

**The London School of Economics and Political Science**

PhD Candidates at the University of Berlin and at Columbia University, New York,  
from 1871 to 1913

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of Economics for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London, January 2018

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## **Abstract**

This thesis describes and analyses the PhD candidates in the Humanities at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin and at Columbia University, New York, from 1871 to 1913 as well as the reforms related to the PhD programs at said institutions. The thesis uses primary sources such as the theses and curriculum vitae of the PhD candidates but also the reports of the universities, statistics released, census records of government institutions as well as newspapers and biographical collections. The goal is to compare the PhD candidates at these two universities according to their numbers, age, gender, religion, place of birth and social background. It further includes a comparison of the reforms and transformation of the two universities with a focus on those which most affected PhD candidates. Instead of focusing on the careers of PhD candidates after they acquired their degree (as in most other studies), this thesis focuses on the background and the life of PhD candidates before they received their degree from their university. By doing so, this thesis will contribute to the understanding of the development of the universities and societies in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, taking into account the debates regarding the German *Sonderweg*, the professionalisation of education and cross-border exchange among academics wherever possible.

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## 1. Introduction

This study researches the social, religious and geographical background of young, upcoming academics at two prestigious universities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the period when ‘modern’ understanding of the PhD degree, as one proving a candidate’s potential as an academic, was established. The PhD degree was part of the ‘German university model’ from the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1810 onwards. It was adopted by Columbia and other American universities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Leading US scholars of this period, such as John Burgess, Frederick A.P. Barnard and Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, professionalised and formalised its process. By doing so, the PhD became an internationally recognised academic degree within two very different higher education systems: the state-organised and -financed German system and the, at that time, mostly privately funded and more liberal American system.

PhD candidates at the University of Berlin and at Columbia of this period represent therefore not just an exclusive group of people, who were neither students nor academics. In fact, they were representatives of a group which promoted the importance of the PhD within their own systems and through an exchange program of professors beyond their national borders. By focusing on PhD candidates and not those who began a prestigious career after their PhD as scholars, politicians or entrepreneurs, as other studies have done, this study will establish a comprehensive insight into an exclusive group of society, since PhD candidates did not see themselves as students but as academics. Nevertheless, they still lacked the required qualifications in the eyes of those grading their thesis and who decided if they would eventually become part of the scholarly world.

The challenge of this thesis is to describe and analyse a large group of people with one distinctive characteristic: they were all PhD candidates in the Humanities at a university during the same period. There are studies that deal with the careers of former PhD candidates. However, these investigations usually focus on a group of exceptional people who were highly successful as scholars, politicians or entrepreneurs after they finished their studies. These publications include neither an

overview of all PhD candidates nor comprehensive and detailed data on the background of the PhD candidates.<sup>1</sup>

For example, Rosalind Rosenberg's study analyses the women of Barnard College. Its focus is on those who were the most influential. An all-inclusive comparison of female students and other PhD candidates at Barnard is not part of the study.<sup>2</sup> Carl Diehl's book, shows, on the other hand, that until 1870 there was simply not enough data available for a comprehensive comparison."<sup>3</sup>

This study therefore fills a gap by analysing the 'early adopters' of the modern PhD at the two most prestigious institutions of higher education and research independently of their success after their PhD. The leading question of this study is therefore not, as in most other studies, what became of PhD candidates, but who these people who managed to acquire the first modern PhD degrees were. As such, this study is closer to Diehl's approach than to Rosenberg's. However, and this is the significant difference, this time the data is available.

Moreover, numerous studies of students and universities have been published. The situation of undergraduates at specific universities, like Oxford<sup>4</sup> or Berlin,<sup>5</sup> or in specific countries, like the United States,<sup>6</sup> not to mention that of the professors at all of the previously-mentioned universities has been a focus of research in the past.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, "A Slow Farewell to Humboldt? Stages in the History of German Universities, 1810-1945," in *German universities, past and future: Crisis or renewal?*, Mitchell G. Ash, ed. (Providence (RI): Berghahn Books, 1997), 3-32.

<sup>2</sup> See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the subject: How the women of Columbia shaped the way we think about sex and politics* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Charles E. McClelland. "German Universities and American Scholars" *History of Education Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1980): 229-232.

<sup>4</sup> See Lawrence Stone, ed., *The University in Society*, 2 vols. 1 (Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press, 1974) and Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge men: British masculinity and the undergraduate experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington (IN): Indiana University Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, ed., *Die Berliner Universität im Kontext der deutschen Universitätslandschaft nach 1800, um 1860 und um 1910* [The University of Berlin in the context of the German university landscape past 1800, 1860 and 1910] (München: Oldenbourg-Verlag, 2010).

<sup>6</sup> See Bernhard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1960).

<sup>7</sup> See Marita Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 121 [Professors and universities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, critical



Some inter- and transnational comparative studies that compare the opportunities of students exist as well, for example publications that have compared the development of female education in Great Britain, Germany and Spain<sup>8</sup> or regarding co-education in Great Britain and the United States.<sup>9</sup> There are also more specialised studies which focus on the question of identity, the role of the state or student life. The role of higher education in promoting national identity and nationalism has been an important part of research into German universities, for example with regard to the role of fraternities<sup>10</sup> or the international representation of the German higher education system.<sup>11</sup> In Great Britain, both Oxford<sup>12</sup> and the University of London<sup>13</sup> have been investigated with regard to training the elite for the British Empire. Furthermore, the introduction of the D.Sc. [Doctor of Science] and D.Litt. [Doctor of Literature] in the 19<sup>th</sup> century at the University of London and the later establishment of the PhD programme after 1900 has also been particularly researched, as it was a direct answer to the attractiveness of German universities to American and British students.<sup>14</sup> There are studies about the specialization of scientific studies and the

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studies in history], (Göttingen, Gießen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), and Arthur J. Engel, "The Emerging Concept of Academic Profession at Oxford 1800-1954," in *The University in Society*, Lawrence Stone, ed., 2 vols. (Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press, 1974), 305-352.

<sup>8</sup> See Katharina Rowold, *The educated woman: Minds, bodies, and women's higher education in Britain, Germany, and Spain, 1865-1914* (New York (NY): Routledge, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> See Christine D. Myers, *University coeducation in the Victorian Era: Inclusion in the United States and the United Kingdom*, 1st ed. (New York (NY): Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> See Harald Lönnecker, "Studenten und Gesellschaft, Studenten in der Gesellschaft – Versuch eines Überblicks seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts" [Students and society, students in society – An attempt of an overview since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century], in *Universität im öffentlichen Raum* [University in the public space], Rainer C. Schwinges, ed., 387-438.

<sup>11</sup> See Kurt Düwell, ed., *Deutschlands Auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1918 – 1932: Grundlinien und Dokumente* [Germany's foreign cultural policy 1918-1932: basics and documents] (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1976).

<sup>12</sup> See Richards Symonds, "Oxford and the Empire," in *The history of the University of Oxford: Nineteenth Century Oxford*, Part 2, M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 689-716.

<sup>13</sup> See N. B. Harte, *The University of London 1836-1986: An illustrated history* (London: Athlone, 1986).

<sup>14</sup> See Renate Simpson, *How the PhD came to Britain: A century of struggle for postgraduate education* (Guildford: Society for Research into Higher Education, 1983).

interdisciplinary nature of science,<sup>15</sup> the role of female doctoral candidates,<sup>16</sup> the professionalization of education<sup>17</sup> as well as the differences between the German, American and British university systems.<sup>18</sup> Finally, the role of doctoral thesis advisers and the doctoral rules of procedure have also been researched in some cases, for example in Jena.<sup>19</sup> However, there is no comprehensive study about the nature of PhD candidates in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

As PhD candidates and students are often not clearly distinguished, it is important to emphasize again that a PhD candidate is neither a student nor an academic. While it is certainly possible to merge PhD candidates with either the academics or students, they have unique characteristics which set them apart from both other groups:

- A PhD candidate is not a student because he pursues unique research as a requirement for his degree. His former degrees usually allow him to teach other students while he, except for fully taught PhD programs, has nearly no requirements with regard to courses to be attended. He also has a more professional and in some cases also a more personal relationship to his supervisor compared to regular students.
- On the other hand, a PhD candidate is not an academic. Although he might publish papers during his PhD or present his research at seminars and conferences, the original research he pursues during his PhD is what qualifies him as a member of the academic community. A PhD candidate might teach

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<sup>15</sup> See Nicole Hulin, "Les doctorats dans les disciplines scientifiques au XIX siècle" [The PhDs in Science in the 19<sup>th</sup> century], *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences*; vol. 43, 401-426.43.

<sup>16</sup> See Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the modern research university: The admission of women to German higher education, 1865-1914* (Stanford (CA): Stanford University Press, 2003).

<sup>17</sup> See Arthur J. Engel, *From clergyman to don: The rise of the academic profession in nineteenth-century Oxford* (New York (NY): Oxford University Press, 1983).

<sup>18</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, "The Universities and the Growth of Science in Germany and the United States," *Minerva* 7, no. 1 (1968/69).

<sup>19</sup> See Ulrich Rasche, "Studien zur Habilitation und zur Kollektivbiographie Jenaer Privatdozenten 1835 – 1914" [Studies about habilitation and collect biographies of private lecturers in Jena 1835-1914], in *Klassische Universität und akademische Provinz: Die Universität Jena Mitte des 19. bis in die dreißiger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts*, [Classical university and academic province: the University of Jena in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the 30s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century], Stefan Gerber and Steinbach Matthias, eds. (Jena, Quedlinburg: Dr. Bussert & Stadeler, 2005), 131-193.

undergraduate students, but, in the eyes of academics, he will be unqualified to teach master's students who are working on their master's thesis. He is a "teaching assistant", not a "teacher".

By focusing on two leading universities with a comparable amount of data, this study will shed light on who these PhD candidates were. While being part of the increasing number of international and transnational historical studies on university education, this project will be the first of its kind. It will rate the development of social historical research in recent decades including the rise of gender and micro-history into account. Moreover, it draws on the new opportunities provided by qualitative and quantitative methods that allow us to combine vast numbers of data from various archives and sources. Not least, this study benefits from the availability of relevant data at both the University of Berlin and Columbia University. By making this data available, this study will build a bridge between studies focusing on the period before 1870 and especially those after 1913. The latter investigations have focused on the most successful scholars, who acquired their PhD in most cases during the period this study covers. The separation of PhD candidates from students and academics will extend our understanding of upcoming academics and their background, not just about those who were extremely successful, but also those who were to have mediocre careers as scholars, state officials or in business and have, therefore often been ignored.

