Cross-Cultural Developments in Education: The Comparative Experiences of Fritz C. Neumann in Europe and the United States

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INTRODUCTION

Migration of German-speaking academics had significant effects in America and Germany in the post-war period.[1] This was true not only of the humanities and of German studies,[2] but also of philosophy, the social sciences, economics, and the natural sciences.[3] Immigrant German historians and sociologists helped the American secret services to analyze German society in the course of World War II, and strongly influenced American post-war policy in Germany.[4] In the behavioural sciences, Wolfgang Köhler developed research in "Gestalt" psychology, and his colleague Kurt Lewin at the Massachusetts' Institute of Technology Center for Group Dynamics developed a theory of leadership using experiments about the design of groups.[5]

In the social and behavioural sciences, we have comprehensive and systematic analyses of German migrants and their impacts. The history of education lacks a formally equivalent analysis of pedagogy, schooling, and

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[1] Claus-Dieter Krohn/Patrick von zur Mühlen, eds., *Rückkehr und Aufbau nach 1945: Deutsche Remigranten im öffentlichen Leben Nachkriegsdeutschlands* (Marburg: Metropolis Verlag, 1997).

[2] Guy Stern, *Literarische Kultur im Exil. Gesammelte Beiträge zur Exilforschung (1989–1997)* (Dresden: Dresden University Press, 1998); Jost Hermand, "Das Eigene im Fremden. Die Wirkung der Exilanten und Exilantinnen auf die amerikanische Germanistik," *Exilforschung* 16 (1998): 157–73.

[3] For contributions to physics, psychology/medicine, sociology/economics, and philosophy see Marianne Hassler/Armin Hermann/Jürgen Wertheimer, eds., *Der Exodus aus Nazideutschland und die Folgen: Jüdische Wissenschaftler im Exil* (Tübingen: Attempto, 1998).

[4] Christof Mauch, *Schattenkrieg gegen Hitler. Das Dritte Reich im Visier der amerikanischen Geheimdienste 1941 bis 1945* (Stuttgart: dva, 1999); Barry Katz, *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services, 1942–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989); Petra Marquardt-Bigman, *Amerikanische Geheimdienstanalysen über Deutschland 1942–1949* (München: Oldenbourg, 1995).

[5] Mitchell G. Ash, *Gestaltpsychology in German Culture, 1890–1967: Holism and the Quest for Objectivity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press 1995).

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social activity. Historical studies emphasize immigration, but deal inadequately with long-term effects of the immigration to the United States. The present essay aims to help redress the balance.

Migration of German-speaking academics to the U.S. after 1933 became a subject of research in America almost as soon as it began. German migrants were themselves responsible for much of that work.[6] Scholarly assessment in Germany generally came later,[7] emphasizing after 1966–67 the question whether the migrants became significant participants in and contributors to the broader academic community in America, or were instead engaged in debates of interest primarily to themselves.

This unresolved question led Wolfgang Frühwald, a leading German researcher, to argue in 1979 that migration research should seek to bring closure to the debate and thus make further such research superfluous.[8] Migration research nonetheless continued, developing into a dynamic and prolific field. A wave of subsequent publications was enriched by foreign contributions, chiefly American.[9] The main contributions to the literature fill several large volumes.[10]

The *Lexikon der Pädagogik*, published in 1971, could still conclude that reform pedagogy was completely broken off by the National Socialist seizure

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[6] Ludwig Marcuse, *Mein zwanzigstes Jahrhundert: Auf dem Weg zu einer Autobiographie* (Zürich: Diogenes, 1970); Franz Neumann et al., *The Cultural Migration: The European Scholar in America*. Introduction by W. Rex Crawford (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1953).

[7] Helge Pross, *Die deutsche akademische Emigration nach den Vereinigten Staaten 1933–1941*, (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1955).

[8] Wolfgang Frühwald/Wolfgang Schieder, Gegenwärtige Probleme der Exilforschung, in: Dies., eds., *Leben im Exil. Probleme der Integration deutscher Flüchtlinge im Ausland 1933–1945* (Hamburg: Edition Hamburger, 1991).

[9] Herbert A. Strauss, et al., eds., *Die Emigration der Wissenschaften nach 1933: Disziplingeschichtliche Studien* (München: Saur, 1991); Thomas Köbner, et al., eds., *Deutschland nach Hitler. Zukunftspläne im Exil und aus der Besatzungszeit 1939–1949* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1987); Joachim Radkau, *Die deutsche Emigration in den USA. Ihr Einfluss auf die amerikanische Europapolitik 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1971); Anthony Heilbut, *Exiled in Paradise. German Refugee Artists and Intellectuals in America from the 1930's to the Present* (New York: Viking Press, 1983); Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants. The Intellectual Migration from Europe 1930–1941* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

[10] Claus-Dieter Krohn et al., eds., *Handbuch der deutschprachigen Emigration 1933–1945* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1998).

of power.[11] Even at this late date there was a conspicuous failure to take into account migrants who fled Germany in the wake of the *Machtergreifung* but continued their work in reform pedagogy abroad. A later collection of their biographies acknowledges their fate as doubly displaced.[12]

Another study of educational migration at the university level after 1933 identified 352 German professors of education or closely related fields as migrants.[13] Although most of these migrants found their way to the United States, we know too little of what they accomplished once in the country. This is likewise the case for research on emigrants in the field of "social work,"[14] where more research is badly needed.[15]

Here, on the premise that educational migrants generally brought with them ideas and notions that achieved meaningful synthesis *after* arrival, I consider the biography of one Fritz Neumann (1897–1976), and discuss the relationship between German and American education at the level of pedagogical practice.

