turkish society so a number of policies were designed to bring this about. However, there were not enough indigenous Turkish personnel of sufficient caliber to implement the new plans. Turkey found a way to solve, in part at least, its problem of modernizing the country, or at least begin the process. And with this solution, much was saved!

DISCUSSION

The bill *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* was passed a few weeks after Hitler came to power. As an immediate consequence of this (Reestablishment of the Civil Service) law the most productive wellspring of western science, technology, and culture had been choked off. All this started in Germany and continued into the rest of Europe, and Europe in general, never regained its status⁴. By design, the new civil service law enabled speedy dismissal of hundreds of Jewish⁵ and politically suspect professors from their positions at all German universities and institutes.⁶

Across the North Atlantic, very restrictive immigration laws were in effect. Although an individual professor could circumvent the immigration quotas if he or she had a job offer from a major university in hand, American universities in general⁷, and the Ivy League in particular, were not hiring Jews during the inter-war period. Many did not open their doors to Jewish faculty until the late 1940s.

It was not until 1946, that the Philosophy department tenured the college's first Jew, Paul Weiss. By 1970, one out of every six Yale college professors was Jewish. When the shock waves of the 1960s finally shook Yale's gothic ivory towers, anti-Jewish hiring discrimination was a thing of the past.⁸

According to historian Stephen H. Norwood, Harvard University President James Bryant Conant's insistence on treating Nazi academics as part of the "'learned world,' and his reluctance to offer faculty positions to prominent Jewish refugee scholars, was shaped in part by his own anti Semitic prejudices." When the DuPont corporation sought his advice about hiring a German Jewish scientist who had fled the Nazis, President Conant⁹ recommended against offering him a job because he was "very definitely of the Jewish type--very heavy." The scientist

they rejected, Max Bergmann¹⁰, was described by the New York Times as “one of the leading organic chemists in the world.”¹¹ And, as late as 1945 Ernest E. Hopkins, President of Dartmouth College unabashedly declared “Dartmouth is a Christian college founded for the Christianization of its students.”¹²

Without question all private universities suffered budgetary constraints during the 1930’s as the result of the Great Depression and all had gender bias while openly practicing age discrimination yet many of the eminent professors in Germany and Austria were advanced in age and some were women.

Fast forwarding to 1942 and moving to the United States during wartime, the days when “Rosie the Riveter” posters soliciting women to enter the workforce abounded so ships could be floated and aircraft sent aloft, American universities shied away from hiring mathematicians who were women, or men who were beyond an age limit that would be considered absurd by today’s standards. As a case in point, Queens College was barely five years old and growing rapidly as part of the budding New York City university system. Seeing a possible opportunity to place one or two outstanding mathematicians, one of whom was Hilda Geiringer, the other being Max Dehn, mathematician Hermann Weyl wrote from the Institute for Advanced Study¹³ at Princeton to Queens College mathematics professor, T. F. Cope, “In view of the growing shortage of well-qualified teachers of mathematics at the university level—probably soon to be aggravated by various naval and air-force training courses—I should like to draw your attention to the good services which could be rendered by European refugee mathematicians of high rank.”

After describing Geiringer’s and Dehn’s qualifications, and noting the fact that both had already had over a year’s teaching experience at American colleges, Weyl felt a need to add that “there is no doubt whatsoever of the political reliability of either of them.” However, he continued, “Professor Dehn, a mathematician of great merit, one of the fathers of modern topology, *is probably too old for permanent employment.*” Still hopeful that the above notice which he felt obliged to include might not have been needed after all, Weyl added: “Dehn is a vigorous man in excellent health (still able to go for a four-day hike on the Olympic Peninsula, as he did last summer, carrying all provisions on his back).”

To further reinforce his recommendation of Dehn, Weyl noted: “He is an inspiring teacher, and could teach all branches of mathematics, including history and philosophy of mathematics.” Weyl also pointed out that “Mrs. Geiringer is of that type of applied mathematician who could be of great service in the present emergency.” Before sending his above letter to Queens College, Herman Weyl had already posted identical pleas to a Professor Harold Hotteling at Columbia University on February 12, to Professor Griffith C. Evans at the University of California, Berkeley, on February 26, and to Professor Tibor Rado at Ohio State University on March 21.¹⁴ In all likelihood, Weyl was aware before approaching them that these particular institutions employed Jewish faculty members. So, anti-Semitism was not an issue. The bottom line, however, is that there is no record of Queens College nor the other more established universities ever hiring either Geiringer or Dehn. Both finished their careers at America’s lesser-known institutions of higher learning, Geiringer at Wheaton College, and Dehn at Black Mountain College, a college that had no accredited degrees, taught mainly creative arts, and no longer exists.¹⁵

Nevertheless a number of American research universities recognized a triple opportunity being presented: that of acquiring world-class talent; acquiring outside funding that would otherwise not be available to them; and being altruistic in the process. Along

these lines, another Princeton Institute mathematician of note Oswald Veblen, minced no words in his letter of April 18 1940 to a Dr. Wilbur K. Thomas at the *Oberlaender Trust* in Philadelphia. “As you doubtless know better than I do, Bryn Mawr [women’s college] is hard up for funds, and they are therefore trying to get some temporary support for Mrs. Geiringer.” In another attempt to raise money to create Hilda Geiringer’s meager salary, Bryn Mawr University’s president Marion Park approached the German émigré mathematicians who held good positions in American universities. She received a reply from Hermann Weyl on March 10 1941, saying sadly, “almost every one of us has to carry heavy personal obligations towards close relatives or friends whom he is trying to help to safety from concentration camps and Nazi persecution in Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Norway, etc., or to whose sustenance he contributes.”

Going back to the 1930s unlike Harvard, Brown, and Yale, the University of Chicago was much more open to absorbing intellectuals who were dismissed from German universities and could be of use, be they Jewish or not. The case of Astronomer Hans Rosenberg is a good case in point. Chicago however did not want to assume any the costs for employing highly qualified German Jewish individuals, no matter how good and needed they may have been. Nor was Chicago ready to be haven to many. According to a November 21 1933, letter from Robert Maynard Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago to Dr. Warren Weaver of the Rockefeller foundation, “should we be able to invite Dr. Rosenberg, he would be our fifth German and possibly all that we should undertake to absorb for the present.” This letter also gives us a hint as to why: “We find it very difficult to raise money for such purposes among the Jewish donors of Chicago. They were approached by the New York agencies and contributed rather liberally there and are disinclined to repeat.”¹⁶

University of Chicago archival documentation of the processes involved to save Hans Rosenberg serves as a counterpoint to the position taken by other prestigious American universities. However, it also shows that even the University of Chicago was not ready to use “hard monies” from its own endowment and/or tuition income to recruit these high-value assets from the unfortunate and dire circumstances which they found themselves in. The correspondence leaves no doubt that Chicago wanted Rosenberg because it *needed* him to fill a specific void. Chicago at that point had made a trade-off between “an eminent man [whose] requirements for laboratory space and expenses make it inadvisable for us to consider him. Dr. Rosenberg, on the contrary will drop into place where he will find all the requirements for his work ready to hand.”^{17 18}

The Rosenberg/Chicago scenario was replicated on the east coast as well. It appears that in 1939, through his astronomer colleague Harvard Professor Harlow Shapley, another much more eminent astronomer than Rosenberg, E. Finlay Freundlich, was negotiating an academic position at Tufts College (Boston)¹⁹ and simultaneously a “Research Associateship” at the Harvard Observatory (Cambridge). Significantly, there was not even a question or hope of a Harvard academic appointment because of the Jewish issue. Be that as it may, even Tufts was ready to offer only a non-tenure track “lecturer” position on a two-year contract under the condition that the salary money came from elsewhere.