Neither the University of Berlin nor Columbia University were chosen at random for this study. The same applies to the period of investigation. Columbia copied and amended the German post-graduate system in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Unlike the University of London, which tried to establish its own doctoral system, Columbia never had the aspiration to develop its own unique degree. It rather aimed to implement and improve the best system available which, at that time, was considered to be the German one. In fact, the amendments to its system made by Columbia, such as the separation of the Master and PhD programs or the requirement to be employed as a post-graduate teacher and researcher, were instituted by Columbia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century based on the German PhD system.

However, this is not the only reason for the selection of the two universities. Berlin and Columbia were both already leading higher education institutions in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries with respect to their reputation as professional research institutions, although Berlin had already lost some of its early reform-spirit. Columbia, inspired by the German system and its own reforms of the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,

arguably took the lead and brought the post-graduate system to the next level by separating Master students and PhD candidates. Comparing Berlin and Columbia thus allows, to show how Columbia implemented and improved the German system and how these changes affected PhD candidates.

Additionally, the ties between Columbia and Berlin were closer than is often known. The leading figures of both universities, such as Nicholas Murray Butler in the case of Columbia, initiated an exchange of scholars after the World's Columbia Exposition in Chicago in 1893 between Germany and the United States. This exchange programme, however, was not similar to today's exchange of scholars and students between universities. For instance, the program did not, include the mutual recognition of university courses and degrees. However, it demonstrates the intention and determination of scholars of Berlin and Columbia universities, to establish a sustainable exchange between scholars and researchers.

The thesis will start with a chapter explaining the methodology, which includes a review of past research conducted in this field as well as an overview of the most important sources. The following chapter will provide an overview of the development of the University of Berlin and Columbia University.

The following two chapters present the PhD candidates in the Humanities at the University of Berlin and Columbia. Each chapter is organised according to research categories outlined in the methodological chapter of this study and will present the results of the research accordingly. As the available sources and data are different, each sub-chapter will also include a summary as well as outline the required adjustments of the categorisation system. A section on the female PhD candidates at the University of Berlin and Columbia follows these two chapters. As the admission of women as students and PhD candidates was handled differently at the University of Berlin and at Columbia, it seemed appropriate to present the enrolment of women and the first PhD candidates in a separate chapter.

## 1.1 Research Context

The precise role of universities has been a part of the scientific debate over education in Germany since the Enlightenment, especially at times of economic, social or political crisis.<sup>20</sup> This section gives an overview of the research on the history of universities in Germany and the United States in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries

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<sup>20</sup> See Stanley Aronowitz and Henry A. Giroux, *Education under siege: The conservative, liberal and radical debate over schooling* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986, c1985).

to provide a better understanding of the purpose of this study. The focus will be on studies of university development in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while not necessarily excluding studies of other time periods. When comparing studies of American universities, one must bear in mind that, first, the American university system became the leading one in various fields only as late as the 1960s. Yet its rise began in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Second, the number of American universities was and remains far higher than the number of universities in Germany. Furthermore, some developments affecting universities in the United States did not occur in Germany and vice versa. The best example, albeit from a later period, is the rise of the African-American Civil Rights Movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Its impact on higher education is part of a different literature on race and racism within American society and its education system. Student protests in Germany at the same time were not against racism, but against established society in general. Although there were social movements in both countries during the same time, these movements had a different background. Finally, as universities are an integral part of modern society, studies about them usually refer to the role of universities while not focusing on them. Due to all these reasons, writing a complete historiography about the development of historical research on universities as well as the classification of previous research would be a study of its own.

The history of universities is a very broad field of historical research which not only includes the functionality of a university, but also university law, the economic influence of universities and the development of educational practice within universities, just to mention a few. Due to this, the development and history of universities is not only a topic for historians, but also for practitioners of other disciplines like sociology. Take for example the sociologist Joseph Ben-David. He received his education in sociology at the LSE, but remained a "lone rider" within his own field of sociological research. On the other hand, his studies had a big impact on the social history of science and education in the form of "unconnected studies".<sup>21</sup> His

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<sup>21</sup> See Gad Freudentahl, "General Introduction: Joseph Ben-David: An Outline of His Life and Work by Gad Freudentahl," in *Scientific Growth, Scientific Growth: Essays on the Social Organization and Ethos of Science*, Gad Freudentahl, ed. (Berkeley (WV) et al.: University of California Press, 1991) 1-25, 21.

piece *Universities and Academic Systems in Modern Societies*<sup>22</sup> attempts to explain why the American university system has become the most influential one today. Ben-David argues that while the German university system lacked the ability to reform itself, the American system not only promoted competition within society, but also within academia and between different universities. In contrast to Germany, the American university system was able to nourish a constant reform process and advance, in the international academic world far more quickly than the German one due to the increasing international exchange among scientists after the end of the First World War. However, these international contacts were, in the case of Columbia and the University of Berlin, already established in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as will be shown.

## 1.2 Germany

The first comprehensive studies made by historians about the development of education and universities in Germany were written by Friedrich Paulsen<sup>23</sup> and Johannes Conrad.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, Lexis Wilhelm produced an overview of the German university system for the world fair in Chicago in 1893.<sup>25</sup> While having the same topic, the focus of the two studies was very different. Conrad concentrated on developments such as the number of professors and students. Paulsen's topic was the development of the German grammar school, the *Gymnasium*, and its role in the education of future university students. Both studies benefited from the fact that all German territorial states before 1871 and afterwards collected an enormous amount of data on their education system. Studies published on the history of the Humboldt University, the former *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, which were brought out between

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<sup>22</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, "Universities and Academic Systems in Modern Societies," in *Scientific Growth: Essays on the Social Organization and Ethos of Science*, Gad Freudenthal, ed. (Berkeley (WV) et al.: University of California Press, 1991), 125-157

<sup>23</sup> See Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts aus den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart: Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den klassischen Unterricht* [History of the academic education in the German schools and universities since the end of the medieval times until present: With a special focus off he classical studies], 2 vols. (Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1885).

<sup>24</sup> See Johannes Conrad, *Das Universitätsstudium in den letzten fünfzig Jahren* [University education during the last 50 years] (Jena: G. Fischer, 1884).

<sup>25</sup> See Lexis Wilhelm, ed., *Die deutschen Universitäten: Für die Universitätsausstellung in Chicago 1893* [The German universities: for the world fair in Chicago 1893], (Berlin: s.n., 1893).

1945 and 1989, suffered from the problem of being influenced by the conflict between West and East Germany. A comprehensive study on the history of the Humboldt University was published in 2010, on the occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the university. The six-volume work is the most up-to-date history of the university.<sup>26</sup>

After 1945, there were different developments within historical science that affected research on the history of universities in Germany. One was the *Sonderwegsdebatte* [separate path debate] on Germany in comparison with other western states, especially France and the United Kingdom; another, although part of the *Sonderwegsdebatte*, was the *Bielefelder Schule* [School of Bielefeld] which introduced sociological theories and statistical methods into history. Finally, there was the development of micro- and gender history, which some historians saw as a counter-movement, while others argued that it was also rooted in the *Bielefelder Schule*.<sup>27</sup> While the *Sonderwegsdebatte* was a discussion about the development of Germany itself, the *Bielefelder Schule*, micro history and gender history were part of the fragmentation and the implementation of innovative approaches within historical science in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup>

The two main supporters of both the *Sonderwegs*-Theory and the *Bielefelder Schule* were Jürgen Kocka and Hans-Ulrich Wehler. Both argued that not only political events or leaders, but also society and its evolution are responsible for the development of a nation. While their studies were mainly about German society and its changes, their approach led to further research on the German education system and its social and demographic changes. They also relied on already existing mainly sociological-statistical studies for their own work.

This approach was also used for studies about the history of the German education

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<sup>26</sup> See Rüdiger Vom Bruch et al., *Geschichte der Universität Unter den Linden 1810-2010: Sozialistisches Experiment und Erneuerung in der Demokratie - die Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 1945 – 2010* [History of the university under the limes: socialistic experiments and renewal of democracy - The Humboldt University Berlin 1945-2010] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

<sup>27</sup> See Bettina Hitzer and Thomas Welskopp, eds., *Die Bielefelder Sozialgeschichte, Klassische Texte zu einem geschichtswissenschaftlichen Programm und seinen Kontroversen* [The Bielefelder Social History, classic essays about a program of history of science and its controversies] (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2010).

<sup>28</sup> See Georg G. Iggers, *Geschichtswissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert: Ein kritischer Überblick im internationalen Zusammenhang* [History in the 20th century: a critical overview with regard to ist international perspective] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

system. One of these studies was Detlef Müller's *Sozialstruktur und Schulsystem* [Social structure and school system].<sup>29</sup> He has compared the official educational statistics published by the local authorities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries to demonstrate that the number of students at grammar schools with a middle class background grew with the increasing influence of the middle class in German society state and economy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Only two years before, Karsten Bahnson had come to the same conclusion.<sup>30</sup> A later but for this project very important study is the dissertation of Marita Baumgarten *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*, published in 1997.<sup>31</sup> While she also used the official statistics, Baumgarten developed her own system of social categories and focused on professors and not the students, as had other studies. Her study confirmed the thesis of Joseph Ben-David that the change from university families to a competitive system for jobs at the universities occurred in Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. While family links among professors lessened, the understanding of professors that they were part of the leading social class due to their high academic reputation was strengthened. However, the question remains if these changes are also reflected in the nature of the PhD candidates.

If the *Bielefelder Schule* and the debate about it remained a mainly German one, the *Sonderwegs*-thesis, which was in fact initially developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by German conservatives (with positive connotations), has been, and still is, debated outside Germany especially since 1945. The German university system was part of this debate about the differences between the different national university systems and its role within society with regard to the education of the elites. To start with, historians such as A. J. P. Taylor<sup>32</sup> and William L. Shirer<sup>33</sup> argued that the development

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<sup>29</sup> See Detlef K. Müller, *Sozialstruktur und Schulsystem: Aspekte zum Strukturwandel des Schulwesens im 19. Jahrhundert*, Studien zum Wandel von Gesellschaft und Bildung im neunzehnten Jahrhundert [Social structure and school system: aspect of structural changes of the school system in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Studies about the change of society and education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century] (Göttingen, Frankfurt am Main: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

<sup>30</sup> See Karsten Bahnson, *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert: Studien und Materialien* [Students and universities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: studies and materials] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975).

<sup>31</sup> See Martia Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*.

<sup>32</sup> See A. J. P. Taylor, *The course of German history: A survey of the development of German history since 1815* (London, New York (NY): Routledge, 2001).