One of many nameless individuals deserving of posthumous tribute, Neumann is not even mentioned in the *Biographical Handbook of German*

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[11]Wolfgang Scheibe, Reformpädagogik, in: *Lexikon der Pädagogik*, Vol. 3 (Freiburg, Basel and Wien: 1971), 397–9.

[12]Hildegard Feidel-Mertz, ed., *Schulen im Exil. Die verdrängte Pädagogik nach 1938* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch, 1983); Hildegard Feidel-Mertz, *Pädagogik im Exil nach 1933* (Frankfurt/M.: DIPA, 1990).

[13]Heinz-Elmar Tenorth/Klaus-Peter Horn, "The Impact of Emigration on German Pedagogy," in: Mitchell G. Ash/Alfons Söllner, eds., *Forced Migration and Scientific Change: Emigre German-Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1933*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press 1996, 156-171; Klaus-P. Horn, "Erziehungswissenschaft", in: *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration 1933–1945*, Hrsg. von Claus-Dieter Krohn, Patrick von zur Mühlen, Gerhard Paul und Lutz Winkler unter redaktioneller Mitarbeit von Elisabeth Kohlhaas in Zusammenarbeit mit der Gesellschaft für Exilforschung (Darmstadt: Primus, 1998), 721–35.

[14]Joachim Wieler, "Destination Social Work: Emigrés in a Women's Profession," in: *Between Sorrow and Strength. Women Refugees on the Nazi Period*. Edited by Sibylle Quack, (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 265–82; Joachim Wieler/Susanne Zeller, eds., *Emigrierte Sozialarbeit. Portraits vertriebener SozialarbeiterInnen* (Freiburg i. B.: Lambertus, 1995).

[15]Hildegard Feidel-Mertz: "Schulen," in: *Handbuch der Emigrationsforschung*, 94–101; Hildegard Feidel-Mertz, *Schulen im Exil. Die verdrängte Pädagogik nach 1933* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1983); Hildegard Feidel-Mertz/Hermann Schnorbach, "Die pädagogisch-politische Emigration," in: *Handbuch der Emigrationsforschung*, 584–97; Ursula Langkau-Alex/Thomas M. Ruprecht, eds., *Was soll aus Deutschland werden? Der Council for a Democratic Germany in New York 1944–1945*. Aufsätze und Dokumente, (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 199), 5; Klaus-P. Horn, Erziehungswissenschaft, in: *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration 1933–1945*, 721–35.

Speaking Emigration.[16] His papers, housed in the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, consist mainly of a fragmentary memoir completed on a 1952 cruise from America to the Old World. This and other evidence concerns his emigration, but also his journey through life, from childhood at the turn-of-the-century to the early 1950s. I begin by exploring Neumann's youth, then consider his contribution to reform pedagogical practice along with his attitudes to emigration, and end by contrasting German and American notions of education.

THE YOUNG NEUMANN

Fritz C. Neumann was born Sunday 14 February 1897 in Hamburg, the second child of a middle class family.[17] His brother acted on the ambitions and the national-liberal bent of the family, undertaking the demanding training offered in a classical humanistic *Gymnasium*. Fritz sought out the easier variation provided by an elite secondary school by attending an *Realgymnasium*.[18] Education and upbringing in the Neumann family followed a customary trend in the *Kaiserreich*: that cultural uplift required strict separation between academic life and politics.[19] He began life in an agnostic atmosphere, as his father saw himself

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[16] *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933.* Edited by Institut für Zeitgeschichte München und von der Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, Inc., New York unter der Gesamtleitung von Werner Röder und Herbert A. Strauss, 3 Bde. (München: Saur, 1980/1983).

[17] The essay draws on the Neumann collection in the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Palo Alto, CA. The most important source is his memoir fragment "Memoirs of a Contemporary" (comprising of 248 typewritten pages), in this study cited as MC.

[18] Beside the traditional humanistic Gymnasium, the Realgymnasium and Oberrealschule were established in late nineteenth century Germany as alternative secondary schools no longer emphasizing the classical ideas represented by the Greek and Latin languages. Instead, mathematics, modern languages such as English and French and the natural sciences created a new curriculum profile. See for example Detlef K. Mueller, *Sozialstruktur und Schulsystem. Aspekte zum Strukturwandel des Schulwesens im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1981); Karl-Ernst Jeismann, *Das preussische Gymnasium in Staat und Gesellschaft, Vol. 1: Die Entstehung des Gymnasiums als Schule des Staates und der Gebildeten, 1787–1817, Vol. 2: Höhere Bildung zwischen Reform und Reaktion* (Stuttgart: Klett 1996).

[19] The artificial separation of politics from culture is well illustrated in Thomas Mann's *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Berlin: Fischer, 1929).

in the tradition of liberal Protestant free thought.[20] Conditioned by the sharp cleft between teachers from the *Volksschule* and academics from the Gymnasium, the young Neumann recognized early the profound shortcomings of an education system where social reality and learning were woefully out of sorts.

Neumann's interest in contemporary literature could be assuaged neither in the usual curriculum nor through lessons in foreign language. The masterful works of Henrik Ibsen, based in the ethical principle of remaining true to one's convictions, provided moral direction that Neumann did not receive at home. Chauvinistic history lessons ripened in him an anti-nationalist and pacifist cast of mind.