So a package was put together with \$800 secured from the Rockefeller Foundation. “The Emergency Committee for Displaced Foreign Scholars has voted to contribute twelve hundred and fifty dollars. Mr. Henry Morgenthau Senior of New York City pledged to contribute six hundred dollars...to permit us to bring to America a distinguished academic

exile,” states a letter from Tuft’s College President, Leonard Carmichael dated February 14 1939. The letter goes on to say, “I wish that at this time it were possible for me to promise that Tufts College would take over the payment of Professor Freundlich’s salary at the conclusion of the [two-year] period mentioned above....At the moment, I am reluctant to ask the Trustees to make an absolute guarantee of a commitment so far in advance because the income from our total endowment...is being sharply restricted by current investment rates. If the [Rockefeller] Foundation finds it possible to assist in this matter, however, I can assure you that we shall be extremely grateful.” In other words, the hat was still in the hand.

Although America’s public universities may not have had exclusionary faculty hiring practices written into their charters, *de facto* a number of them had gentlemen's agreements. They hired few Jews through the 1930s and some into the 1950s. This legacy was statistically validated by a national survey conducted by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in 1969. The survey involved 60,000 faculty respondents and showed that Jews in the upper-age brackets were significantly low on America’s university campuses e.g., 3.8% vs. 79.0% Protestant, and 13.7% Catholic²⁰. These data *a-posteriori* document the historical, pervasive, and indisputable, impact of those gentlemen’s agreements.

No matter what statistical or quantitative measure one might use, the results show that prior to 1933, premier German universities such as Heidelberg, Breslau, Frankfurt, Munich, Göttingen, Königsberg, and even the University of Prague, Czechoslovakia, individually employed more Jewish professors than did Harvard, Yale, Brown, and Princeton combined at the time, and for over a decade beyond. Thus the contrast between Germany, Turkey, and the United States during this critical period illuminates the tangible and the intangible gains and losses of these three societies. The welcome mat for fleeing Jewish musicians elevated America’s orchestras to international pre-eminence²¹ while the elite East Coast universities outright discriminated, turned a blind eye,²² or worse yet openly collaborated with German universities that had already been Nazified.²³

Turkey as a destination was Philipp Schwarz’s success story. A Letter to the US Secretary of State from Robert F. Skinner, American Ambassador in Istanbul dated November 10, 1933²⁴ documents the arrival of the first party of exiled professors.

The far reaching effect of the expulsion from Germany under the Hitler regime can not be actually measured as yet, but it may take on the importance of the expulsion of the Huguénots from France several centuries ago and at all events, is likely to turn out advantageously for countries like Turkey which are endeavoring to make intellectual progress along Western lines. According to my information 35²⁵ newly employed foreign professors have been taken into the University of Istanbul, of whom 30 are understood to have arrived and all of whom with the exception of one Austrian and one Swiss, are German Jews who were either expelled or who left Germany on account of the recent political troubles.

Felix Haurowitz

Born in Prague in 1896, *Felix Haurowitz* obtained his medical degree in 1922 and a doctorate of science in 1923. In 1925, he was appointed Assistant Professor at the German University in Prague. While working with several important biochemists over the next few

years, he researched hemoglobin and its derivatives. In the late 1920's he began work on his popular *Progress in Biochemistry* series and starting in 1930 made immunochemistry his principal area of research.

With the four-power conference resulting in the September 30, 1938, Munich Agreement giving the Czech Sudetenland to Germany and on October 5, German troops marched through the Sudetenland. Recognizing that the handwriting regarding the future of the rest of Czechoslovakia was clearly on the wall, German Physiologist Hans Winterstein, who by then was already well-established in Istanbul, wrote a letter on October 10, 1938, to Felix Haurowitz who was still well-established in Prague. "Are you at all interested in a teaching position in biochemistry at the University of Istanbul? If yes, please send a CV and a list of your publications. This is an unofficial request with no strings attached." This inquiry was followed by over a dozen negotiation letters spanning a period of almost five months. On January 31, 1939, Haurowitz wrote to Winterstein, "Thanks for all your efforts. Of course, I am a bit nervous about initiating anything at this end without official documentation to assure me that I will be permitted to enter Istanbul officially. But I am not that impatient because it is pretty quiet here and as far as I can judge it will remain quiet." However in the very same letter, Haurowitz goes on to say: "It is strange, though, that among my German gentile colleagues, the same denunciation and mean-spirited rage has manifested itself as was evident when the Nazis were victorious in Germany's Vienna and the Sudetenland." The negotiations continued. Whether he was naive or concerned about having a definite job or both, in his memoirs,²⁶ Haurowitz does say:

[T]he Sudeten part of Czechoslovakia was abandoned to Hitler - Germany. The German University in Prague became an independent University of the German Reich and was expected to continue accepting German students from the Sudeten. I received at that time the offer of the Chair of Biochemistry at the University of Istanbul, Turkey. I hesitated to abandon my laboratory and my student co-workers. However, when I was informed that I was temporarily deprived of my privilege to teach and to examine, I decided finally to visit Istanbul and to see whether I would be able to continue doing research there. Since I found favorable conditions there, I accepted the Turkish offer. A few weeks later [March 5 1939] Hitler's troops invaded Prague. With my wife and two children we left two weeks after by train for Istanbul. Although most of our property was seized by the Gestapo, we were allowed to take along our furniture and my library.

In 1939 when the Nazis were clearly in control, Haurowitz was forced to leave Prague. He took the position of Head of Biological and Medical Chemistry in the Medical School at the University of Istanbul and devoted himself to teaching, research, and producing a Turkish textbook of biochemistry. In 1949 he re-emigrated once again, this time to the United States and spent the rest of his very productive career in Bloomington, Indiana. The vast bulk of Haurowitz's trilingual (German, Turkish, and English) correspondence with colleagues starting in the mid-1920s and continuing through the 1960s is archived at the Lilly Library of Indiana University. Quite a bit of correspondence can also be found in the (twice Nobel Laureate) Linus Pauling archives in Pauling's native Colorado. This correspondence documents more than Haurowitz's scientific contributions. A human being always concerned

with the fate of others is illuminated in Haurowitz's letters delineating his lifelong relationships with former students, the nurturing of junior colleagues, and the helping hand provided to those in need during the darkest years of the 20th century. He persevered despite his own personal trauma of dismissal from the institution to which he contributed so much for no reason other than he was born Jewish, the failure of his attempts to come to America with his family, and his nine years in Turkey. Ultimately he settled at Indiana University, in tranquil Bloomington.²⁷

The less documented Haurowitz story

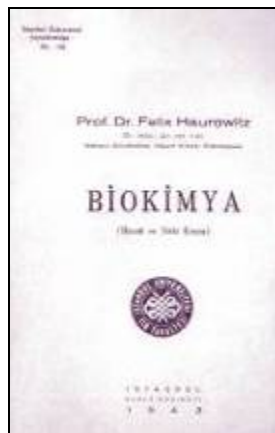
In Turkey, all of the émigrés faced many academic pressures and political dangers, palace and conference room intrigues, petty tricks and Nazi informants who reported to the German legation. None of this was helped by the émigrés' impoverishment upon arrival as they fled the war and as the known order of the world was ending. The émigrés also had to face some cold economic, political, and social facts. The Turkish universities were strapped for money. This was especially true once the war started. In a letter dated March 4, 1941, to an editor-in-chief of a major scientific journal dealing mostly with scientific matters, Professor Haurowitz complained about the inability of getting copies of journals published in Holland, even the issues which included his articles. "Turkey has no money and will not permit buying foreign publications." The US dollar had lost a great deal of its purchasing power starting with the stock market crash. The Turkish Lira had been losing its value at an average ten-fold of the dollar's rate. The émigré professors' salaries were not indexed to inflation so were kept at the 1933 amounts for many years. People had to sell the possessions they brought with them from their native lands. There were other significant concerns such as the anti-Jewish riots that erupted in Eastern Thrace on June 24, 1934, and continued for almost a month before being suppressed by Turkish government action in mid-July.²⁸