<sup>33</sup> See William L. Shirer, *The rise and fall of the Third Reich: A history of Nazi Germany* (New York (NY): Simon & Schuster, 1990).



of Germany and the rise of the Nazis was not only different from the rest of Europe, but also inevitable. Since 1980, historians such as Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn<sup>34</sup> and more recently Christopher Clarke<sup>35</sup> have criticized the *Sonderweg*-thesis by emphasizing that the development of Germany was not at all special within Europe. Additionally, Clarke argues that the *Sonderwegs*-thesis was in fact started by Prussia itself to promote its own historical legitimation. It will be required to address the question on whether the development of the PhD candidates at the University of Berlin fits into the *Sonderwegs*-thesis or not.

The development of micro-history in the 1980s and of gender history towards the millennium led to a new focus within the history of the universities in Germany and the Berlin universities. Micro-history led away from the big conceptions made by the *Bielefelderschule* and focused on the impact of the university, its city and the people involved within the university. This included different areas of study such as the development and role of students within local society for example in Berlin,<sup>36</sup> the influence of professors on the development of the city<sup>37</sup> or the self-image of a university within the academic landscape.<sup>38</sup> A broader approach on micro-history included the relationships between academics and society,<sup>39</sup> the role of Wilhelm von Humboldt's university model and the development of the German university<sup>40</sup> as well

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<sup>34</sup> See David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The peculiarities of German history: Bourgeois society and politics in the 19th-century Germany* (Oxford et. al.: Oxford University Press, 1985).

<sup>35</sup> See Christopher M. Clark, *Iron kingdom: The rise and downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (Cambridge (MA): Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006).

<sup>36</sup> See Harald Lönnecker, *Universität im öffentlichen Raum*.

<sup>37</sup> See Frank Wagner, "Professoren in Stadt und Staat: Das Beispiel der Berliner Universitätsordinarien" [Professors in city and state: The example of the professors at the University of Berlin], in *Universität im öffentlichen Raum*, Rainer C. Schwinges, ed. (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2008), 365-385.

<sup>38</sup> See Johannes Becker, "Diversifizierung eines Modells? Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universitäten 1810, 1811, 1818," [Diversification of a model: Friedrich-Wilhelms universities 1810, 1811, 1818], in *Die Berliner Universität im Kontext der deutschen Universitätslandschaft nach 1800, um 1860 und um 1910*, Rüdiger vom Bruch, ed. (München: Oldenbourg-Verlag, 2010), 73-92.

<sup>39</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, Björn Hofmeister and Hans-Christoph Liess, eds., *Gelehrtenpolitik, Sozialwissenschaften und akademische Diskurse in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert [Academic policy, social science and academic debates in Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries]* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006).

<sup>40</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *German universities, past and future*.

as the role of historians in German politics.<sup>41</sup> An even broader definition of micro-history has resulted in comparisons of the development of different universities within the same country.<sup>42</sup> Gender history on the other hand has examined the role of women within higher education. The broadest study of women and their admission to German universities was conducted in 2003 by Patricia Mazón in her dissertation *Gender and the modern research university*.<sup>43</sup> Follow-up investigations have focused on specific women and their role within the university,<sup>44</sup> the role of female Jewish students and professors,<sup>45</sup> the relationship between male and female students<sup>46</sup> or comparisons of admission policy at German universities.<sup>47</sup> Both, micro- and gender history, are

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<sup>41</sup> See Charles E. McClelland, "Berlin historians and German politics," *Journal of contemporary history* 8 (1973) (1973), 3-33.

<sup>42</sup> See Charles E. McClelland, "Inszenierte Weltgeltung einer prima inter pares? Die Berliner Universität und ihr Jubiläum 1910," [Stage-managing of international recognition of a prima inter pares? The University of Berlin in its jubilee of 1910], in *Die Berliner Universität im Kontext der deutschen Universitätslandschaft nach 1800, um 1860 und um 1910*, Rüdiger vom Bruch, ed. (München: Oldenbourg-Verlag, 2010), 243-254.

<sup>43</sup> See Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the modern research university*.

<sup>44</sup> See Silke Hellin. "Schlaglichter auf eine frühe Journalistin und politische Lobbyistin: Else Frobenius (1875 – 1952)" [Highlights about an early Journalist and political Lobbyist: Else Frobenius (1875-1952)], in *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften: Zur Geschichte von Akademikerinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (The gender of science: about the history of female academics in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century), Ulrike Auga, ed. (Frankfurt am Main et. al.: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2010), 141-156.

<sup>45</sup> See Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon, "Pionierinnen – Mitstreiterinnen – Ausgegrenzte: Jüdische Lehrerinnen und Studentinnen in Deutschland" [Pioneers - Companions – Excluded: Jewish female teachers and students in Germany], in *Der Weg an die Universität: Höhere Frauenstudien bis zum 20. Jahrhundert Göttingen* [The way to university: higher education and women until the 20<sup>th</sup> century], Trude Maurer, ed. (Wallstein Verlag, 2010), 211-235.

<sup>46</sup> See Petra Hoffmann, "Der Übergang vom universitären Ausbildungs- ins Wissenschaftssystem. Das Beispiel der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin" [The Transition of the academic Educationssystem to the academic Researchsystem shown by the example of the Prussian Academy of Science in Berlin], *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften: Zur Geschichte von Akademikerinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Ulrike Auga, ed. (Frankfurt am Main et. al.: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2010), 157-182.

<sup>47</sup> See Ilse Costas, "Von der Gasthörerin zur voll immatrikulierten Studentin: Die Zulassung von Frauen in den deutschen Bundesstaaten 1900 – 1909" [From the female guest student to the fully immatriculated female student: The admission of women in the German federal states

currently part of the research on German universities, their development and role within society. This study connects especially to gender history by including the question of female students and PhD candidates at the University of Berlin.

### 1.3 United States of America

Although “American academics are sometimes defensive and hesitate to investigate their own institutions”,<sup>48</sup> studies about the development and status of the American education system were already conducted in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that these investigations were highly influenced by Friedrich Paulsen whose studies on the German education system were translated into English and published in the United States before the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1900 and 1901, Nicholas Murray Butler followed Paulsen’s example and published his *Monographs on Education in the United States*,<sup>49</sup> consisting of two volumes. Together with other academics, Butler analysed all different aspects of America’s education system including the universities<sup>50</sup> and colleges.<sup>51</sup> While focusing on higher education in the United States, both volumes compared it with European university systems, particularly the German and English ones. As it turned out, American colleges were based partly on the English college system, while universities were inspired by the German research university. The American higher education system at the time was unique, since usually the colleges were for bachelor students, while universities were for master’s and Ph.D. students only. Besides other differences, this division existed neither in England nor Germany, where no college system was established as there was no bachelor’s degree (exclusively only masters’ and doctoral degrees).

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1900-1909], in *Der Weg an die Universität: Höhere Frauenstudien bis zum 20. Jahrhundert Göttingen*, Trude Maurer, ed. (Wallstein Verlag, 2010), 191-210.

<sup>48</sup> Konrad H. Jarausch, “Higher Education and Social Change Some Comparative Perspectives”. Konrad H. Jarausch, ed., *The transformation of higher learning 1860-1930: expansion, diversification, social opening and professionalization in England, Germany, Russia and the United States* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 11

<sup>49</sup> See Nicholas M. Butler, ed., *Monographs on Education in the United States* (New York (NY): J. B. Lyon & Company, 1900).

<sup>50</sup> See Edward D. Perry, “The American University,” in *Monographs on Education in the United States*, vol. 6, Nicholas M. Butler, ed. (New York (NY): J. B. Lyon & Company, 1900), 253-318.

<sup>51</sup> See Andrew F. West, “The American College,” in *Monographs on Education in the United States*, vol. 6, Nicholas M. Butler, ed. (New York (NY): J. B. Lyon & Company, 1900), 209-249.

After 1945 and with the rise of the American university as the leading model in the late 1960s and early 1970s, various studies about its history and development were pursued. In 1961 the *History of Education Quarterly* journal was founded as a platform for publications on educational history. One of the first modern studies of American universities and their social, economic and political development was *The American College and University* by the social historian Rudolph Frederick, published in 1962.<sup>52</sup> While the feedback from other historians was mainly positive, critics argued that he did not rely on statistical data and that he mainly ignored the years after 1945 while focusing on supposedly marginal topics like American university football. A recently published, although unofficial, update focuses on the period from 1945 until 2000.<sup>53</sup> In 1970, the social historian Laurence Veysey described developments from a historical perspective in detail in his monograph *The Emergence of the American University*.<sup>54</sup> He stated that the academic elite in America was not only impressed by the German education system but by German culture in general. This fascination started in the 1840s and reached its peak in the 1890s when more than 500 Americans matriculated as students at German universities. Beginning in the 1910s however, opposition to the German system grew in the American universities. It was seen as too philosophical and its results were allegedly without any practical use for the population. The outbreak of the First World War accelerated the decline of the German model, as the differences between American and German societies were highlighted. Some more studies published in the 1970s discussed the debate about free public schools and the philanthropic ideas behind the foundation of American universities,<sup>55</sup> the problem of colleges and denominationalism in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> See Frederick Rudolph and John R. Thelin, *The American college and university: A history* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990).

<sup>53</sup> See John R. Thelin, *A history of American higher education* (Baltimore (MD): Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

<sup>54</sup> See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago (IL): University of Chicago press, 1970).

<sup>55</sup> See James Champion Stone and Don DeNevi, *Portraits of the American university, 1890-1910*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (San Francisco (CA): Jossey-Bass, 1971) and Jay M. Pawa, "Workingmen and Free Schools in the Nineteenth Century: A Comment on the Labor-Education Thesis," *History of Education Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (1971).

<sup>56</sup> See David Potts, "American Colleges in the Nineteenth Century: From Localism to Denominationalism," *History of Education Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (1971).

as well as the establishment of female colleges in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>57</sup> A sociological study of the development of the American University was published in 1973 by Talcott Parsons and Gerald M. Platt. While using historical information, their book is not an analysis of the social-historical development of the university in the spirit of the *Bielefelder Schule*, but a theoretical analysis of the process of education at universities.<sup>58</sup>

One of the largest series on higher education in America has been the eight-plus volumes of the *Carnegie Commission on Higher Education Sponsored Research Studies*. While the focus of this series is mainly the development of higher education between 1950 and 1970, historical studies were also part of it. It published studies about the role of the American university and its role in society,<sup>59</sup> the statistical development of the higher education system including some international comparisons<sup>60</sup> and the social-historical development of graduate education in arts and science.<sup>61</sup> The latter is most likely the broadest statistical analysis of higher education in America between 1950 and 1970. Although international comparisons were made, most of the Carnegie publications concentrated on the various fields of education and their development within America. The results of the studies and suggestions by the *Carnegie Commission* based on these results were summarized in a report which was published in 1973.<sup>62</sup> The study on the distribution of academic titles in the United States among males and females is important as it highlights the problem of data collections before 1912, in that sources do not contain the sex of a graduate or

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<sup>57</sup> See Robert Wein, "Women's Colleges and Domesticity, 1875-1918," *History of Education Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1974).