His literary studies turned toward philosophy. Nietzsche's cultural criticism in the *Geneology of Morals*[21] and in *Beyond Good and Evil*[22] affirmed Neumann's anti-clerical position. But the metaphysics of Henri Bergson, and the cultural pessimism of Oswald Spengler and Georg Simmel, the founder of formal sociology, influenced him as well.[23]

In October of 1913, the German youth movement manifested itself on the Hohen Meissner hill near Kassel. The *Wandervogel* energized city dwellers, drawing youth from homes with middle class parents, usually graduates of the Gymnasium, whose crude materialism and life style had become increasingly intolerable. The romantic return to nature through hiking and singing was an expression of a protest movement which continued not only in the boarding schools of Hermann Lietz or Paul Geheeb, but also in the *Landschulheim Wickersdorf*[24] in Thüringen under Gustav Wyneken.[25] With the tradition of Fichte's German idealism wholly arrested in the Reich, the youth movement embodied the demand that youth be led by youth. On a basis provided by the movement, educated groups and classes would renew a society and culture. Although the "Meißner-Formula" strove "to shape life through self respon-

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[20]MC.

[21]Friedrich Nietzsche finished his *Geneology of Moral* in 1887.

[22]Nietzsche completed *Beyond Good and Evil* in 1886.

[23]MC.

[24]The German version of the British boarding schools. See for example Martin Naer, *Paul Geheeb. Seine Entwicklung bis zur Gründung der Odenwaldschule* (Weinheim/München: Beltz, 1997); Ralf Körrenz, *Landerziehungsheime in der Weimarer Rebublik. Alfred Andreesens Funktionsbestimmung der Hermann Lietz Schulen im Kontext der Jahre 1919–1933* (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1992).

[25]Ulrich Panter, *Gustav Wyneken. Leben und Werk* (Weinheim: Juventa, 1960); Erich E. Geissler, *Der Gedanke der Jugend bei Gustav Wynecken* (Frankfurt/M. Etc.: Lang, 1963); Heinrich Kupffer, *Gustav Wyneken* (Suttgart: Klett, 1970); Thijs Maasen, *Pädagogischer Eros. Gustav Wyneken und die freie Schulgemeinde* Wickersdorf (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1995).

sibility and wholehearted sincerity," anti-militarism flourished alongside a nationalist movement.[26]

Many who dreamed of a better future in the *Wandervogel* lost their lives in the Great War, among them Walter Flex, who captured the romanticism of the *Wandervogel* in his publication *The Hiker Between Two Worlds.*[27] Neumann participated in the youth movement, but maintained a certain distance from it. He was fascinated by the ferment of intellectual and moral novelty expressed in the writing of youth and students. He found the work of Wyneken interesting and intelligent, supporting as it did national traditions and a fondness for nature. Neumann looked with favour on the satirical expression of the *blonde Tippeltröpfe*,[28] characterizing vagrant homeless people as having the golden-coloured hair of youth. A look into the 1920s shows how the *Wandervogel* became idealized, and how it invited a rift in society between nationalistic and proletarian-socialist factions[29].

Hamburg did not offer a demanding intellectual life at university before 1918, partly because the patrician families dominating local government feared the creation of an underclass of unemployed academics.[30] Poor eyesight saved Neumann at first from military service in World War I. He matriculated during the summer term of 1915 at Kiel University in German, French, and Philosophy. Kiel offered little in the way of intellectual stimulation. In the aging Paul Deussen, a childhood friend of Nietzsche, he found little to value. The sociology of Hobbes researcher Ferdinand Tönnies lay outside his interests. The prevailing positivism, in imitation of the exacting natural sciences, did not encourage serious consideration of Friedrich Gundolf, who had just published his fascinating study on *Shakespeare and the German*

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[26]Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918, Vol. I: Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist* (München: Beck, 1991).

[27]Walter Flex, *Der Wanderer zwischen beiden Welten*, 1916.

[28]MC, 96.

[29]Detlef J. K. Peukert, *Grenzen der Sozialdisziplinierung. Aufstieg und Krise der deutschen Jugendfürsorge* (Köln: Bund, 1986); Detlef J. K. Peukert, *Jugend zwischen Krieg und Krise. Lebenswelten von Arbeiterjungen in der Weimarer Republik* (Köln: Bund, 1987); Thomas Köbner/Rolf-Peter Janz/Franz Trommler, eds., *Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit ... Der Mythos Jugend zwischen Jahrhundertwende und Drittem Reich* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1987).

[30]Eckhart Krause, Ludwig Huber, Holger Fischer, eds., *Hochschulalltag im "Dritten Reich". Die Hamburger Universität 1933–1945* (Berlin/Hamburg: Reimer, 1991).

Spirit.[31] Also, the new insights of Karl Voßler[32] into French literature were rejected as unscientific.

Profoundly moved by the Nobel prize winner and venerable philosopher Rudolf Eucken,[33] Neumann transferred to the University of Jena in the summer of 1916. Eucken based his social-ethical understanding on substantive common activities combined with a creative activism in opposition to one-sided thinking. Neumann had the good fortune to study Hegel's philosophy of law in Eucken's seminar. During the next semester, however, the categories for military service were newly defined. First in Poland, then in Flanders, he experienced the gruesome realities of war. His brother was killed, and Fritz himself acquired a skin disease that excluded him from active duty.