Once established in Istanbul, Felix Haurowitz tried to bring his colleague Carl Oppenheimer from Holland to Turkish safety. Unfortunately, the only commitment Haurowitz could squeeze out of the university administration was for a one-year contract. This offer was extended to Oppenheimer who, in a letter of September 2, 1940, declined on the grounds of the brevity of the contract and the hopes that the war would soon be over at which time he would seriously consider the offer. Oppenheimer recommended a "Professor Neuberg who is in Jerusalem and who has no family and no work to consider in such a move." He also mentioned that the other professors who were still in Germany could not be contacted and those in the United States would not leave. As for himself, he said he was "66 years old and still can work three more good years and would love to be considered for a more permanent position." Sadly, Carl Oppenheimer did not live through the end of the following year.

The *Ava Helen and Linus Pauling Papers* archives at Oregon State University include correspondence between twice Nobel laureate Linus Pauling and Felix Haurowitz as well as between Pauling and others regarding Haurowitz's search for employment in the States. The totality of this correspondence represents the years: 1935-1936, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1951, 1957-1958, 1966, and 1974. On September 3, 1936 when Haurowitz was still in Prague, Pauling thanked him for his letter regarding work with hemoglobin and enclosed a paper by a Dr. Mirsky and himself on the structure of proteins. While in Turkey, Haurowitz applied for a position at Harvard

giving Pauling's name as a reference. On September 25, 1941, George Chase, the Dean of the University, wrote to Pauling in behalf of Harvard's President Conant,²⁹ "it would be helpful if you would send us your estimate of Professor Haurowitz's standing and whether you have any suggestions about possibilities in this country." To which on October 12, 1941, Pauling replied "I have been greatly interested in his work for a number of years. In my opinion he is one of the leading men in the world in the field of the chemistry of proteins. His researches are characterized by imagination and good execution. His work on hemoglobin and on problems of immunology has been especially successful. I do not know at present of any opening for Professor Haurowitz in this country." For reasons best known to the key players of the time, Harvard did not make an offer. Though he had his son baptized at birth, Haurowitz himself never converted from Judaism. Harvard, unfortunately, observes an eighty-year restriction on access to personnel records³⁰, so for a while at least judgment will have to be withheld as to the reasons for the decision not to offer a position to a notable biochemist. Later, in 1949, Pauling was very instrumental in placing Haurowitz at the University of Indiana.

It is worth noting that while he was looking for a position in the US, he was attentive to his responsibilities in Turkey. The *Journal of Biological Chemistry* published by the American Society for Biochemistry and Molecular Biology, received a submission of a paper by Felix Haurowitz, Paula Schwerin, and M. Mutahhar Yenson, all showing as their institutional affiliation the Institute of Biological and Medical Chemistry, *Istanbul University* on April 23 1941. The paper, Destruction of Hemin and Hemoglobin by the Action of Unsaturated Fatty Acids and Oxygen appeared in the *J. Biol. Chem.* 1941, 140: 353-359.³¹



**Haurowitz biochemistry textbook
1943**

On 5 September, 1948, he informed Frau Dr. Berta Ottenstein that during July 1948, he had settled in at Indiana University and his family had joined him in Bloomington. Soon thereafter, Haurowitz began to help others in their attempts to secure jobs at American universities. In a letter dated January 20, 1950, to Andreas Tietze, a Turkologist who was still in Istanbul, Haurowitz explained that Professor Stith Thomson, the Director of the Folklore Program and Dean of the Graduate School at Indiana University, was a good friend.

He is very interested in Asian languages, but I don't think a permanent position is possible since [Sinologist Wolfram] Eberhardt at one time

sought one and was not successful. Thomson thinks highly of Eberhardt and to my knowledge was instrumental in helping him get a position at Berkeley.

Professor Voeglin is head of our Anthropology Department and by chance I also know him well. He understands a bit of Turkish and is very interested in all things Turkish. He also tried to bring Eberhardt here. If what you want is not a permanent position like Eberhardt required write then to him directly. Tell him whether you want to stay here or return to Turkey. I was going to show Dean Thomas your letter but I can't because you refer to Voegelin in a somewhat negative way.

By registered mail from Kadikoy, Istanbul, on July 4, 1948, Turkey's library system designer and Einstein's friend Walter Gottschalk wished Felix Haurowitz all the best in his new Bloomington, Indiana, surroundings and hoped that he already was reunited with his family. He concluded the letter by asking that Haurowitz to send two CARE packages to two close friends who are starving in Allied-occupied Germany.

Following World War II, when Turkey was experiencing a major economic recession, many jobs had to be eliminated. Universities were not sacrosanct; the library system was not immune. On August 28, 1948, Gottschalk sent a hand written note from Kadiköy, Istanbul, to Haurowitz who was settling in at the University of Indiana. Among other news Gottschalk mentioned "we had to lay off a lot of people, half of the people here in Istanbul."³² At about the same time many of the émigré professors were aging and beginning to worry about their retirement. Unfortunately, Turkey was not forthcoming in terms of pension guarantees. This was a major impetus for the final exodus of the Germans.

Financial reasons played an important role for many of those who returned [to Germany and Austria]. This was because it was not possible to reach an agreement for a retirement plan, good or bad, in spite of all the efforts of our Turkish colleagues. Those who did not have significant savings looked on their old age with trepidation.³³

Visa in hand but no job prospects and a job in hand but no visa

It is one thing to find a job but have no visa. It is another to have a visa in hand but no job prospects. A copy of a letter postmarked Istanbul and dated May 28, 1943, from biochemist Haurowitz to professor Max Bergmann at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in NYC read "the authorities in Washington have granted me and my family the visa. Friends and relations in America ask me to come as soon as possible [sic]. But all these people have no idea about the possibilities [job opportunities] in our branch. I suppose that you are informed about the fate of the German professors emigrated to the United States. Have they found satisfying appointments? And do you think that I could find something." In his response dated July 8, 1943, on *Institute* letterhead, Bergmann offered: "As a rule every scientist from abroad, even if he is famous the world over and is a Nobel Laureate, has to start here on a small scale, that is, with a small salary and one or two collaborators, and it depends on his achievement in his new position whether he makes progress. In general, it takes several months or one-half year for the newly-arrived scientist to find a job and nobody gets a job offered to him before he has immigrated. [It] is not certain

whether you would find a job to your liking at once or not until after some time. During the last 10 years, everybody could be sure of finding a job. Now, under war conditions, it is almost impossible to predict anything.”

At this point the tides of war were beginning to turn. Having accomplished the war’s major turning point by breaking the *Wermacht’s* siege of Stalingrad, now Volgograd, the Red Army was on the counter offensive in Russia. In the final three weeks of the fight at Stalingrad, during the month of January 1943, 90,000 German troops died of cold and starvation, 100,000 were killed in battle, and hundreds of thousands of Germans, Hungarians, and Romanians were hauled off to Russia’s POW camps. Among the POWs was General Friedrich von Paulus who had been promoted to the rank of Field Marshall in the last days of battle because no German Marshall had yet surrendered.³⁴ In the month of July, Russians subdued the Germans in the war’s biggest tank battle at Kursk; the allies landed in Sicily, and Mussolini was deposed. Throughout all this Haurowitz stayed on in Turkey until a job materialized for him in the US in 1949. However, in 1947 he made sure his family immigrated to the US so that his son and daughter could receive an American education. “While the daughter Alice was a freshman and taking steps to major in chemistry the wife Gina and high school son Martin had become established with relatives in New York City.”³⁵ Professor Haurowitz financially supported them from his Istanbul University earnings.