<sup>58</sup> See Talcott Parsons, Gerald M. Platt and Neil Joseph Smelser, *The American University* (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1973).

<sup>59</sup> See Alain Touraine, *The Academic System in American Society* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1974).

<sup>60</sup> See Seymour E. Harris, *A statistical portrait of higher education: A report for The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1972).

<sup>61</sup> See Richard J. Storr, *The beginning of the future: A historical approach to graduate education in the arts and sciences* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1973).

<sup>62</sup> See Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Priorities for action: Final report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education; with technical notes and appendixes* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1973).

postgraduate student for example.<sup>63</sup>

Columbia University, founded in 1754 as King's College and renamed, after the War of Independence, is the older of the two universities studied in this thesis. Due to this, historical publications about the university were already brought out in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, works like Nataniel Fish Moore's *An Historical Sketch of Columbia College in the City of New York* of 1846. On its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1904,<sup>64</sup> moreover, the university published the five volumes *A History of Columbia University 1754-1904*. It reconstructs the development of the university with a focus on its presidents, the development of the affiliated colleges and the different faculties. However, statistical information is rare, as the focus of the series lies on the structural development of the university. Studies about the history of the different faculties, like law<sup>65</sup> or the School of International Affairs<sup>66</sup>, were published on the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the university. Finally, the most recent publication, on the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the university, came from the intellectual historian Robert McCaughey. His *Stand, Columbia: A History of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754-2004* of 2004 is however a chronicle rather than a critical analysis of the history of the University.

As in Germany, the fragmentation of historical science has led to a variety of studies of the American university system in recent decades. Kaoru Yamamoto published a collection of studies in 1968 about the college student and his culture. It included analysis of the social background of the students,<sup>67</sup> questionnaires of graduate students about their future plans,<sup>68</sup> but also the problem of increasing pressure on

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<sup>63</sup> See Douglas L. Adkins, *The Great American Degree Machine* (Berkeley (WV): The Commission, 1975).

<sup>64</sup> See Nataniel Fish Moore, *An Historical Sketch of Columbia College and the City of New York* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1846).

<sup>65</sup> See Columbia University, *A history of the School of Law* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1955).

<sup>66</sup> See L. Gray Cowan, *A history of the School of International Affairs and associated area institutes, Columbia University* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1954).

<sup>67</sup> See Paul Heist, "Professions and the Student," in *The College Student and His Culture: An Analysis*, Kaoru Yamamoto, ed. (Boston (MA): Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), 161-177.

<sup>68</sup> See David Gottlieb, "American Graduate Students," in Kaoru Yamamoto, ed., *The College Student and His Culture: An Analysis* (Boston (MA): Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), 445-458.

college students and its negative effect on education.<sup>69</sup> Another study about student life from 1900 to 1970 has been published by Calvin B. T. Lee who has argued that alumni are the most critical analysts of changes in student life. According to Lee, it was the alumni who opposed dancing at colleges in 1910. In the 1950s, the alumni of the 1930s were frustrated with non-political students at that time.<sup>70</sup> Although it focuses on schools and not universities, one must not forget Lawrence Cremin's *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* from 1964, whose first part focuses on the rise of the progressive movement and the general impact it had on the American school system until 1917. This is, after all, not only the same period in which Columbia established its PhD system, created the Graduate School and incorporated Teachers College but also the period this study focuses on.

A socio-historical study on the relationship between capitalism, state and the universities from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the 1930s has been published by the Marxist historian Clyde W. Barrow.<sup>71</sup> He argues that the loss of control of religious groups and institutions over the universities led to more control and ownership of the university by businessmen. According to Barrow, this process accelerated in the decades after 1930. Another topic has been the admission of women to colleges, universities and the establishment of women-only colleges as in the case of Columbia, Barnard College.<sup>72</sup> At Columbia, the admission of women was different from Berlin. Instead of admitting them as regular students, Columbia University tried to keep them in separated institutes and faculties as long as possible. It founded the women-only Barnard College in 1889 as an affiliated and degree-awarding college of the university. Due to this, however, Columbia University as well as Barnard College became an important institution for intellectual feminists, as it allowed women to gather and discuss issues like the role of marriage or coeducation. Nevertheless, Columbia University did not admit women as full students until 1982, nearly 100 years after the

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<sup>69</sup> See Stanley H. King, "Emotional Problems of College Students," in *The College Student and His Culture: An Analysis*, Kaoru Yamamoto, ed. (Boston (MA): Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), 353-361.

<sup>70</sup> See Calvin B. T. Lee, *The Campus Scene, 1900-1970: Changing Styles in Undergraduate Life* (New York (NY): David McKay Company Inc., 1970).

<sup>71</sup> See Clyde W. Barrow, *Universities and the capitalist state* (Madison (WI): University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

<sup>72</sup> See Robert Wein, *History of Education Quarterly*.

establishment of Barnard College.<sup>73</sup> This different approach regarding coeducation and the admission of the women to the PhD degree of Columbia compared to Berlin will be address in this study.

## 1.4 International Comparisons

Comparisons of different higher education systems and universities<sup>74</sup> on an international level had been conducted well before the emergence of recurring comparative studies on higher education like the *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA) by the OECD. However, while PISA focuses on the results of the students, the effect of higher education policy in different countries came into focus in the early 1990s<sup>75</sup> and was later expanded into an international comparative studies of higher education policies and public spending.<sup>76</sup> Arguably, the first attempt to compare universities in Germany, England and the United States in the period investigated in this dissertation project was made by Abraham Flexner in 1930. While his first chapter describes the historical development of the idea of the modern university, the other three chapters, one for each country, analyses the situation at that time based on the ideas mentioned in the first chapter.<sup>77</sup> This comparative approach to the history of education of the international level was picked up by Stewart E. Fraser in 1969 through a collection of essays from non-Americans, including English and German scholars who were educated towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>78</sup> Ten years later Edgar Litt and Michael Parkinson published their comparison of higher education policy in the United States and the United Kingdom

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<sup>73</sup> See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the subject: How the women of Columbia shaped the way we think about sex and politics*.

<sup>74</sup> See Andrew F. West, *Monographs on Education in the United States*, 5.

<sup>75</sup> See L. C. J. Goedegebuure, ed., *Higher education policy: An international comparative perspective*, English language ed. (Oxford, New York (NY): Published for the IAU Press by Pergamon Press, 1993).

<sup>76</sup> See Vincent Carpentier, "Public Expenditure on Education and Economic Growth in the USA in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in Comparative Perspective", *Paedagogica Historica* 42, no. 1 (2006), 683-706.

<sup>77</sup> See Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (New Brunswick (NJ): Transaction Publishers, 1930).

<sup>78</sup> See Stewart E. Fraser, *American education in foreign perspectives: Twentieth century essays* (New York (NY): J. Wiley, 1969).



regarding the reforms of the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>79</sup> Newer studies that apply an international comparative approach on the institutionalisation and professionalisation of higher education were for example made by Gabriele Lingelbach in her comparisons of the institutionalisation and professionalisation of history in Europe and the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.<sup>80</sup>

The term 'professionalisation' of education and universities during the emergence of 'modern' higher education in the late 19th and early 20th centuries has been and still is an important focus of research in the field of history of education and social history. However, the term is also quite ambiguous as it encompasses the debate regarding the university as a place for professional training, for example of lawyers of physicians, as well the process of "recognizing certain professions as eligible for study within the university".<sup>81</sup> This study, however, follows Konrad Jarausch's understanding of the 'professionalisation' of education and universities, as employed in his own study about the professionalisation of universities in the United States, Germany, Russia and England in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. His definition of 'professionalisation' is a process that includes "institutional diversification approaches to the internal differentiation of universities", "the absolute and relative expansion of enrolments" and "the opening of recruitment [which] raises the question of educational elitism or mobility".<sup>82</sup>

Europe and especially Germany played a special role in the development of the modern research university at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The most comprehensive series about the historical development of universities in Europe is *A History of the University in Europe*. The first volume was published in 1996, the last in 2012. It traces the transformation of the university from the early Middle Ages until

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<sup>79</sup> See Edgar Litt and Michael Parkinson, *US and UK educational policy: A decade of reform* (New York (NY): Praeger, 1979).

<sup>80</sup> See Gabriele Lingelbach, "The Institutionalization and Professionalization of History in Europe and the United States", Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maignashca, Attila Pók, eds., *Oxford History of Historical Writing*, volume 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 78-96.

<sup>81</sup> Ignacio Serrano del Pozo, Carolin Kreber, "Professionalization of the University and the Profession as Macintyrean Practice", *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 34 (2015), 551-564.

<sup>82</sup> Konrad H. Jarausch, "Higher Education and Social Change Some Comparative Perspectives", in *The transformation of higher learning 1860-1930: expansion, diversification, social opening and professionalization in England, Germany, Russia and the United States*, Konrad H. Jarausch, ed., (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 12.

the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and aims to demonstrate how universities in Europe became part of the continent's intellectual tradition.<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately, it lacks a comparison of the development of the highest academic degrees available to students, such as the PhD.

Due to the dominant role of the German universities, their international relations are of interest. The influence of Germany on the English education system was analysed by W. H. G. Armytage in a rather short and hence not very broad study in 1969. According to him, this process first started in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century with the foundation of the University of Wittenberg, the first university founded with the approval of the Emperor and not the Pope. The influence achieved its height in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries when German companies financially supported the establishment of English colleges such as Imperial College.<sup>84</sup> These efforts did not start from nowhere as the German state and German society increased their efforts to promote their education system at the international level. Kurt Düwell<sup>85</sup> and especially Rüdiger vom Bruch<sup>86</sup> have dealt with the efforts made to attract more international scholars to come to Germany. Another important study about formal academic relationships between universities was published by vom Brocke in 1981.<sup>87</sup> He has investigated the academic exchange program between American and German universities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. While these studies included universities like Berlin, Harvard and Columbia, they focus primarily on professors and not PhD candidates.

In the essay collection *The European and American University since 1800*, Clark R. Burton discusses the problem of comparative studies of more and more complex higher education systems. He argues that a common pattern in cross-national comparisons of higher education can always be found as long as the study does not

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<sup>83</sup> See Walter Rüegg, ed., *History of the university in Europe: Universities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>84</sup> See W. H. G. Armytage, *The German Influence on English Education* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969).

<sup>85</sup> See Kurt Düwell, ed., *Deutschlands Auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1918 – 1932*.

<sup>86</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, "Gesellschaftliche Initiativen in den auswärtigen Kulturbeziehungen Deutschlands vor 1914" [Initiatives of Society regarding the foreign cultural relationships of Germany before 1914], *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* [Journal for cultural exchange] 31, no. 1 (1981), 43-67.