The experience had a beneficial side-effect. He came to see the labouring masses in the trenches not only as a social group, but also as comrades whose indelible humiliation could scarcely be grasped. Here he learned a new politics.[34]

Neumann resumed his studies in January of 1919 at the new Hamburg University. He was particularly impressed by the Jewish philosopher Ernst Cassirer, who had just completed his monumental work *The Knowledge Problem in Contemporary Philosophy and Science*[35] and was on the verge of finishing the three-volume *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms.*[36] (Cassirer was to die shortly after moving to Princeton University in 1945.) The historian Max Lenz[37] made a strong impression on Neumann, as did psychologist William Stern[38] (who died after emigrating to Duke University in Durham, North

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[31]Friedrich Gundolf (actually Gundelfinger), *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*, 1911, 11th printing 1959.

[32]Karl Vossler, *Frankreichs Kultur im Spiegel seiner Sprachentwicklung*, 1913.

[33]Rudolf Eucken, *Geschichte und Kritik der Grundbegriffe der Gegenwart*, 1878. Since the third printing (1903) under the title *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart*. Eucken received the Nobel prize in 1908 for literature because the category for philosophy was omitted. Regarding the thinking of Eucken see also Rudolf Eucken, *Grundlinien einer neuen Lebensanschauung*, 1906.

[34]MC.

[35]Ernst Cassirer, *Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit*, 3 vols., 1906-20, vol. 4 translated as *The Problem of Knowledge*, 1950.

[36]Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, 3 Vol., 1923–29. For the philosophy of E.Cassirer and a thorough bibliography, see Andreas Gräser, *Ernst Cassirer* (München: Beck, 1994); Christian Kennert, *Paul Cassirer und sein Kreis. Ein Berliner Wegbereiter der Moderne* (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1996).

[37]Max Lenz advocated the history of ideas in *Geschichte Bismarcks*, 1902.

[38]William Stern presented his philosophy and psychology in *Deutsche Philosophie der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, edited by Raymund Schmidt, Vol. 6 (1926); Gerald Bühring, *William Stern oder Streben nach Einheit* (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1996).

Carolina). But instruction in Romance languages and German studies remained colourless.[39] Neumann subsequently studied history, and participated in the art and literary scene in Hamburg, where a new studio-theatre committed to contemporary expressionism produced stage works by Bertolt Brecht, Ernst Toller, and Walter Hasenclever. In 1921, Neumann received his doctorate, completing a dissertation awarded *summa cum laude* on Ibsen,[40] and shortly after passed his state examinations for the teaching of German, French, and history in the secondary schools.

Neumann began his reform-minded pedagogical work at Hamburg's Lichtwarkschule during the new year 1921–22 and, as teacher candidate, became a newly-married civil servant in 1923.[41]

NEUMANN AS REFORM PEDAGOGUE

The pedagogical reform movement began before World War I in the Volksschulen. Declining academic standards, poor working conditions, and decreasing salaries had lowered the social prestige of teachers, creating considerable dissatisfaction in the profession. In large Prussian cities, teachers at Volksschulen were among the core of voters supporting Social Democracy.

In 1910, Hamburg teachers Adolf Jensen and Wilhelm Lamszus rejected traditional and formal instruction methods in their book *Our School Essay: A Hidden Trash-Literature,*[42] proposing instead a child-centred approach to teaching based on fantasy and creativity. Overseas, Ellen Kay dedicated the coming century to the child, and Maria Montessori created for the international movement the conception of child-centred education. Jean Jacques Rousseau, the prophet of childhood as an age of genuine dignity, was rediscovered. His principles of indirect education, self-directed activity, and criticism culture were renewed. These developments initiated a pedagogical critique of mechanistic, unpedagogical psychology and efforts to label all children. At the centre of the pedagogical movement were participants from inner-school reform programs, and who gave special attention before 1914 to arts education conferences (*Kunsterziehungstage*).[43]

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[39]MC.

[40]Fritz C. Neumann, *Die Entstehung von Rosmersholm*, diss. phil. Universität Hamburg, 1921.

[41]MC.

[42]Adolf Jensen/Wilhelm Lamszus, *Unser Schulaufsatz—ein verkappter Schundliterat*, 1910.

[43]Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, *Geschichte der Erziehung. Einführung in die Grundzüge ihrer neuzeitlichen Entwicklung* (Weinheim und München: Juventa, 1988); *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte, Vol. V: 1918–1945. Die Weimarer Republik und die na-*

In 1919, the *General Committee of Secondary School Authorities* (*Oberschulbehörde*) and the school synod of Hamburg recommended establishment of experimental schools.[44] The Lichtwarkschule, having a position few secondary schools in Germany could claim, prescribed pedagogical reform for itself. Neumann's original goal was an academic career, but his cultivated rejection of German militarism and his pacifist disposition led him to confront the evils of society through a new form of education.[45] Under the initial direction of Peter Petersen,[46] the Lichtwarkschule provided students with a comprehensive array of courses. Since the early departure of Petersen to Jena in 1923, the school no longer had a leading figure who could have fashioned a direction for the institution. As a result, instructional practice at the school included a confused assemblage of all possible reform measures.[47]

Eventually the school returned to a traditional class system.[48] At the beginning of 1924, a group of pedagogues including Neumann criticized stagnation and working conditions at the school while demanding reorganization of the instructional program on a socialistic basis. Most of their colleagues, led by Heinrich Landahl, who served as Hamburg School Senator after 1945,[49] voted against that reform position. Still, the revolt resulted in the resignation of the incumbent leadership and election of a new principal by the

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tionalsozialistische Diktatur. Edited by Dieter Langewiesche und Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (München: Beck, 1989); Wilhelm Flitner/Gerhard Kudritzki, *Die deutsche Reformpädagogik,* 2 Vol. (Düsseldorf und München: Helmut Küpper, 1961/62).