Aversion to making risky decisions

There is an exchange of correspondence (in German) during April 1946 between Haurowitz and Frau Dr. Berta Ottenstein, then living in Brookline, Massachusetts. In that letter, Haurowitz inquired regarding job opportunities at United States universities in his profession. She was very pessimistic but suggested that there might be a position at the University of Utah and urged him to come. From several letters, it is clear that Haurowitz was unwilling to give up a secure position allowing him to transfer some of his salary to the United States for the support of his family until he had secured a position there. In other correspondence to Frau Dr. Ottenstein, as well as others, he pointed out that although he was satisfied with his work in Turkey, his children had no future there. In a letter dated March 6, 1946, to his émigré colleague astronomer E. Finaly Freundlich already settled in Scotland, Haurowitz was more specific:

It was the only right thing to be done for the children, [sending them to the United States] who had visited [attended] here the English High Schools. There is the question, whether I should follow them. For the moment I prefer to wait, until travelling [sic] possibilities to Prague or to the United States will improve. Our fees here have been increased rather considerably and I have the right to transfer 1/5 of my income to USA, so that it is not quite easy to leave this post without having any security about a future appointment.

In other letters (February 27 1946 and March 6 1946) exchanged between the two friends, one finds sad deliberations on the prospects of both returning to their native Prague and their former positions at its University. Part of the discussion centered on the potential election outcome involving Jan Masaryk and what impact that might have on their return. History tells us that on March 10, 1948, Masaryk died under questionable circumstances.

Evidently, Haurowitz's inability to locate in the United States for many years and his exile in Turkey battered his self-image. Alfred Frohlich, a long time colleague who had situated at the May Institute for Medical Research of the Jewish Hospital in Cincinnati, wrote Haurowitz a short note on December 30, 1946. "Hope your visit to the US will convince you how respected and honored you are here. It will only be a short time till you are reunited with your wife and children. I hope so."



**Dr Felix Haurowitz with his Turkish laboratory coworkers
Circa 1940s**

Over the years, Istanbul University's Academic Senate voted to grant honorary doctorates to several of the emigre professors. Felix Haurowitz, was one of them. As the cartoon shows his Turkish students appreciated him and his good humor.



**A cartoon of Winterstein, Haurowitz, and other textbook authors.
1945 Student New Year's spoof.**

Istanbul University Medical School.

In his own words to Hugo Braun,³⁶ on November 19 1950, as if having to reconfirm his worth to himself Haurowitz wrote: "My colleagues in the US seem to value my work because the NY Academy of Medicine, which had a two day symposium about antibodies, asked me to be the honored speaker. They even paid for my traveling and hotel expenses."

In a letter dated April 28, 1950, to Hugo Braun who was already back in Munich, Haurowitz stated: "I never regretted the nine years I spent in Turkey, and I feel that the Turks conducted themselves toward us much better than some of the European professors [among us] toward the Turks." On December 16 1953, Prof. Dr. H. Braun responded to Haurowitz: "Just received your letter and am happy that you took my suggestion to let me submit your name to the *Kuratorium* (curatorship) of the Paul-Ehrlich-Siftung (Trust). Please send a current CV."

Moreover, on July 3, 1954, Braun writes, “I think it is very nice of you to have your former Turkish coworker [Mutahar Yenson] working with you. Please do extend to him my heartfelt greetings and wishes. He was very decent to me while I was still in Turkey.” In 1953, Haurowitz invited his junior colleague Mutahhar Yenson to join him for yet another year of close collaboration but this time at the Bloomington laboratories of the University of Indiana.

Haurowitz’s Bloomington correspondence archives leave no doubt about his dedication in maintaining relationships with former students. Among this correspondence included is a half-inch stack of correspondence with Michael Sela, an Israeli immunologist who in the mid-1950s did post-doctorate work at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda MD. Dr. Sela collaborated with Haurowitz while overseas, in Washington DC, as well as in Bloomington and became a laureate of many international science prizes. Sela published at least 260 scientific papers, two of which at least he coauthored with Haurowitz, and was granted nineteen patents, mostly US, UK and some multiple-country. On October 16, 1957, on National Institute of Health letterhead, a young Sela wrote to Haurowitz, “I would like to ask you to add to my name on any publication, the remark ‘On leave of absence from the Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, Israel.’” Decades later, he was elected to head that venerable institution and served in that capacity for a number of years. And, on August 14, 1957, also on NIH letterhead, he wrote, “I would like to thank you once again for the very interesting and stimulating month which I spent in Bloomington.” Also, on March 10 1960, Michael Sela wrote: “First of all please accept, though belatedly, my heartiest congratulations on the occasion of the Ehrich award and medal, stressing once again your contribution to science in general.” This was indeed a most eloquent way of reminding us that this great scientist, among others, was saved for all of us by a 1933 invitation from the Republic of Turkey.

During the mid-1950’s, correspondence between Haurowitz and Braun indicates that each was settling down in his new surroundings, doing research, being invited to give lectures, and traveling to conferences. Haurowitz arranged to have medical journals sent to Germany still recovering from war’s devastation. And, though they each lament the fact that they are too busy, they agree that “it is better to have too much work than too little.”

In a letter dated February 11, 1955, Haurowitz told his friend Braun that “there is nothing new to report. We had our daughter Liese and husband here for Christmas. He was discharged from the Army and they both are resuming studies at Wisconsin. During their military service on the west coast, they often saw the Sgalitzers³⁷ and report that they are doing fine.” The letter goes on to say that they saw the Army-drafted son, Martin, two weeks ago and ends with best regards to their mutual friends (from Turkey), Marchionini and Goldschmidt.

In an exchange of letters on November 11, 1955, and May 17, 1956, Braun and Haurowitz both express concerns for their dear ones in light of “the unrest in Israel and Argentina.” On September 20, 1956, Haurowitz wrote to Braun, “You asked me about Frau Ottenstein in your last letter. I found out from the [ophthalmologist] *Igersheimer* that she went swimming with girlfriends. While her friends swam out to sea, she stayed back in the shallow waters. She was observed to suddenly keel over and fell into the water. Before any one could help her, she was dead. It was not suicide, because she had just found out that the German government would agree to provide her a pension, and she would no longer have to worry about money.”

He then changed the subject and informed Braun about his daughter Liese having had a baby and that he cannot get used to being a grandfather. On October 9, 1957, Haurowitz told Braun that the German government agreed to reinstate his pension albeit small, and that he participated in a symposium at the St Andrews University in Scotland. While there, he visited with astronomy professor Freundlich and his wife. Freundlich had decided to retire and move to Wiesbaden, Germany, where the climate was more agreeable. On the positive side, by August 6 1962, Felix Haurowitz informed his then very ill friend, Hugo Braun, of the fact that his son, Martin, whom Braun knew as a little boy, was doing a post-doc in astrophysics at Cornell and was offered an Assistant Professorship there which he had accepted. The *Appendix* provides extracts from memoirs provided by Haurowitz's daughter Liese, his son Martin as well as Haurowitz himself. The reminiscences of the second generation have corroborated inputs received by this author from others.³⁸ They leave no doubt that the émigrés' offspring enjoyed and thrived during their years in Turkey and each received an excellent education while there. Their terminal degrees are from Cornell and Wisconsin the more prestigious American universities.