<sup>87</sup> See Bernhard vom Brocke, "Der deutsch-amerikanische Professorenaustausch," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* [The German-American exchange of professors], *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 31, no. 1 (1981), 137-142.

go too much into detail. Furthermore, theoretical reflections allow scholars to analyse complex societies and education institutions while a focus on details might unnecessarily complicate the aim of the analysis.<sup>88</sup> Another important essay in this collection is a comparison of higher education in Britain and the United States, focusing on the fact that the first American universities were founded and inspired by Oxbridge, but developed completely differently thereafter.<sup>89</sup> Building on this, this study will show, using the PhD program of Columbia as an example, that the different development of the American universities compared to the British one was heavily inspired by the German university model.

A new approach to international comparative studies of higher education has been inspired by the concept of *histoire croisée* after 2000. It is of importance for the methods used for the comparative approach of this dissertation. *Histoire croisée* aims to use different perspectives when comparing political, social or economic developments.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, it takes subjectivity into account by calling for the integration of multi-perspectivity. While not directly connected to this new approach, two international studies about higher education were published in 2010. The study *University coeducation in the Victorian Era* was undertaken by Christine D. Myers. Comparing developments at twelve higher education institutions in England and the United States, she has taken up the *histoire croisée* methodology by using the perspectives of members of the staff as well as students and was therefore able to level up a multi-perspectival approach.<sup>91</sup> Katharina Rowold published her study *The educated woman: Minds, bodies, and women's higher education in Britain, Germany, and Spain, 1865-1914* in the same year.<sup>92</sup> The general topic, the history of women, is the identical to Myers'. It compares, however, the debate about the role and nature of

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<sup>88</sup> See Burton R. Clark, "The problem of complexity and modern higher education," in Rothblatt, Sheldon and Björn Wittrock, eds. *The European and American university since 1800: Historical and sociological essays* (Cambridge, New York (NY): Cambridge University Press), 1993, 263-279.

<sup>89</sup> See Martin Tow, "Comparative perspective on British and American higher education," in *The European and American university since 1800: Historical and sociological essays*, Sheldon Rothblatt and Björn Wittrock, eds. (New York (NY): Cambridge University Press, 1993), 280-298.

<sup>90</sup> See Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimermann, "De la comparaison à la *histoire croisée*" [About a comparison of the *histoire croisée*], *Le Genre humain* 42 (2004).

<sup>91</sup> See Christine D. Myers, *University coeducation in the Victorian Era*.

<sup>92</sup> See Katharina Rowold, *The educated woman*.

women in higher education, while avoiding a one-sided perspective by relating her findings to the historical context in each of the three countries analysed. This study will contribute to the debate regarding the admission of women to higher education by comparing the development at the two most prestigious universities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## 2. Sources and Methodology

### 2.1 Introduction

This thesis compares 2178 PhD candidates at the two universities. The sources that it draws upon include CVs published by candidates, newspapers, research papers released by institutions, matriculation records, official statistics and reports published by both universities or other state institutions, census records, passport applications, immigration records, biographies published by PhD candidates or researchers about PhD candidates as well as newspaper articles, letters and other personal documents of candidates that were archived in subsequent years.<sup>93</sup>

The purpose of this chapter is to present the main sources used and the challenges faced as well as the initial classification system employed for the statistical data, especially as this study uses statistical data acquired through new research in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Not all sources that are available were accessible or usable for this research. Some have been withheld; some were lost even though marked available within catalogues. These therefore had to be fully or partially excluded.<sup>94</sup> However, in many cases it was possible to find the information through other sources and it did not affect the results of the study drastically. In fact, by applying “probability sampling”, it is not required to have all the data. As Vincent Carpentier has observed: “As have data analysts in the other social sciences, historians have made use of the theory of probability sampling to reduce the volume of information for a particular study to a manageable level. Just as one does not need to survey the entire electorate to develop quite precise estimates of the ultimate election results, so historians [...] have not had to record all such behaviour for study”.<sup>95</sup> Besides the CVs of the candidates, other sources were used to fill gaps in

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<sup>93</sup> The main reason to include these diverse sources is to get an overall picture of the development of the PhD candidates, fill missing information about them while also avoid a debate about ‘reducing’ historical research to mere statistical data. See Margo Anderson, “Quantitative History” in *The SAGE handbook of social science methodology*, William Outhwaite and Stephen P. Turner, eds. (Los Angeles (CA), London: SAGE, 2007), 246-263, 257. for more information about this debate.

<sup>94</sup> An example for this is the thesis of Drake Allison Emery. Records show that he acquired his PhD in 1894 for his thesis *The Authorship of the West Saxon Gospels* from Columbia University. Although the thesis is recorded within the archive of Columbia University, including a call number, it appears that the thesis is missing.

<sup>95</sup> See Margo Anderson, *The SAGE handbook of social science methodology*, 254.

the information collected from the documents of the University of Berlin and Columbia University. While 'numbers don't lie', their interpretation can lead to a heated debate and confusion if the sources, the classification system, the methodology etc. are not outlined in detail beforehand. Each chapter will therefore present the main sources used about the two universities researched not only regarding the PhD candidates but also regarding the development of the University as whole. The basic categories are: age, gender, religion/denomination, geographical background and social background. The last chapter will summarize the methodology presented and further explain the challenges of as well as the reasons for combining the statistical data with biographical information.

Except for the *US Census Records*, all data was publicly available since its creation through the relevant archives and collections. They do not encompass any sensitive or potential harmful data either by themselves or through the combination of the various resources.<sup>96</sup> The CVs of the PhD candidates were even created by the PhD candidates themselves not only with the intention of being available to the public but to promote a PhD candidate's pre-PhD career to the examiners as well as the readers of a PhD candidate's thesis. Meanwhile, the *US Census Records* are "publicly available 72 years after each decennial census' "Census Day, which means that at the time the research was conducted the records until and including 1940 were publicly available.<sup>97</sup>

## 2.2 Methodology

The following will outline the main methodological and analytical approaches of this thesis. At first, the data collected, and their categorisation will be outlined. This includes the challenges that were faced during the categorisation and analysing processes. To a certain degree, references to other studies that were made in this field of study and how they are related and have influenced this thesis will be included when outlining the methodological approach.

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<sup>96</sup> The definition of sensitive or potential harmful data or research procedures are outlined in the LSE's Research and Ethics Policy. See The London School of Economics and Political Science, *Research and Ethics Policy*, accessed, 25<sup>th</sup> September 2017 <https://info.lse.ac.uk/staff/services/Policies-and-procedures/Assets/Documents/resEthPolPro.pdf>

<sup>97</sup> United States Census Bureau, *Census records*, accessed 1<sup>st</sup> October 2017 [https://www.census.gov/history/www/genealogy/decennial\\_census\\_records/census\\_records\\_2.html](https://www.census.gov/history/www/genealogy/decennial_census_records/census_records_2.html)

### **2.2.1 Classification of Data**

This study uses five main categories. These were defined at the beginning of the research to provide guideline while collecting the data from the sources. These categories are as follows:

- gender
- date of birth/age
- geographical background
- religion/denomination
- social background.

These categories allow us to view the average PhD candidate at both universities as well as to demonstrate 'how average the average candidate' was compared to the overall diversity of the candidates. It is all about their diversity and homogeneity as a group. As criteria of analysis, these categories were not only the most consistent, but also revealed the most about a PhD candidate's background and reflected the changes over time at the two institutions regarding their admission criteria and study programs. Classification of gender allows for analysis of the nature of female PhD candidates once both institutions opened their courses to women. Age reveals the increasing requirements to get a PhD in terms of admission criteria, research, time and financial resources. Religion and/or denomination of the candidates is another indicator that reveals the importance of education for specific religious communities on the one hand and on the other hand the degree to which the academic world as well as both institutions were open to students who were not part of the dominant religion or denomination. Finally, the social background indicates the penetrability of the academic world while the geographical background indicates the extent to which PhD candidates were willing to travel to continue their studies and develop their careers.

The sources for this study can be separated into three groups with regard to their acquisition and contextualisation. The primary group consists of the PhD theses and the CVs of the PhD candidates. The second group is the reports and statistics of the universities or the ministry of education and the last group the non-quantitative sources like newspaper articles or biographies. While all sources have to be interpreted with regard to the period in which they were created, the most important difference is the context of their creation. The first and the third groups do not contain any statistical data but only qualitative data out of which quantitative data was created due to the amount of information available. This means that the methodology used must respect the context, for example as regards the mandatory military service in

the German Empire or the 'meaning' of the specific job title in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Meanwhile, the second group consist of statistics produced during the period under review. One must therefore be aware of the reason why these statistics were made, for example, to promote an agenda or to change school policy.<sup>98</sup>

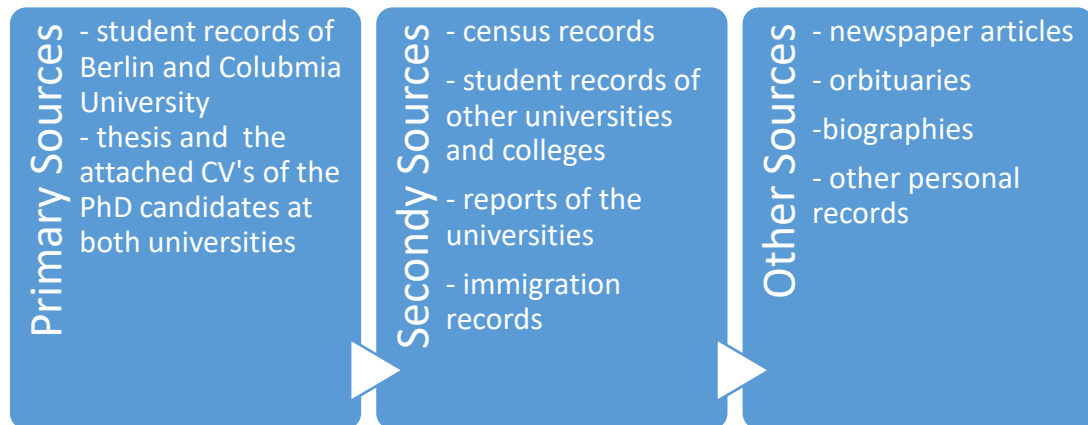


Figure 1 Research process and sources being used at which stage of the process

### 2.2.2 Gender

The first categorisation, male or female, was also the one that was comparably most easy to collect data upon. The main indicator was the first names of the PhD candidates. The biggest challenge here were those first names which could be attributed to both genders alike while no other indication, such as personal pronouns, could be found within the CV or other documents provided by the University of Berlin or Columbia University. In the end, it proved always possible to clearly define the gender of candidate. This was achieved because the admission of women was not possible by the time the candidates got their PhDs, or by including onomastic research or by using other sources of information about the candidate. Another useful option was to consult other sources about the candidates such as newspaper articles, biographies or other documents released by the candidate.<sup>99</sup>

### 2.2.3 Date of Birth/Age

The date of birth and age of a candidate at the time he/she was awarded his/her PhD is another category that was researched. The primary source of information was the

<sup>98</sup> See Vincent Carpentier, "Quantitative source for the history of education", in *Journal of the History of Education* 37, no. 5 (2008), 701-720, 709.