[44]Reiner Lehberger, *Die Lichtwarkschule in Hamburg. Das pädagogische Profil einer Reformschule des höheren Schulwesens in der Weimarer Republik.* Darstellung u Quellen (Hamburg: Amt für Schule, 1996); Reiner Lehberger, ed., *Nationale und internationale Verbindungen der Versuchs- und Reformschulen in der Weimarer Republik* (Hamburg: Beiträge zur schulgeschichtlichen Tagung vom 17.11.-18.11.92 im Hamburger Schulmuseum, 1993); Reiner Lehberger, Einflüsse der Reformpädagogik auf das Hamburger Regelschulwesen in der Weimarer Republik, in: Hans-Peter de Lorent/Volker Ulrich, eds., *Der Traum von der freien Schule. Schule und Schulpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1988), 118-134; Klaus Rödler, *Vergessene Alternativschulen. Geschichte u Praxis der Hamburger Gemeinschaftsschulen 1919–1933* (Weinheim/ München: Juventa, 1987; Christoph Führ, *Zur Schulpolitik der Weimarer Republik* (Weinheim: Beltz, 1972; Gustav Heine, Die Hamburger Lichtwarkschule, in: *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik,* 32 (1986), 323ff.

[45]MC.

[46]Peter Petersen, *Innere Schulreform und neue Erziehung,* Jena 1925.

[47]MC.

[48]Rödler, 1987; Lehberger, 1996; MC.

[49]Reiner Lehberger, *Schule zwischen Zerstörung und Neubeginn 1945–1949* (Hamburg: Amt für Schule, 1995).

school faculty. The school now embraced child-centred education.[50] Teachers and students interacted in a trusting climate in which familiar address ("*du*") was used. At the heart of instruction, cultural studies (*Kulturkunde*) advanced a combination of subjects including history, German, religion, and art. There were group student trips to foreign countries.

The school avoided hard-and-fast conventional forms of curriculum and teaching. Recognizing the legitimacy of the *Abitur*, the new institutional superstructure of the German High School (*Deutsche Oberschule*) was accepted. Music instruction took on special importance as the faculty proudly embraced avant-garde musical styles. The German spoonerism *Die eine ist offen für Bach, die andere für Offenbach* ("One school is open for Bach, the other one for Offenbach") captured the essence of the scheme.[51] Important innovations included daily instruction in gymnastics and sports and the development of co-education, particularly in the late 1920s.

Since the faculty had explicitly rejected anti-Semitism, Jewish girls constituted a significant part of the school enrollment at the end of the Weimar Republic. The school's embrace of the Republic further widened the distance between its outlook and the political split of rightist ideologies. Several teachers from the Lichtwarkschule joined the German Communist Party (KPD). Neumann's colleagues included Olga Essig[52] and the Anglophilic Gustav Heine, who joined Ernst Reuter in restructuring the Ukranian education system and emigrated in 1934 to São Paolo.[53] Disappointed with the indecisiveness of Social Democracy in opposing the growing shift to the right, Neumann joined a group professing support for Marxism, although he never entered the Communist Party. As chairman of the Hamburg branch of the Anti-Imperialist League (AIL), his political bias was already obvious.[54]

The consequences of all this quickly ensued. Neumann taught the first part of Marx's opus, *Das Kapital*, to the higher grades of the Lichtwarkschule. In early 1930s, the Communist Party founded the Marxist School for Workers[55] with the intention of combatting Social Democrat control of adult

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[50]MC.

[51]Ibid..

[52]Inge Hansen-Schaberg, Rückkehr und Neuanfang. Die Wirkungsmöglichkeiten der Pädagoginnen Olga Essig, Katharina Petersen, Anna Siemsen und Minna Specht im westlichen Deutschland der Nachkriegszeit, in: *Jahrbuch für Historische Bildungsforschung* 1 (1993), 319–38.

[53]MC.

[54]Ibid..

[55]Regarding the Marxistische Arbeiterschulen (MASCH) see Gabriele Gerhard-Sonnenberg, *Marxistische Arbeiterbildung in der Weimarer Zeit (MASCH)* (Köln: Bund, 1976). As an example of the GDR view see Dietmar Mueller, "Die Marxistische

education. Neumann led the Hamburg branch of this school project. Meanwhile, the Hamburg Senate passed a regulation prohibiting public employees from opposing the Constitution. In 1931 Neumann taught his first class on Marx, under a pseudonym, and was promptly arrested.[56] The Hamburg school authorities handed down a disciplinary measure and the state attorney made a charge of high treason. Neumann had some luck in the midst of this misfortune, as the Schleicher Cabinet could grant amnesty through a law quickly passed by the government, a strategy demanded by the Nazis as well as the Communists. Eventually, the government dropped the charge of high treason and Neumann turned away from the Party, disillusioned. Already in 1930, the school administration had reacted to the growing politicization in the Lichtwarkschule, transferring Neumann to a regular *Oberrealschule* where he remained isolated from his former colleagues. After the National Socialist seizure of power, he was suspended from all duties at Easter 1933 and subsequently dismissed without notice in May of that year. His dismissal was authorized under a ruling stemming from the law on restoration of the tenured civil service (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*)[57].