It was a wonderful life, in many ways, for a young boy growing up...because of the outdoors and the lovely climate and the sea, and everything that went with it.---Martin Harwit³⁹

Concluding remarks.

The Biographical Memoirs of the (U.S.) National Academy of Sciences describe Felix Haurowitz as a “product of centuries of European intellectual tradition,” a member of a group of “learned scholars, dedicated scientists, [and] enlightened human beings” who “were driven by barbaric intolerance to a new land to which they contributed so much. Their impact will be enduring, and Felix Haurowitz was one of the great ones among them.”⁴⁰ The University of Indiana, has this to say about Felix Haurowitz, one of its greatest adopted sons.

During his career he gained wide-spread recognition for his work on antibodies and received numerous honors which included the Paul Ehrlich gold medal (West Germany), election to the German Academy of Scientists (Leopoldina), Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and member of the National Academy of Sciences. He was also awarded an honorary MD by the University of Istanbul and an honorary doctorate of science degree by Indiana University. In 1971 he was honored at the First International Congress of Immunology for distinguished services to immunology. Of his ten books he considered the *Chemistry and Biology of Proteins*, whose second edition was called *Chemistry and Function of Proteins*, to be the most important. Both were reprinted and translated into many languages including Japanese and Russian. He remained active in science up to his death in 1987.⁴¹

Czechoslovakia's loss was Turkey's gain just as the Ivy League's loss was Indiana University's gain. There is no question that the prevailing anti-Semitic attitude elsewhere

during the late 1940's and 50's placed the University of Indiana at the cutting edge of America's national research universities.

Epilogue

Man's inhumanity to man in one society brought about great developmental leaps in more humane settings. Such was indeed the case in Bloomington, Indiana, and in Istanbul, Turkey, before that.

The story of Felix Haurowitz in the context of the darkest years of the 20th Century will hopefully enlighten the future generations so that they "do not live alienated from their ancestry and in ignorance of the events that have given shape to their present."⁴²

Appendix

Memoir of Dr. Alice (Haurowitz) Sievers as a youngster in Turkey and coming of age in America.

On arrival in Istanbul, the only Turkish phrase my brother and I knew was *Türkçe bilmem*, i.e., (I don't know Turkish.) We also knew little English and so Prof. Hirsch's daughter Julima tutored us to help us stay on track at the English High Schools. My classmates were mostly the daughters of expatriates and diplomats. There was a separate academic track for my Turkish fellow students since these had to complete Turkish elementary school before enrolling in a foreign school. Regrettably, that prevented me from becoming close friends with Turkish girls and I also never achieved great fluency in Turkish. Since we lived in Nişantaşı, I had only occasional contact with the children of émigré professors, most of whom lived in Bebek and went to Robert College.

Our British school curriculum was impacted by wartime staffing problems. For instance, no science was taught until Mrs. Brauner (wife of Prof. Brauner) came to teach it in my senior year. My father had filled this void by slipping interesting scientific odds and ends into family conversations and had sparked my later interest in chemistry. Upon graduation, I took the University of London Matriculation Exam, which I passed with honors. This was useful later on, when I applied for acceptance at colleges.

Summers were a time to enjoy swimming. We alternated between the Floria beaches, various bathing piers, and the rocks on the shores of the Princes Islands. Much of Turkey was off-limits to foreigners during the war, and so all of our family vacations were spent on Uludağ, the mountain which rose above Bursa. We explored the mountains with other families and also with some of Father's Turkish co-workers who wanted to experience the novelty of mountain hiking. We stayed at the primitive lodge, which had a huge sleeping room filled with double-decker bunks, served three basic daily meals, and provided cold-water taps in the main hallway for washing. So we bathed in mountain streams and on our way back to Istanbul, we stopped off at a hamam in Bursa, where there were hot springs.

In Istanbul, we often spent Sundays taking long walks or getting together with friends at each others' homes. My parents' friends included personnel from the Czech Consulate, and the families of expatriate businessmen and fellow professors. As children, we particularly enjoyed visiting Dr. and Mrs. Fritz Arndt, whose home lay directly on the Bosphorus. We swam from their pier, ate Mrs. Arndt's great cookies, and sat in the garden to listen to discussions of academic topics, the war situation, and how to cope with the inflation which outpaced University salary increases. My parents dealt with inflation by finding a very nice English lodger, who became a good friend. They also sold off their crystal and much of my father's large collection of orchestral and other music scores. My parents, fortunately, were able to bring all their possessions, except for money and most valuables, because we left Prague before the Nazi bureaucracy had become entrenched.

Although my parents interacted socially with Turkish colleagues, we were invited along only once. The occasion was a wonderful multi-course Turkish banquet served under an arbor in the garden of Prof. and Mrs. Mazhar Uzman. Tuba, their eldest daughter, was my schoolmate, though several years ahead of me. I believe that her younger siblings also attended my brother's and my schools. Another memorable occasion was a formal dinner at our home for my father's Turkish colleagues. To make the event a success, Mother's Hungarian friend helped out by wearing a maid's uniform to serve the meal, replacing our very inexperienced household help. I also recall the visit to my parents of the Nobel-Prize winner, Prof. Albert Szent-Györgyi who had come from German-occupied Hungary with his wife to visit Turkey, give a lecture, and to breathe in some fresh air.

Because Turkey was a neutral country, my parents could correspond both with people living under German occupation and those in rest of the world. I only recently learned that my father kept family members in Prague in touch with others who had escaped to Britain, Palestine, or the United States. My grandmother had been prevented by the Nazis from joining us in Turkey and had later been deported to Terezin [Theresienstadt concentration camp in Bohemia and Moravia]. She could not write to us from there, and so my mother sent food packages to her by registered mail, with a return receipt requiring the recipient signature. We never knew if Grandmother was allowed to keep the food, but the signed receipts were proof that she was still alive. I still remember the sad day when a return receipt came back with a forged signature and we knew that we would never see Grandmother again.

As Axis armies invaded the Balkans, Greece, and Africa, my parents feared an invasion of Turkey and prepared to escape via Anatolia to Allied-occupied territory. They deposited a trunk of our possessions with friends in Ankara and then, during that summer, we moved to a Pension on the Anatolian side of the Marmara Sea .My parents believed that the Bosphorus might slow a German

advance and give us a head start in crossing Anatolia, on foot if necessary. I thought that the Pension was wonderful. It lay right on the Marmara Sea and we could swim all day long. On the down side, my father had a much longer commute to work by tram and ferry.

After the war, my parents wanted my brother and me to continue our education in the United States. We could have had a very good education in Turkey, but foreigners could not obtain work permits. Since Father wished to honor his Turkish contract and had not yet found a situation in the U.S., my mother brought us children to the United States as soon as we could obtain passage. In New York, we stayed with Mother's relatives until they found us an apartment. I enrolled in high school, took the New York State Regents Examination, and applied to colleges recommended by Father's colleagues. One of these was Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana, where I was admitted and given a full tuition scholarship.

Since the University could not provide housing, because veterans returning from WWII had priority, my parents were relieved to learn that Thea Muller, the daughter of our family friend Dr. Kantorowicz, Professor of Dentistry at the University of Istanbul, lived in Bloomington. (Her husband, Herman J. Muller was Professor of Genetics and shortly thereafter he was awarded the Nobel Prize), [1946 in Medicine]. Thea Muller introduced me to the family of Professor Harry G. Day, a biochemist. He and Mrs. Day accepted me as a lodger and treated me as a daughter from then on. They invited my mother to visit, and Dr. Day learned from her that Father was also a biochemist and was seeking a position in the United States. After reviewing my father's publications, Dr. Day arranged for him to lecture at Indiana University in the summer of 1947. Shortly thereafter, Father was asked to join the chemistry faculty and accepted the position, to start in 1948.