<sup>99</sup> A good example of this procedure was Lotus Delta Coffmann. While his first name is a primarily a 'female name', he was a male candidate in 1911 See Lotus Delta Coffman, *The social composition of the teaching population*, 1911, CXO C653.



date stated in the CV. If no information was provided by the candidate, other resources were consulted such as the *US Census Records* in the case of Columbia or matriculation records in the case of the University of Berlin. An example for this procedure is Lewis Chase. His thesis contains a CV that does not provide a date of birth. According to an entry in the *US Census Records* of 1880 he was born in 1873.<sup>100</sup> He must therefore have been 30 years of age when he got his PhD in 1903 at Columbia University.<sup>101</sup>

It must be noted that the exact date of birth, which included the day and month, was used simply to clarify the year in which a candidate was born. The reason is that it is difficult to define the exact point in time when a candidate received his PhD. Should this be the moment he defended his thesis successfully or the moment he fulfilled the official requirements including handing in a copy of his thesis to the library of the university? Such information is difficult to compile as both universities had a different procedure of awarding the PhD, the publication process of the thesis and other requirements (as will be shown later). The second problem is that the date of defence or the date when the copy of the thesis was handed in is in most cases not available anymore. The main reason is that these were two very different processes. The first is directly related to the thesis and its content, the other was a simple bureaucratic process by the university administration but nevertheless might have been required to get the PhD officially recognised. Using the year, the candidate was born as well as the year he received his PhD as the indicator of his age is therefore the best and only option.

#### **2.2.4 Geographical Background**

The geographical background of a candidate is more difficult to define than the two categories already mentioned. The primary definition of 'geographical background' used in this study is the place of birth of a candidate. If this information has not been available, the earliest possible record will be used. Alternatively, the citizenship or other reliable information about the candidate's parents is used instead of his place of birth.

The first challenge with regards to the classification of geographical background is that the universities researched were located in different types of state, both in size

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<sup>100</sup> See United States Federal Census, *State of New York, County of Rochester, Inhabitants of Monroe*, 1880, 7.

<sup>101</sup> See Lewis Chase, *The English Heroic Play*, 1903, CXO C38.

and their political structure. Additionally, both countries had 'overseas territories' which makes investigations even more complicated. The main question when establishing a categorisation system was therefore: how detailed should the classification system be? Should it consider every single state and country? Or should simply regions be defined, and if so, how does one define them? A too detailed classification system could lead to a situation in which groups of candidates simply vanish as each group by itself does not contain enough members to be of significance. A less rigorous system on the other hand could lead to a situation in which the interpretation of the results could foster false assumptions due to lack of details.

The solution to the problem is to use a multi-step approach when analysing the data. The first step is to divide students between those born abroad, so-called foreign or foreign-born students, and those born in the home country of the university. Foreign students are then classified according to their country of citizenship or their country of birth. One challenge was to classify those candidates whose citizenship and place of birth are known but where the use of this information was difficult because the records of primary education, the citizenship and place of birth contradicted each other. An example of the second case is Mary Williams Montgomery who received her PhD in 1901 at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin. She was born in Marash, Turkey, in 1874, but her family left the country four months after she was born and moved to the United States where she went to a school in New Haven. Both her parents were American citizens, which meant she had received American citizenship, as well. Classifying her as from 'Turkey' would not make any sense, as she grew up and went to school in the United States. In this particular case, she was classed as 'American'.<sup>102</sup> Cases like this will be outlined in the relevant chapters about the PhD candidates at the University of Berlin and Columbia University.

This case is also a good example of another classification problem. While Montgomery was born in 'Turkey', as she writes in her CV, the state of 'Turkey' did not exist at the time. However, describing her as being from the Ottoman Empire would be, while still correct, as imprecise as describing a student from India or Australia as being from the British Empire, a student from the Philippines as being from the United States or a student from German South-West Africa as being from the German Empire. In order to get a clearer view of where the international students

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<sup>102</sup> See Mary Williams Montgomery, *Briefe aus der Zeit des babylonischen Königs Hammurabi (ca. 2250. v. Chr.)* [Letters from the time of the Babylonian King Hammurabi (approx. 2250 B.C.)], 1901, 367.

came from and thereby facilitate the outline of international connections and developments, the more modern state description was used even if the state did not officially exist as an independent entity at that time. This is especially useful for investigations of the dominions of the British, but also independent present-day states that were colonies, such as the afore-mentioned German South-West Africa or the Philippines.

The next step was to define what constituted the home country of the universities being researched. Germany was defined as the whole German Empire without its overseas colonies. The home country of Columbia University was defined as the 50 states of the United States of America, including Hawaii and Alaska, even though these were then 'insular and non-contiguous territories'. They had the same legal status as the colonies of the British and the German Empire. Puerto Rico and the Philippines were counted as foreign countries.

A detailed classification of students born in the home country is more complex, as it must consider, as mentioned, the structure of each state. The primary approach was to use the classification system used by the official statistics while making some adjustments whenever required.<sup>103</sup> In the case of the German Empire, a first categorisation was made by separating those students who were born in Prussia from those who were not. As a next step the students were assigned to their relevant principality, duchy, kingdom or, in case of Prussia, province. As in Marita Baumgarten's case study, students who were born in a city with a well-known university such as the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin were additionally separated. Those universities were the ones at Munich (Kingdom of Bavaria), Dresden and Leipzig (both Kingdom of Saxony), Heidelberg (Grand Duchy of Baden) and Giessen (Grand Duchy of Hessen). The provinces of Brandenburg and of Berlin were separated according to the Berlin Act of 1920, which incorporated various suburban villages. They had already been closely connected to Berlin for decades due to the growing industrialisation and the development of public transport between these villages and the city centre. Berlin and its neighbouring regions had simply no

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<sup>103</sup> See for example Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistische Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches* 1910 [Yearbook of statistics of the German Empire 1910] (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht), 68.

other option but to work together to solve challenges like public transport or education.<sup>104</sup> The categories for Berlin were defined as follows:

- Prussia: (Greater) Berlin, Brandenburg, East Prussia, Pommern, Posen, Province of Hanover, Province of Hessen-Nassau, Province of Saxony, Province of Schleswig-Holstein, Province of Westfalen, Rhine Province, Silesia, West Prussia.
- Other States of the German Empire: Bremen, Principality of Lippe, Principality of Schaumburg-Lippe, Principality of Waldeck, Grand Duchy of Baden (subcategory: Heidelberg), Grand Duchy of Hesse (subcategory Giessen), Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, Hamburg, Duchy of Anhalt, Duchy of Braunschweig, Kingdom of Bavaria Bayern (subcategory Munich), Kingdom of Saxony (subcategory Dresden), Kingdom of Württemberg, Lübeck. Imperial Territory of Alsace-Lorraine, Thuringian States.<sup>105</sup>

In the case of Columbia University, students were initially assigned according to their home state. These states were further categorised according to five divisions by following the example of the yearly report of Columbia University:<sup>106</sup> North Atlantic Division, South Atlantic Division, North Central Division, South Central Division and Western Division. Alaska and Hawaii were counted separately as they were Insular/Non-contiguous Territories until they achieved statehood in 1958 and 1959 respectively. The detailed categorisation system for home country PhD candidates of Columbia University was therefore as follows:

- North Atlantic Division: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York (subcategory New York City and its five boroughs), Pennsylvania.

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<sup>104</sup> Vgl. Michael Erbe, "Berlin im Kaiserreich (1871 – 1918)" [Berlin during the German Empire (1871-1918)] in *Geschichte Berlins: Von der Märzrevolution bis zur Gegenwart* [History of Berlin: From the March Revolution until present], Wolfgang Ribbe, ed. (Berlin: Berlin Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2002), 691-793.

<sup>105</sup> Students born in the Grand Duchy of Saxonia-Weimar-Eisenach (official title since 1903: Grand Duchy of Saxonia), the Duchy of Saxonia-Altenburg, the Duchy of Sachsen-Coburg, the Duchy of Gotha, the Duchy of Sachsen-Meiningen, the Provinciality of Reuss (older Line), the Provinciality of Reuss (younger Line), the Provinciality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt or the Provinciality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen were all counted as being from the Thuringian States due the regional fragmentation of this part of the German Empire.

<sup>106</sup> Columbia University, *President's Annual Report: Twelfth Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees* (New York (NY): Columbia University Bulletins of Information, 1901).

- South Atlantic Division: Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida.
- North Central Division: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Indian Territory.<sup>107</sup>
- South Central Division: Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma.
- Western Division: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California.
- Insular/Non-Continuous Territories:<sup>108</sup> Hawaiian Island,<sup>109</sup> Alaska.

This two-level distribution system can provide detailed information on the geographical background of the students not only regarding their home states but also within each division. One change has been made, however. New York City was defined according to the reform of 1898 when the five boroughs were formed. If a candidate mentioned that he was born in one of these five boroughs he was counted as being from New York City. As in the case of Berlin, it was additionally noted if a PhD candidate specifically mentioned that he was from Manhattan, Brooklyn or any other of the five boroughs to get a better overview of the situation within New York regarding the home students of Columbia University.

All this allows for detailed and substantial comparisons among PhD candidates with regard to their geographical background. The reason is that not only the legally established provinces are included, but also the regions and divisions. Awareness of the development of Berlin and New York as growing cities as well as regional and national centres also allows one to highlight the drastic social, economic and legal

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<sup>107</sup> Indian Territory incorporates students from today's Oklahoma who were born in those parts of this state that counted as Indian Territory until Oklahoma joined the Union in 1907. Consequently, the term was not used in reports that were published later. See Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1910* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1910), 205.

<sup>108</sup> Columbia University counted Puerto Rico and The Philippines as Insular/Non-contiguous Territories. See *ibid.*, 205.

<sup>109</sup> The islands in Oceania that were not part of the Hawaiian Islands were also counted as Hawaiian Islands but within the foreign countries section of the report. See *ibid.*, 206.

changes that these cities were undergoing during or right after the research period of this thesis if required.