NEUMANN AS MIGRANT

After a pedagogical interval of several years in France and Italy, Neumann secured a one-year stipend from another Hamburg teacher who had emigrated earlier to the United States.[58] In September of 1937, Neumann found himself on a ship, eager for a new start yet melancholy at the same time since his family remained in Hamburg. Despite a rooted prejudice against American materialism and cultural "inferiority," Neumann enthused over his new country from the first. In his opinion the Roosevelt administration had made possible a rebirth of freedom—no terror and no dictatorship, but rather, democracy.

His stipend took him to a teachers' college north of Chicago. In Winnetka, Illinois he met Carleton Washburne (1889–1968), President of the Graduate

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Arbeiterschule (MASCH) 1927–1933—ein neuer Typ von Erwachsenenbildungseinrichtung," in: *Jahrbuch für Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte* 21 (1981), 57–68.

[56]MC.

[57]The genesis of the law is analysed by Hans Mommsen, *Beamtentum im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart: dva, 1966); Sybille Gerstengabe, Die erste Entlassungswelle von Hochschullehrern aufgrund des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 7. 4. 1933, in: *Berliner Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 17 (1994), 17-39. The role of former Lichtwark students in the Hamburg resistance against Hitler is mentioned in Michael Grüttner, *Studenten im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1995).

[58]MC.

Teacher College, an imposing figure of the American Progressive Education movement. Washburne was the spiritual father and originator of the Winnetka Plan and author of *New Schools in the Old World* (1926), detailing the Lichtwarkschule Washburne had visited in 1925. At this time Washburne made a momentous aquaintance with Peter Petersen,[59] a visitor to Washburne's program in Winnetka in 1928. The Winnetka Plan had influenced the Jena Plan and, at the same time, was theoretically linked to John Dewey's (1859–1952) scheme to build philosophical pragmatism in education, thereby advancing the values of democratic cooperation.[60] Washburne particularly emphasized a re-organization of experience supposed to increase future learning capacity. Under his leadership the faculty developed new curriculum material that introduced individualized instruction and supported the creative powers of pupils.[61] The faculty participated in all important decisions. Washburne showed that, at the very least, reform pedagogy could be effective and durable in an upper-middle-class school district.[62]

Neumann was at first confused by American politics. Ordinarily he would have expected to announce his political convictions, but he did not, and perhaps dared not during the Spanish Civil War, despite the fact that teachers in Winnetka diligently collected for the Abraham-Lincoln-Brigade.[63] On the other hand, his encounters with American progressive education generated new ideas about American political thought. Washburne's College served as an advanced teacher training institution in which students gained experience

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[59]*Peter Petersen. Antimoderne als Fortschritt? Erziehungswissenschaftliche Theorie und pädagogische Praxis vor den Herausforderungen ihrer Zeit*, edited by Tobias Rülcker und Peter Kassner (Frankfurt/M. Etc.: Lang, 1992); Ehrenhard Skiera, Peter Petersen u die Jenaplanschule, in: *Pädagogik* 44 (1992), 46–50; Uwe-Karsten Petersen, *Der Jena-Plan. Die integrative Schulwirklichkeit im Bilde von Briefen und Dokumenten aus dem Nachlass Peter Petersens* (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1991); Theo Dietrich, *Die Pädagogik Peter Petersens. Der Jena-Plan: Beispiel einer humanen Schule* (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhard, 1995); Hein Retter, ed., *Peter Petersen und der Jenaplan. Von der Weimarer Republik bis zur Nachkriegszeit*. Berichte-Briefe-Dokumente (Weinheim: Deutscher Studienverlag, 1996).
[60]John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 1916, 76.
[61]MC.
[62]Carlton W. Washburne, "Winnetka," in: *School and Society* 29 (1929), 37–50; Carlton W. Washburne, "An Autobiographical Sketch," in: *Leaders in American Education, Part II*. Edited by Robert J. Havighurst, Chicago 1971; Carlton W. Washburne and Sidney P. Marland, *Winnetka. The History and Significance of an Educational Experiment*, (Englehood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1963); Hermann Roehrs, "Die progressive Erziehungsbewegung. Verlauf und Auswirkung der Reformpädagogik in den USA," in, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol 10: Bildungsreformen und Reformbestrebungen in den USA (Weinheim: Deutscher Studienverlag, 1996), 120–277.
[63]MC.

in new methods of teaching and pedagogy. At the same time, Washburne functioned as superintendent of a school district. Two other professors were principals of private schools where Neumann eventually taught European history and French as a guest instructor.[64] Student teachers later analyzed his teaching in an accompanying seminar.

Although Neumann was still attached to subject matter and disposed to individualized pedagogy as a basis for encouraging social class-consciousness, Washburne favoured a comprehensive course-and-project method. Winnetka facilitated activity groups with social and creative objectives, placing the social reform function of the school in the forefront. Individualized instruction also made it possible to help the gifted child to learn at his or her level without disadvantaging other pupils. Washburne earned the respect of teachers in these institutions while persistently working to improve their social and working conditions. Toward the end of World War II, Washburne began vetting of Italian fascist textbooks (1943–49). Thereafter, he worked as professor and director of the department of teacher education at Brooklyn College in New York City.[65]

Shortly after his stipend came to an end, Neumann put out feelers for a new position, and in May 1938 found one at Evansville, Indiana.[66] Because he held a visa for only one year, he had first to travel to Mexico to secure a full one-way visa with work permit.