I was an adult before I understood the impact my quiet father had had on his Turkish co-workers and students. I recall one episode that illustrates this. In 1958, I was at a small hospital in Lake Forest, Illinois, delivering our son, and somehow my maiden name must have appeared on my admission record. The next day, two young Turkish doctors came to my room, asked if I was related to their former professor, and expressed their great admiration for him! That this admiration must have been shared by many of his Turkish colleagues and coworkers became evident when in 1973 he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate at the University of Istanbul⁴³.

Memoir of her younger brother Dr. Martin (Hauowitz) Harwit who became Director of the National (US) Air and Space Museum in 1987 and resigned in May 1995 under fire from Congress, the news media, and veterans groups for his handling of plans to display the *Enola Gay*, the B-29 bomber that dropped the first atomic bomb on Japan in 1945.⁴⁴

When we arrived in Istanbul, my parents wanted my sister and me to learn English and enrolled us in schools run by the British Council. The English High School for Boys taught all classes, science, mathematics, history, and literature in English, in the mornings. By law, every school child was to have half a day of lessons in Turkish. So we had history, literature and geography lessons in Turkish in the afternoons, and we also had French classes then. The Turkish and English history lessons did not always agree.

The school had about 120 pupils. At one time, we counted thirty-two different nationalities, Greeks, Poles, Americans, Chinese, Egyptians, Germans, Maltese, British, Georgians, French—almost any country you could think of. The Turkish boys, of course, were in the majority, but probably accounted for not much more than half the pupils. My best friend, Andrew Lorant, a Hungarian only a few months older than I, whose family lived two floors below us in the same four-flat apartment building was Catholic. We always walked to and from school together from age eight to fourteen, were in all the same classes, played on the same soccer and cricket teams at school, and were known as the inseparables. Two other boys our age with whom we spent a lot of time were Rudy Grünberg, whose family was Jewish, and his close friend Mahmut Hilmi, who I assume was Mohammedan; his father was the Egyptian consul in Istanbul. When Hilmi (we all knew each other in school by our surnames) had what probably was his tenth birthday, the four of us spent the afternoon outside his parents' apartment building in *Nişantaş*, taking turns running behind his new bicycle, clutching its seat to keep it erect, until Hilmi got the hang of it, and ended the afternoon a proficient bike rider.

Given the makeup of the boys, religion never was mentioned in school. In Prague, my sister and I had attended an evangelical grade school, where we had classes both in German and Czech. My parents had me baptized a Protestant at birth and, for some time after we moved to Turkey, they had us both take Bible lessons from an English priest. Father wanted us to be familiar with Christianity.

Aside from this, as far as I can recall, religion was never mentioned at home. True, we always had a Christmas tree, both in Prague and later in Istanbul, exchanged presents, and sang traditional Christmas carols led by Mother, who had a good voice and liked to sing; Father, who was a gifted pianist, accompanied her. But Christmas, for us, was more of an annual occasion to enjoy being together than a religious event. As long as my parents were both alive, we regularly continued to get together for Christmas in Bloomington, Indiana, where my parents settled after coming to the US.

I don't ever remember my father using a Yiddish or Hebrew word or phrase and, to the best of my recollections, none of the other professors we visited from time to time, or their wives or children did either. So it may not be surprising that I was totally taken aback, one day when I was about fourteen,

when Father pointed out that he and Mother were Jewish. Since I was Protestant, I had assumed my parents must be, too.

My father was the most honest and ethical person I have known. I never knew him to tell me anything that I could not totally trust. He also was deeply agnostic. He had been painfully aware of antisemitism long before Hitler. He always said that he would not change his religion because people would think he was doing it for personal gain. But he wanted to keep his children from having to suffer anti-Semitism. Hence my baptism. Aside from this, however, his beliefs were agnostic.

A few years ago, when Secretary of State Madelaine Albright, who had also been born in Czechoslovakia, found out to her surprise that her family had been Jewish, nobody in America believed her. I did; it had happened to me. For Americans, it seems difficult to understand. But, for many Europeans, who had witnessed anti-Semitism for many decades, integration seemed a way to break these mutual hatreds. Religion seemed best when ignored.

I have inherited my father's agnosticism. Too many evils have been perpetrated in the name of a superior God, too many wars fought for a superior religion, too many people killed in the name of a superior faith. For me, religion is the source of most evils, even today.

For my mother, the move to Istanbul was liberating. In Prague, the family was supposed to live an elegant life. As a faculty member, my father's salary was low by the standards of his and Mother's textile-factory-owning families, but he would have preferred for the family to live on his salary. My grandparents, however, may have somehow contributed to keep up the larger family's lifestyle. My sister and I had a governess; there was a cook and also a maid. Mother did little except to get together with this staff each morning to decide on the meals they should prepare and the day's schedule to be followed.

All this changed in Istanbul. We did have a Turkish live-in maid. She probably was indispensable, since bargaining for every head of lettuce you bought on the market was an endless sport that a foreigner could not win. The maid, who knew the cost that each item should have, could help my mother at every turn in such matters. But Mother now also learned to cook, and became very good at it. To her, it was wonderful to be allowed to do things herself, and she made sure that we children also learned rudimentary practical matters. She taught me to cook simple meals, to sew on buttons, and to darn socks, which was important in wartime where nothing got thrown out. Mother used to say she didn't want me to have to marry the first girl who came along, just because I did not know how to manage these chores myself. Later, when I went to college and graduate school in the United States and had very little money, these small skills came in more than handy, particularly when I joined cooking co-ops to save on the cost of meals.

After we came to the United States. My mother had no help at all at home, not even an occasional cleaning lady, whom other professors' wives often had. Mother said she was far more pleased to have the house to herself, with no intrigues, nobody else to have to depend on. It was one of the features of life in the United States she loved most. After the War, I believe, Father would have been quite happy to have had an academic position in Europe, where he was far better known than in the U.S., and where he had been honored by various academies. But, after Mother arrived, she took to the U.S., and said she would never go back. She wanted the whole family—all four of us—to settle in the States, and persuaded Father to grant her that wish. She wanted to be as far away as possible from Europe and the many wars it had suffered. And then, nobody in Czechoslovakia, in her family or in Father's, was left after the war. They had all emigrated or died—a few of old age, but most in the concentration camps, including her mother and brother, her two closest relatives. Her father had died of cancer in the late 1920s.

The moves from Prague to Istanbul, and then to the U.S. profoundly changed our family. We became much closer without the intervention of servants, and also became more self-reliant.

For me, perhaps the most remarkable aspect of our stay in Turkey was the incredibly dedicated interest that the foreign professors in Istanbul had for the children among them—not just their own, but all of us. Even when we were small they would talk with us.

Visiting the Arndt's at their place on the Bosphorus in Kadikoy always was a treat. Prof. Arndt would recite rhymes from the German caricaturist and satirist Wilhelm Busch that he seemed to know in endless numbers. And later we would sit and listen as the adults talked about the war, the daily problems it raised, adjusting to life in Turkey, and other problems, while Mrs. Arndt served a red currant jelly she had cooked, on which she poured a cover of milk. It gave us children a feeling of being part of these adults' community. I believe the adults, in turn, thought of us in the same way. For them, we may have represented the future for which they had made sacrifices by leaving their homelands.

It is that spirit of community that I remember most fondly when I think back on our lives in Turkey. Among these academics, as I think about it, the War had brought out the very best. Some of the strength of these men and women, I like to believe, may have rubbed off on many of us children, who were too young at the time to recognize how singular this group had been.