### **2.2.5 Religion/Denomination**

The religion/denomination of a candidate was another categorisation that was used to analyse the PhD candidates at both universities. The Christian PhD candidates were divided into Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant ones. The reason for including all Catholic students in one group is that most of them only provided the information that they were Catholics and not whether they were part of the Roman Catholic or another Catholic church. The same applies to the Christian Orthodox PhD candidates. Protestants include all students who provided the information that they were Lutheran, Protestant, Anglican or Presbyterian. All Jewish PhD candidates were summarised in one group. All other PhD candidates, who were neither Jewish nor affiliated to one of the afore-mentioned Christian denominations, such as non-conformist Christians, were included in the last category. One must note, however, that religion played a different role within the society and state both universities being researched, as will be outlined in the relevant chapter.

The way in which this information was provided by the students or collected varied. Neither of the two institutions researched was a 'religious university' and both dealt with this topic very differently. PhD candidates at Berlin provided information about their religion/denomination within the CV attached to the thesis as part of the general information about the candidate. The matriculation documents, however, do not contain any religious information even though the university had a Faculty of Theology which was not bound to any specific Christian denomination. Columbia University was founded with an ethos of religious liberty and therefore operated without an affiliation to any specific (Christian) denomination, although it had and still has its own chapel on campus. There was no official faculty of theology, besides the connection to the Union Theological seminary and, as in case of Berlin, the students had no obligation to provide information about their religious affiliation. It was nevertheless possible to extract the denomination through the CVs as some students provided indirect information. For example, Arner Floyd Appleton, who received his PhD in 1906, was ordained a Deacon by the Bishop of New York. He outlined his career within the church in his CV.<sup>110</sup> Another way to retrieve this information was through the Union Theological Seminary and the Jewish Seminary New York where some PhD

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<sup>110</sup> See Floyd Appleton: *Church philanthropy in New York; a study of the philanthropic institutions of the Protestant Episcopal church in the city of New York*, 1906, CWO Ap5.

candidates studied either before or during their time as PhD candidates at Columbia University. While the information is therefore not as statistically accurate as in the case of Berlin, it is still possible to compare the results especially with regard to Jewish students by including biographical information about individual candidates (as already shown).

### **2.2.6 Social Background**

As stated, unlike other studies that focus on the history of students, especially those with successful careers after their graduation, the goal of this thesis is to analyse the social background of the PhD candidates instead. This is only possible because they, unlike undergraduate and graduate students, published a CV attached to their thesis. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the systematic collection of data about the background and career of graduates was not pursued until the 1930s when this kind of data was collated due to the increasing interest in the development of the labour market.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, universities had no interest in collecting information on their former students except if they were highly successful. This was of special interest to universities that had to rely on donors like Columbia University. They used the prestige of their former university students to convince potential benefactors to support them as institutions but also to attract new students. The problem of such alumni directories is that they are very superficial. They include only those former students and researchers who were highly successful and visible enough to attract new donors and students. Their ‘factual consistency’ is also doubtful.

“Occupational status [has emerged as the most common status” to define the social status of a person in social historical research.<sup>112</sup> Yet the challenge of this study is that the structure of two very different societies must be taken into account: In the open, competitive labour market of the United States, for example, it was not the state

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<sup>111</sup> There were attempts to analyse the labour market even before 1930. The German Empire, for example, engaged the economist Wilhelm Lexis during the 1880s to create exact labour statistics to find a solution for the overproduction of academics. This task was however impossible as there was simply insufficient data from all the economic sectors available to measure demand for graduates and academics. Such attempts to steer the academic work force were abandoned in the 1900s on this account. See Konrad H. Jarausch, “Graduation and Careers,” in *History of the university in Europe: Universities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, ed. Walter Rüegg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 363-394, 378.

<sup>112</sup> See Fritz K. Ringer, *Education and society in modern Europe* (Bloomington (IN): Indiana University Press, 1979), 17-18.

but the qualifying professional associations which controlled the certification procedure through professional examinations. By contrast, the state took over the role of the professional associations in the German Empire.<sup>113</sup> Any system that is used for the analysis of the data needs to take into account these differences while also creating usable information. Additionally, certain classes simply did not exist in both societies or else their economic and social status was different. Railway employees in the German Empire, for example, were employed by the state. In the United States, however, they were employed by private companies. On the other hand, the United States had no nobility while the German Empire had one.

In order to solve this challenge, a two-step approach was used for categorising the data. A general categorisation system was developed that reflects both societies at both universities by including as many common factors as possible. This system was inspired by former studies made on the social background of university students and academics<sup>114</sup> and uses a system that consists of four main classes: the upper class, the upper middle class, the lower middle class and the lower class. Each of these classes was further split into sub-classes depending on whether they were state-employees, self-employed or businessmen.

However, in order to reflect the different period and context of this study, some adjustments were required especially regarding the terms. This study uses the term 'businessmen' instead of *Bourgeois*, as the polysemy of the term *Bourgeois* can lead to a misinterpretation of the result especially when comparing PhD candidates from the United States and the German Empire. Additionally, while as separation of state-employees from the other two sub classes is self-explanatory, to separate between self-employed and businessmen might need some explanation, as one might assume that the only significant separation is between state-employed and non-state-employed. However, there are significant differences. According to Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, the key characteristics of businessmen compared to the other two groups, besides their acquisition of wealth, is that the membership in this group is highly competitive. State-employees, on the one hand, expect to be protected by the state from too much competition. The self-employed, on the other

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<sup>113</sup> See Konrad H. Jarausch, *History of the university in Europe: Universities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, 367.

<sup>114</sup> See Marita Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 121 (Göttingen, Gießen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).



hand, protect their economic interests through rigorous tests and degrees, for instance the bar exam in case of lawyers, most often but not necessarily sanctioned by the state. Meanwhile, businessmen rely on (socio-) economic success to grade one's worth. Although they recognise degrees to improve one's standing, academic qualifications are not required for accession. Another significant difference is that all members of the group of businessmen compete with each other, for example to acquire promotion or better wages, and one can drop out of this group by not being successful enough. Especially the latter is another important difference from the other two groups: One will always be a state-employed teacher or a lawyer, no matter how good or bad, but a businessman will lose his job if he is not successful enough as an executive employee or banker.<sup>115</sup>

### **Upper Class**

#### *State-Employed*

Higher Military Personnel (Officers),  
Gentry

#### *Self-Employed*

Company Owners, Private Scholar

### **Upper Middle Class**

#### *State-Employed*

State Employees (Higher, National),  
State Employees (Higher, Local), State  
Employees (Court), State Employees  
(Law) State Employees (Church), State  
Employees (Other), Preachers,  
Academic Teachers (University),  
Officers, Physicians (Military), High  
School Teachers

#### *Self-Employed*

Lawyers, Physicians (Private),  
Pharmacists, Architects/Scientists,  
Artists, Journalists

#### *Businessmen*

Land Owner, Entrepreneur, Wholesale  
Merchant, Executive Employee, Banker

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<sup>115</sup> Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein also use the term *Bourgeoise*. See Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *Race, nation, class: Ambiguous identities* (London, New York: Verso, 2005, 1991), 69-85.

### **Lower Middle Class**<sup>116</sup>

#### *State-Employed*

State Employees (Lower, National),  
State Employees (Lower, Local), State  
Employees (Court), State Employees  
(Church), Post and Train Employees,  
Non-Academic Teachers, Officers  
(Lower)

#### *Self-Employed*

Service Provider, Farmer,  
Administrators, Craftsmen, Tradesmen

### **Lower Class**

Day Labourers, Workers, Small Traders

The required adaptations for the investigation of Columbia University do not affect the main categories outlined above, but rather refine the classes and their definition within each category. The goal is to allow for a comparison of the results while still reflecting the situation at the time. The definition of which classes fall into which sub-group is the main adjustment that was required. It allowed analysis how the educational background of a PhD candidate's father influenced the decision to pursue a PhD. Another significant difference between the German Empire and the United States was the gentry as part of the upper class. As this class did not exist in the United States it drops out of the system automatically. The upper class in the United States therefore only consists of those who were part of this social group due to their wealth and property as well as social standing, and not by law as in the case of the German Empire.<sup>117</sup>

The goal of this categorisation system is to support the overall analysis of the social background of PhD candidates. The intention is not to develop a classification system that can be used for other cases without alteration or to show in detail if the PhD

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<sup>116</sup> Maria Baumgarten splits the lower middle class into the new middle class and the old middle class instead of the state-employed and self-employed. The officers (lower) therefore had to be moved from the group of self-employed to state-employees to fit into the new system.

<sup>117</sup> That a PhD candidate was classified as part of the gentry by his title but whose wealth might have otherwise not qualified him as being of the Upper Class might have been especially the case for PhD candidates from East Prussia due to rise of impoverished gentry in this region towards the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

system of either of these universities was highly permeable in every situation or not.<sup>118</sup> The reason is very clear: No classification system can represent the complexity of social reality. The relevant factors that would need to be included were simply not available during the period of this research or they would require too great an amount of research to be feasible. Additionally, it is important to note that this study uses primarily the information provided by the candidates themselves at the time they had to defend their theses. It is not without reason that a candidate might have improved the social standard of his family to gain social credibility during his examination. It is therefore important to note that, without additional requirements, this classification system is a simplification of society and economy because it uses specific factors, which are applicable to this study, while others are being left out.

This data is reinforced with information about individual PhD candidates. This combination allows one not only to balance missing data within the database but also to extend the presentation to discuss individuals rather than by focusing simply on the mass. This form of presentation includes those PhD candidates who are exemplary for the majority as well those for the minority. Still, while this categorisation system was developed for this specific case, it would allow the inclusion of other universities within the German Empire as well as the United States if one keeps in mind the individual circumstances of each university added. If universities from other countries were included however, for example the Sorbonne in Paris, the system would have to be adjusted again to reflect contemporary French society.

Finally, it must be noted that the required biographical research primarily focused on basic social background information and does not provide an all-inclusive portrait of the economic and social situation of each candidate. This study does not claim therefore to present or include all data on each individual PhD student. Further research might amend details, but the main results would still stand due to the amount and quality of data. After all, “the concept of [categorisation] takes on meaning, not

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<sup>118</sup> To show that the PhD system is permeable regarding the social background of the PhD candidates much more factors would need to be included like the availability of (higher) education and the development of it or siblings for example. See Peter Lundgreen, Margret Kraul and Karl Ditt, *Bildungschancen und soziale Mobilität in der städtischen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 17.

[primarily] as a statistical indicator, but as a complex interpretive device for the structure, development and importance of educational systems”.<sup>119</sup>

## 2.3 Sources

### 2.3.1 Berlin

In the case of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin,<sup>120</sup> or the Humboldt University, as it is known today, the archive stores all documents from the university. The archive is part of the university library and contains not only all the theses written at the university but also all other official university documents such as minutes of departments and letters of university personnel for example. Additionally, the archive is also responsible for preserving documentation on other schools of higher education within Berlin that do not exist anymore today or were merged with other institutions like the school of veterinarians, which is now part of the *Charité*, the teaching hospital in Berlin.