The Methodists founded Evansville College as a liberal arts institution, and its academic standards were average, although it had early on accepted the principle of co-education. Neumann was quite taken by his new students and described them as open to new ideas, serious about the subjects he would teach them, and without undue respect for faculty. In summer 1939, he took up an additional teaching position at Northwestern University that last until 1944. He saved enough money to bring his family to the United States shortly before the outbreak of World War II.

He became a citizen in 1944 but confronted a marked decline in student enrollments in French. With only the German class, Neumann was reduced to half-salary. He accepted a position at the North Shore Country School at Winnetka teaching history and French until the massive post-War influx of GIs.[67]

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[64]MC.

[65]Washburne, *Autobiographical Sketch.*

[66]MC.

[67]Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University. A History. Introductory Essay and Supplemental Bibliography* by John R. Thelin (Athens/London: The University of Georgia Press, 1962, 1990).

In the fall of 1946, Neumann began to teach at Black Mountain College, a thoroughly atypical establishment.[68] The college came into being in 1933 in the Black Ridge Mountains of North Carolina. Pedagogues at Black Mountain College had conceptions of authority and discipline that later led them to make connections with Summerhill and A. S. Neill. The College sought to be an alternative community, open to social movements and change. In response to the economic and social crisis of the 1930s, teaching methods were intended to foster unity amongst work, education, and social service.

Black Mountain College emphasized new forms of education replenished with American and European ideas. The college developed an experiential commune on the bases of art, literary criticism, and community. Despite power struggles and factionalism, running perilously close to illegality, and without accreditation, the campus nevertheless developed into a gathering place for creative people. Augmented by summer programs and public functions, musicians and writers such as John Cage, Charles Olson, and later, the greats of the Beatnik Generation, including Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsburg, brought vitality to campus life. Among the numerous emigrants of German origin who taught here were architects of the Bauhaus and its painters, Anni and Josef Albers, but also music scholars Heinrich Jalowetz and Alfred Einstein, along with psychologist Frederic Cohen. The school closed in financial difficulty in fall 1956 without much public outcry. Nevertheless, the College made an important contribution by providing a place of creative confrontation between the artistic traditions of Europe and the emerging departures of a "wild youth" in American art and literature. Allen Ginsburg, one of the College's early students, created a model for an entire generation through his literary works.[69] After teaching European literature and history, and participating in endless fractious discussions and arguments, Neumann sensed in 1950 a deepening malaise at Black Mountain College and began to sound out new professorial positions.[70]

At the end of the war, a Chicago YMCA College administration came at last to the point of resisting the categorizing of students on the bases of skin colour and religion. Members of the faculty, fearing public criticism if there were no decrease in discriminatory practices at the College, began to build an

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[68]Martin Duberman, *Black Mountain. An Exploration in Community* (Gloucester, Mass.: E. P. Dutton, 1988).

[69]Michael Schumacher, *Dharma Lion. A Critical Biography of Allen Ginsburg* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1992).

[70]MC.

entirely new educational institution.[71] Edward J. Sparling, then President of the College, took the lead, supported by a number of German migrants, including Germanic studies professor Otto Wirth and philosopher Lionel Ruby. They received encouragement and subsequently raised sufficient funds through the the *Chicago Sun* to found a new college dedicated to the memory of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Eleanor Roosevelt herself sat on the new institution's Board of Trustees.

Roosevelt College assumed that humane goals were best realized in democratic surroundings, and in an atmosphere of international understanding. The faculty brought together an impressive group of German emigrants. Among them was the Jewish neo-Kantian Siegfried Marck, who had taught philosophy at Breslau University and had also been one of the leaders for change in the YMCA College. Also joining the group was the Jewish historian Helmut Hirsch, who had managed to flee to the United States as an internee from southern France, the Austrian professor economist Walter Weisskopf, and the German Rolf A. Weil, who held office as President from 1964 until 1988.

Acquaintance with Hirsch helped Neumann find a position as Associate Professor at Roosevelt University, a post he held until retirement in 1964.[72] There, he met such distinguished visitors as Thomas Mann, Kurt Schumacher, Konrad Adenauer, and Paul Nevermann who, as first post-War mayor of Hamburg, still warmly recalled his school days at Lichtwarkschule. Although Neumann had not lived through the founding years and debates over a "representative" form of faculty governance and administrative authority, he thought there was public distrust of Roosevelt until the 1950s.[73] Roosevelt College was pioneering in its anti-discrimination policy and expanded education for adults and socially-disadvantaged groups—Jews, black persons, and students with disabilities. Since the University of Chicago and Northwestern University emphasized research, and Catholic institutions Loyola and DePaul University dominated the remaining academic market, Roosevelt College was the only private non-sectarian institution of higher education in the metropolitan area of Chicago. The tremendous post-War demand for higher education produced enrolment increases from 1,300 in its founding year to 5,000 in 1948.

In 1954 Roosevelt College incorporated Chicago Musical College, headed by internationally-reputed composer Rudolph Ganz. The College soon

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[71]Ibid.; Rolf A. Weil, *Through These Portals: From Immigrant to University President* (Chicago: Roosevelt University Press, 1991).
[72]MC.
[73]Rolf A. Weil. *Through These Portals.*

secured university status. In 1948 and 1952, Neumann traveled back to Hamburg and met former colleagues Heinrich Landahl and Olga Essig. At the end of the 1960s he was once again living in Hamburg. He returned to the United States in 1971, and died on 14 April 1976 in Libertyville, Illinois.[74]

EPILOGUE

Neumann arrived on the American continent at a crucial moment in the development of progressive education. In the mid-1940s education discussion was so far identified with "progressivism" that the term "progressive education" was replaced by the older and broader terms "modern" or "new" education.