An extract from the autobiography of Felix Haurowitz, written in October 1975 on request by the Home Secretary of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States, upon Haurowitz's being elected to the Academy's membership:⁴⁵

My wife, myself, and our children remember the life in Istanbul as a very happy time. Istanbul is in our view the most beautiful city of the world, certainly more beautiful than Naples, San Francisco, and Rio de Janeiro, all of which I have seen. It has not only the geographical beauties of all these but also the beauties of the ancient Roman aqueduct, the Roman and Byzantine city walls and monuments and the overwhelming beauties of the great mosques. The Turkish government expected the foreign professors to modernize the antiquated didactic methods of the Ottoman Empire.

The first two years, a docent of physiology or pathology translated my lecture during the class. At the end of the second year, I was able to lecture in Turkish which made teaching and particularly examining much easier. I took over from my predecessor an excellent technical assistant, Miss Paula Schwerin, with whom I published a series of papers. However, I found also a group of hard working enthusiastic Turkish co-workers. Most of them are now professors in Istanbul or at universities in other Turkish cities. Even at present (1975), that is 27 years after having left Turkey in 1948, I am still in contact with my old co-workers. They expressed to me their feelings by asking the Senate of the University in Istanbul to confer on me the honorary degree of a doctor of medicine. This very rare title was bestowed on me in 1973.

The yearly budget of the Department of Biological and Medical Chemistry in the University of Istanbul was approximately \$2,000. Very little could be bought with this modest budget, particularly during World War II, which began a few months after my arrival in Istanbul. We worked almost exclusively on problems of immunochemistry....

Much of my time in Istanbul was devoted to teaching elementary physiological chemistry to medical students. We had classes containing from 400 to more than 1,000 students per semester. The laboratory course had to be given in 5 or 10 parallel courses. A Turkish textbook of biochemistry that I wrote was published in several editions.

Turkey had at that time approximately 25 million inhabitants and only one medical school in Istanbul. Most of the physicians stayed in the large cities. Very few of them, after having lived in Istanbul as students, were willing to return to the villages on the mainland of Anatolia with their loam huts, their lack of cultural institutions and their isolation. To secure medical help for these large parts of the country, the government awarded scholarships to the best premedical students. These scholarships covered not only dormitory space, full board, and textbooks, but also clothing, stationery, and even satisfactory pocket money.

The students, after receiving the M.D. degree, were sent to those places in Anatolia which needed them most urgently, and had to serve there as many years as they had been supported by the government. They were allowed to have private practices, and some of them, used their income to return to the government the sums which they had received over the years. They were then free to move to any other place in Turkey. Many of them returned to the few large cities, Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir (Smyrna).

Nevertheless, the governmental Scholarships with the obligations to work in small towns improved considerably the health service in Anatolia. I wonder whether some similar system might not improve the health service in the small towns of the United States that have great difficulties in attracting practitioners.

Although our family loved Istanbul, we knew that there would be no future for our children. They reached college age, and, in 1946, my wife and the two children moved to the United States, taking with them most of our furniture. They traveled by means of an American Liberty ship. Their passage took almost a month. I stayed in Istanbul since my contract with the university would last two more years. However, I visited my family during the summer vacation in 1947. At that time, my daughter was a student at Indiana University. She had applied to different schools, but had been accepted in Bloomington first.

Owing to the large number of students who at that time returned from the military service, my daughter did not find a room in a dormitory but was accepted as a paying guest in the house of Professor Harry G. Day who turned out to be Professor of Biochemistry. When he heard that I would visit my family in 1947, he invited me to come to Bloomington and to present there a talk. After the lecture, there was a reception at which I met Professor J. H. Muller, a geneticist and Nobel laureate whose wife happened to be the daughter of one of my colleagues in the medical school in Istanbul.

The next day, I was asked whether I would accept an appointment as professor of Chemistry at Indiana University and teach biochemistry. I told my colleagues that I would be glad to accept such an appointment but that I had to return to Istanbul for another year and that I had been invited by the Medical School in Basel, Switzerland, to accept appointment for the chair of Biochemistry. I had promised my Swiss colleagues that I would visit them after returning from the United States and wanted to postpone my decision to a date after my visit to Basel.

The formal offer of Indiana University arrived while I was on my way from the U.S. to Basel. Once there, I was told that the medical faculty had proposed me *primo et unico loco*, that is, as the only candidate, but that they would have to fight for their decision because the cantonal government in Basel would prefer a Swiss citizen. This fight might take more than a year. Under these circumstances, I accepted the appointment in Bloomington. I moved there in July 1948. The University provided us with a small, prefabricated house. In 1950, we moved into an old two-story house with a large back yard. We still live in it.

My family was accepted in Bloomington with deeply moving cordiality, not only by my colleagues but also by the officers of the University, by neighbors, and by almost everyone with whom we had to deal in our daily life. I do not know whether Hoosier hospitality is exceptionally high or whether it merely reflects average American hospitality. It made our assimilation to American life very easy. In the Department, I had to take over the teaching of introductory biochemistry. The students who took this course were chemistry

juniors, and seniors, pre-med students, and also juniors, or seniors, in zoology, botany, and microbiology.

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¹ For a full documentation of all scientists and professionals invited to Turkey see A. Reisman, *Turkey's Modernization: Refugees from Nazism and Atatürk's Vision* (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishers, 2006). On November 10, 2006, *The Daughters of Atatürk* and *The Sons of Atatürk*, two American NGOs dedicated to "promoting Turkish Heritage across the globe"

honored this author in recognition of the above book with their “Man of Outstanding Accomplishment Award for 2006.”

² All Hauowitz correspondence cited in this paper is Courtesy Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library, Indiana University.

³ Op cit Ref 1.

⁴ The number and mix of Nobel awards is but one indicator.

⁵ In whole or in part.

⁶ Neumark, 1980, 13.

⁷ Historians who specialize in the question of America's response to the Holocaust are urging the Franklin D. Roosevelt Museum, to correct a panel in its exhibit that claims there was nothing President Roosevelt could have done to save many more Jews from the Holocaust. "There are numerous steps that the Roosevelt administration could have taken to save lives, such as granting refugees temporary haven in America or in Allied-controlled regions; pressuring the British to open Palestine to refugees; ordering the bombing of the gas chambers at Auschwitz or the railways leading to them; and giving broader funding and power to the U.S. War Refugee Board." "Roosevelt Museum Distorts FDR's Record on the Holocaust; Historians Protest" July 7, 2005. <http://www.wymaninstitute.org/bostoncont.php>

⁸ A Tough Decision for Yale's Jewish Students - Brief Article
Black Issues in Higher Education, Feb 3, 2000 by Daniel Brook Viewed October 23, 2005
http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0DXK/is_25_16/ai_59607428

⁹ James Bryant Conant accepted an appointment as the President of Harvard University in 1933, a post he held until 1953. According to Barbara R. Bergmann, (Harvard PhD in Economics 1960)

Paul Samuelson who had gotten his PhD at Harvard in '41(Nobel laureate 1970), and was probably their most brilliant student in living memory, had been denied a teaching post because he was a Jew, and so had gone to MIT. Subsequently, Robert Solow [Harvard Ph.D, 1951 and Nobel laureate 1987] also went to MIT, perhaps for the same reason. Franco Modigliani, [Nobel laureate 1985] who was Jewish, and had been in the country since before WWII, [arrived in August 1939] gave the Harvard graduate theory course, perhaps in 57-59 (I was his teaching assistant), and I had the impression that he had been taken on in a regular faculty position. Personal communication October 28, 2004.