Beginning after World War I, and especially in the 1920s, mainly female progressive educators founded reforming schools. Helen Parkhurst's Dalton School (New York), the Freud-minded Walden School (Margaret Naumburg), Lincoln School in New York (Abraham Flexner), Francis W. Parker School in Chicago, and Putney School in Vermont (Carmelita Hinton) received enormous public notice. Indeed, it might be fair to say that public school innovations such as those in Gary, Indiana, and the efforts of Carlton Washburne in Winnetka, Illinois, were rare exceptions in a predominantly private reform movement.[75] Despite the rising tide of reform, progressive education in private and public institutions increasingly came under attack as an elite form of education. The paradox of progressive education is described as democratic education for the elite, delivered autocratically for the new middle class or the new managerial class.[76]

Most interesting in the context of transatlantic migration is the fact that Neumann neither noticed this educational failure nor blamed it on socially questionable pedagogy. It is hard to believe Neumann missed understanding *all* of this. A cautious, and at this stage preliminary, hypothesis from a comparative view may explain his behaviour. Could it be Neumann did not notice the one-sided social concentration on white upper middle class students in Winnetka's

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[74]Handwritten note on the folder Fritz C. Neumann.

[75]Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Knopf and Random House, 1961); Harold Rugg/Ann Shumaker, *The Child-Centered School* (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969); Patricia Graham, *Progressive Education From Arcady to Academe: A History oft the Progressive Education Association* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1967); Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade* (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Susan F. Semel/Alan R. Sadovnik, eds. *"Schools of Tomorrow," Schools of Today. What Happened to Progressive Education* (New York etc.: Peter Lang, 1999).

[76]Basil Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 4: The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1990).

reform practice because the social class structure and pedagogical practice of Hamburg's Lichtwarkschule were identical or at least similar? German research that could shed light on this situation remains undone.

On the other hand, the differences between German and American experiences should not be discounted. Of particular significance is the level-headed and temperate atmosphere in Winnetka, illustrated by its careful and rationalist reconstruction of curriculum, its selection and implementation of course study systems, and its application of intelligence tests and use of the University's expertise to evaluate the progress or failure of the educational reform practice. Generally, one of the striking differences between German and American reform efforts in education is a strong American inclination to apply "scientific method" in aid of democratic values in society, in choosing its reforms and deciding on their implementation.

Transatlantic comparison reveals a strong German tendency to leftist ideology, unmodified by research on education. Teachers and pedagogy at Hamburg's Lichtwarkschule stand in contrast to Carlton Washburne's efforts for social integration and equalization. The development of Neumann's career from Hamburg's Marxist Workers' School (MASCH) to the Graduate Teacher College in Winnetka suggests a possible parallel development in Neumann's political thinking. He was moulded by his separation from radical German elements, and then absorbed American understandings of the fundamental relationship between education and reform of the existing democracy.

The stages of development in Neumann's career indicate a difficult and uncertain environment. His final destination, at Roosevelt University in Chicago, does not imply that the United States of the 1940s had become a country of unlimited opportunity, an Eldorado for professionals in education. On the contrary, his stressful and certainly underpaid teaching at Black Mountain College in North Carolina, and his oft-changing employments thereafter, indicate the existence of many obstacles to his integration. Not even in 1952, when Neumann wrote his memoir fragment (in clumsy English) was his Americanization complete. An additional difficulty for Neumann's professional career was the low ranking of German as a foreign language in American colleges, a field in steady decline after the entry of the United States into World War II. It is plausible that Neumann's teaching at Black Mountain was not an ideal victory in reform-pedagogical perspective but rather an expedient solution for a predicament under the existing conditions.

This conclusion makes sense in light of the role of progressive education in American education. General education at the high school level readily adopted at least some of the Deweyan view of education and experience. In contrast, public university education before the New Deal was concerned with the role of the universities in promoting social mobility and the growth of their own

institutions. They tended to interpret Dewey's philosophy as a mere justification of this end.[77]

The universities' interpretation revitalized interest in social sciences, since the application of social sciences promised more strongly to connect society and education. On the other hand, public universities were neither prepared nor disposed to discard their concept of humanities and liberal education. Consequently, progressive experiments in state universities were kept within limits, and the representatives of progressive education considered the foundation of entirely new institutions an appropriate solution. The Colleges of Sarah Lawrence and Bennington (1932), Black Mountain in North Carolina (1933), and Goddard in Vermont (1937) developed into institutions of the "new" education. In particular, St. Stephens (1935), the experimental portion of Columbia Teachers College, was outstanding in applying Dewey's theories. Out of this constellation of episodes, one may conclude that progressivism continually provided the decisive reference point for Neumann and determined personal relations as well as professional environment. Although Black Mountain's emphasis on social orientation was no accident, in the long run it proved excessive and resulted in considerable attrition.

The special case of Fritz Neumann cannot of course capture the full impact of pedagogical migration to the United States, nor is his case suitable for generalization. The value of this case study resides more in establishing a ground for hypotheses that may stimulate further migration research.

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[77] Cremin, *Transformation;* Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education. A History* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1994); Rudolph, *The American College and University.*