The record shows that Modigliani was never appointed to the regular Harvard faculty. Discriminatory practices at Harvard were not limited to economics or the social sciences. In the humanities, specifically in its English Department, in 1939 Harvard's Committee of Eight, appointed to investigate dismissals of two gifted junior faculty, pointed out that it was informed "that certain members of the faculty object to the appointment of Jews to the tutorial staff in the belief that that they are unacceptable to undergraduates." Klingenstein (1991, p202). John Kennan Galbraith is quoted as commenting on his experience at Harvard that "the pre-WorldWar II campus was particularly anti-Semitic." Synnot (1979 p xviii) and that with the end of World War II "the dike broke" and the university hired Jews in significant numbers." Synnot (1979 p 201).

¹⁰ Max Bergmann,formerly director of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institute for Leather Research, joined the Rockefeller Institute in 1933; he was one of many German

scientists of the intellectual migration. A protégé of Emil Fischer, Bergmann had developed in Germany a leading center for protein chemistry, attracting students from around the world. His successful career continued in his new homeland, which he considered "the best country on the globe" (*Felix Haurowitz* file, 8 July 1943). His research program, which focused on the action of proteolytic enzymes on synthetic peptides and on the problem of protein structure, aimed at explaining the biological specificity of proteins. As determinants of specificity, proteins were then generally regarded as the active hereditary material in the chromosomes; Bergmann's investigations were also intended to account for this genetic specificity. The Bergmann Papers--letters, reports, addresses, and lectures -- are therefore important not only for the history of biochemistry, but also for the history of molecular genetics. The correspondence shows Bergmann to be a *central figure within the international network of protein chemists, and instrumental in helping other émigré biochemists in the 1930s.* (Emphasis added) Viewed on October 27, 2005.

<http://www.amphilsoc.org/library/guides/kay/Primary.htm>

¹¹ "Harvard's Nazi Ties", by Stephen H. Norwood, October 26, 2005. The David S. Wyman Institute for Holocaust Studies, Viewed October 26, 2005.

<http://www.wymaninstitute.org/articles/2004-11-harvard.php>

¹² Bloomgarden L. (1960 p152)

¹³ A separate and distinct institution from Princeton University, founded with Jewish money for the purposes of ingathering Nazi persecuted intellectuals.

¹⁴ Oswald Veblen Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Box 31.

¹⁵ <<http://www-groups.dcs.st-and.ac.uk/~history/Mathematicians/Dehn.html>>. Viewed October 22 2005.

¹⁶ Courtesy of the Special Collection Department, The University of Chicago Library.

¹⁷ Courtesy of the Special Collection Department, The University of Chicago Library.

¹⁸ Letter dated November 3 1933, to Stephen P. Duggan, Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars.

¹⁹ The very same institution that got ophthalmologist Igersheimer, an eminent scholar, by giving him no more than an Assistant Professorship.

²⁰ Lipset and Ladd, Jr. (1971 p.92). However following WWII the flood gates on America's campuses were opened to Jewish students and professors alike. There were many reasons for this. One of these was the fact that the elite universities were on academic and financial decline. Irrespective, over the remainder of the 20th century "the Jews were the vanguard of a social movement that ... transformed the American university system and the nature of the American elite" Brooks, D. (2005).

²¹ Toscanini was a vocal anti Nazi, who made his views known in Europe until the last possible minute. NBC created an orchestra for him, and he broadcast concerts regularly to great acclaim. Many of the broadcasts are still regarded as great recordings. His chosen successor (Guido Cantelli) perished in a plane crash, and the orchestra was subsequently disbanded, but Toscanini's impact on the music scene is undeniable. Arthur Rubinstein born in Lodz, Poland, the same city as this author, escaped from Paris to Los Angeles in 1940. In August 1939, with the worsening situation in Europe, George Szell and his wife settled in New York, In 1946 he became Musical Director of Cleveland and a United States citizen. He elevated that orchestra to world class status.

²² To alleviate that problem the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study was established. One of the first professors hired in 1933 by the Institute was Albert Einstein. Alvin Johnson, who took over as director of the reorganized the *New School*, helped found the "University in Exile" to accommodate the newly displaced and exiled German scholars. The University in Exile, which was later to become the Graduate Faculty for Political and Social Science of the *New School*, was a haven for many and, the New School after rededicating itself to scholarly research quickly became one of the more prominent schools of social science in the United States. The New School virtually transplanted the entire Kiel Institute of economists. <http://cepa.newschooll.edu/het/schools/newsch.htm>

²³ In 1936, Harvard sent a representative to celebrations at the University of Heidelberg which, like all German universities at that time, had expelled all its Jewish professors and changed its curriculum to reflect Nazi ideology. Harvard also cultivated friendly ties with another Nazi German university, Gottingen. Viewed on October 27, 2005.

<http://www.wymaninstitute.org/bostoncont.php>

²⁴ Document 867.4016 JEWS/5, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

This letter speaks for itself. It was followed on November 10, 1933 with "in regard to the difficulties of the Jews in Germany and the engagement of German Jewish professors in this country, I now enclose as of possible interest in this connection a list of the names of foreign professors appointed to the University of Istanbul, all of them, I imagine being of the Jewish race, as indeed the names themselves sufficiently indicate." Document 867.4016 JEWS/6, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

²⁵ These were followed by many others so that the total number is estimated to be close to 2000.

²⁶ An extract from the Autobiography of Felix Haurowitz, written in October 1975 on request by the Home Secretary of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States, upon Haurowitz's being elected to the Academy's membership.

²⁷ <http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/lilly/mss/html/haurowit.html>

²⁸ Shaw (1993) pg 379

²⁹ According to "Administrators Lent Harvard's Prestige to Nazis, Historian Says" an article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* by SCOTT MCLEEMEE in the 11/26/2004 issue:

The administration of Harvard University welcomed officials of the German government to the university's campus during the 1930s. *It also sent representatives to attend festivities at German universities undergoing "Nazification," giving the regime a much-needed aura of legitimacy.* So the record shows, according to Stephen H. Norwood, a professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, who presented his findings at a conference at Boston University. "I can give example after example after example" *of the Ivy League institution's "indifference to anti-Semitic violence in Germany at the time,"* said Mr. Norwood (Emphasis added)

Viewed October 26, 2005. <http://chronicle.com/weekly/v51/i14/14a01501.htm>

³⁰ By letter of November 3, 2005, Lawrence H. Summers, President of Harvard University, stated: "I appreciate your interest in Harvard's history and I am sorry that we cannot be of

assistance to you. My colleague in the archives department stated our policy accurately with regard to releasing information.”

³¹ <http://www.jbc.org/content/vol140/issue2/index.shtml>

³² Courtesy Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library, Indiana University.

³³ Neumark (1982 p153)

³⁴ Clifton, (1999 p 546)

³⁵ Day, (1994, 377)

³⁶ One of the few émigré professors who returned to Germany. By 1953, he was located at the *Hygienisches Institute* of the University of Munich.

³⁷ As indicated, Max Sgalitzer was the eminent researcher in radiology who was able to bring to Turkey members of his engineering and nursing staff.

³⁸ See Reisman (2006)

³⁹ Dr. Martin (Haurowitz) Harwit in “Desperate Hours” Documentary film, Shenandoah Films

PO Box 1339. Hedgesville, WV 25427. USA. <<http://www.shenandoahfilm.com>>

⁴⁰ See Putnam, Felix Haurowitz

⁴¹ <http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/lilly/mss/html/haurowit.html>

⁴² Staudenmaier, (1985).

⁴³ Personal correspondence October 1, 2005.

⁴⁴ See Harwit *An Exhibit Denied*

⁴⁵ Supplied with permission to print by Dr. Alice (Haurowitz) Sievert, Executrix of the Felix Haurowitz estate, September 2 2005.