It must nevertheless be noted that some documents were lost or severely damaged during the Second World War. These were primarily administrative records such as minutes of meetings and letters of exchange between departments, but also the list of matriculated students. Some of these damaged documents are unavailable, as they are undergoing restoration or are accessible only partially on microfiche. The archive however contains most of the required theses that were researched for this study, despite the destruction of the university and the loss of documents. Luckily, most missing theses, including the CVs of the authors, were discovered in the archive of the University of Bern.<sup>121</sup> As regards PhD candidates, the archive of Humboldt University does not only store the theses admitted by the university but also the application forms for the examination, the reports of the examiners and other relevant

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<sup>119</sup> See Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, “Segmentation: a critique,” in *The rise of the modern educational system: Structural change and social reproduction 1870-1920*, Detlef K. Müller, Fritz K. Ringer and Brian Simon, eds., Reprint (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 217-226, 218.

<sup>120</sup> While Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin is the full name, the terms ‘University of Berlin’ as well as ‘Berlin’ refer to the same institution if not stated otherwise.

<sup>121</sup> Universities in the German Empire were required to send copies of theses they admitted to other universities within the German Empire, Switzerland and Austria. The University of Bern has stored all these theses, not only from Berlin but from other German and European universities.

documents.<sup>122</sup> In some cases, other information (for example that the PhD title was withdrawn during the Nazi era because the candidate was Jewish<sup>123</sup> or not supportive of the NS regime)<sup>124</sup> is also available in the archive. Such additional information was used in the cases of PhD candidates who did not provide all the information required for their CV or if the CV was not added at all. If no thesis was available but the archive had an entry about a candidate in its records, another source was the *Jahresverzeichnis der an den Deutschen Universitäten erschienenen Schriften* [Annual list of the at German universities released publications]. These records collected all the theses written within the German Empire during an academic year. Additionally, they were used when the year the thesis was accepted was unclear.

A key source of information on the candidates provided by the university was the *Amtliches Verzeichnis des Personals und der Studierenden der Königlich Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin* [Official record of personal and students at the Royal Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität in Berlin]. It contains not only a list of all students, their place of birth and nationality, but also their addresses in Berlin during their studies. While it does not contain matriculation numbers until 1910, the detailed information on staff and departments of the university makes this source an important asset when analysing the CVs of the candidates. Another source of information on the development of the university is the *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten mit Einschluss des Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg, der bischöflichen Klerikerseminare und der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Akademie für das militärische Bildungswesen zu Berlin für das Studienjahr zu Ostern* [Statistic of the Prussian National Universities including the Lyceum of Braunsberg, the Episcopalian clerical Seminaries and the Kaiser Wilhelms Academy for the Military Education in Berlin for the Easter Year 1911/1912]. This report was published annually by the Department of Statistics of Prussia and contained detailed information on the development of all the

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<sup>122</sup> The Humboldt University Archive collects the dissertations in boxes. Some dissertations therefore have the same call number.

<sup>123</sup> One of the most prominent PhD's who lost her title was Alice Salomon when both her title and nationality were withdrawn in 1939. At that time, she was already living in New York where she had emigrated two years before. See Alice Salomon, *Die Ursachen der ungleichen Entlohnung von Männer- und Frauenarbeit*, 1906, 389/415.

<sup>124</sup> Hermann Rauschnig lost his title because he criticised the NS regime while sitting in his physician's waiting room and was reported by another patient. He got his title back in 1955. See Hermann Rauschnig, *Musikgeschichte Danzigs* [Music History of Danzig], 1911, 494.

universities.<sup>125</sup> Unlike the reports from Columbia University, this source does not however contain any comment or analysis by the President of the University of Berlin, as its goal is to compare developments at all universities and institutions of higher education in Prussia. However, it must however be noted that some documents were only available in digital form or not all. According to the archive of the University of Berlin they are too damaged to be made available to the public for research. They aim to digitalise these documents and make them available through the online publishing resources of the university. This process has been completed for some documents, for example the above-mentioned directory of students and staff of the university, but not all of them, such as the matriculation records. Due to this, some missing data might be available within the archive but cannot be added due to the restrictions. However, it is important to note that the PhD theses at the archive were completely available and included.

The sample for this study of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin consists of 1663 PhD candidates in the Humanities, 699 between 1871 and 1899, and 964 between 1900 and 1913. The Faculty of Philosophy accepted all theses that are part of this study. It is important to note however, that the Faculty of Philosophy consisted not only of the Humanities but also the natural sciences. The primary indicator if a thesis was in the Humanities or natural sciences was the title and the supervisor. If it was still unclear, the thesis was analysed. Theses dealing with topics of the natural sciences were not included in this study.

It was a requirement of the university that each thesis should have a CV of the candidate. In most cases, it was added at the end, in full text form. Until 1899, the vast majority of the CVs were in Latin, before they were written in German if the thesis was not written in Latin.<sup>126</sup> The CVs contain detailed information on the student's life before applying for a PhD such as place of birth, birthday, denomination or religion, schools and universities visited before attending Humboldt University, summer schools, employment before or during the studies, information on whether the student

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<sup>125</sup> Excluding those universities that were within the German Empire but not within Prussia. Each state within the German Empire had authority over its universities.

<sup>126</sup> No documentation could be found that explains why this change happened in 1900, although presumably it was due to the increasing importance of German as a scientific language in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. After 1899, only those theses written in Latin had a CV in Latin attached.

had been in the German army and any other details the student thought might be important for the experts when evaluating the thesis.

As students had attended other universities before getting their PhD degree from the University of Berlin, some of the missing information could be obtained in these university archives if required. It was one of the particular characteristics of German students in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries that they studied at various universities in the German Empire and even some abroad before receiving their degrees. However, as in the case of Berlin, some universities have lost data, it was either destroyed or not archived.

One challenge was the analysis of matriculation information as the difficulty in making this information usable proved to be enormous. The first reason is that there is no separation between the students regarding faculty, name, age or other criteria except the moment they registered. This makes it difficult to find a single PhD candidate as each term can contain several thousand entries while most PhD candidates are very unclear about when they matriculated in Berlin. Moreover, the students made their entries by themselves by hand. While some had a comparably easy readable handwriting, most seemed to have seen the act of adding themselves into the registration book as one they wanted to get over with. Another other problem for this project was that the matriculation books are only available in individual microfiche version within the archive, due to the poor status of the books. The quality of microfiche is, however, unreliable and makes it difficult to analyse the individual handwriting.<sup>127</sup>

### **2.3.2 Columbia**

In the case of Columbia University, 503 theses in the Humanities were accepted by the university in the period of investigation. 389 of them were accepted after 1899, 111 before. As in Berlin, the main way to separate theses in the Humanities from those in natural sciences was the title and the supervisor of a thesis. The majority of doctoral candidates at Columbia University added a CV to their thesis (as in Berlin). In most cases, the CVs contain information about the place and date of birth, the various primary schools, high schools, colleges and universities visited as well as any

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<sup>127</sup> Anja Werner faced with the same challenge during her research on American students in Leipzig. It forced her to focus her research on newly registered students rather than those staying for a longer period. See Anja Werner, *The transatlantic world of higher education: Americans at German universities, 1776-1914*, European studies in American history 4 (New York (NY): Berghahn Books, 2013), 51.

professional experience acquired before receiving the PhD. But additional information such as religion and denomination as well as the social background of a candidate is missing. The CVs were written in English from the beginning.<sup>128</sup> In many cases, the data provided are sufficient to look for further information in other source such as US Census Records to find more details about the parents of a candidate. The US Census Records are digitalised and searchable online. One must bear in mind that, in contrast to Berlin, the information found was not created at the same time the thesis was handed in.<sup>129</sup> While this 'record linkage' did not reveal information about all candidates, it was a key source for this study regarding the social background of PhD candidates.<sup>130</sup> One particular challenge was to find the information on the religion and denomination of the PhD candidates. An important source on these aspects were documents of other institutions, especially the Union Theological Seminary. Closely connected to Columbia, this institution collected information regarding those PhD candidates who were studying there either before, during or after their time at Columbia University. It did not only record the usual student information such as age or place of birth but also his/her denomination. Another important source was the student records, letters and reports of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. However, unlike the Union Theological Seminary, there was no official affiliation between the Jewish Theological Seminary and Columbia University. Finally, it was helpful when candidates mentioned if they had studied at a seminary before joining Columbia as it not only provided information about a candidate's religion but also its importance for the candidate. Robert McCaughey from Barnard College, Columbia University, gave me access to his research on PhDs written before 1900. His list contains about 300 PhD students and includes the careers of students after they

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<sup>128</sup> The only thesis found at Columbia whose CV and content was written in Latin was that of Lucile Kohn who got her degree in 1909. See Lucile Kohn, *De vestigiis Aeschyli apud Sophoclem Euripidem Aristophanem*, 1909, CXO K82.

<sup>129</sup> The father of Samuel Windsor Brown, for example, was, according to the census records of 1880, a farmer. Brown however finished his thesis in 1912, which means that the social standing of his father could have improved within these 32 years although there are no records to confirm this.

<sup>130</sup> For more information about 'record linkage' see Peter Lundgreen, Margret Kraul and Karl Ditt, *Bildungschancen und soziale Mobilität in der städtischen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts* [Chances for education and social mobility in the urban society of the 19<sup>th</sup> century] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 18-19.



finished their degree. His research however included Science PhD candidates as well, who are not part of this research project.<sup>131</sup>

Unlike the Department of Statistics of Prussia, the Department of Education of the United States did not publish all-inclusive statistics during the period of this study besides a few exceptions on special occasions.<sup>132</sup> Columbia University, on the other hand, published yearly reports that were presented to the trustees of the university. Each president had his own focus regarding the content and style of the report as it was a way for him to present his own ideas and expectations regarding the future of the university to the board. Nevertheless, each report contains detailed information, including statistical data, about the development of the university, its students and staff and financial situation. While the data included varies depending on the year, it normally contains the number of students at each faculty; information on where the students came from regarding their geographical background; the high schools and colleges visited before joining Columbia University; the age of the students just to mention a few. Additionally, it also contains information on whether a former or current PhD student of Columbia University was now working at the institution. Other statistics including the matriculation records are only partially available for the College of Columbia University. The matriculation records of the university after 1900 were stored by the registrar's office and were never part of Columbia University's archive. The main reason is most likely the fact that until 1922 Columbia University did not employ a curator who was responsible for maintaining the collection and documentation of its archive.<sup>133</sup> Additionally, the development of Columbia's archive

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<sup>131</sup> It must be noted that some minor discrepancies were found when comparing the data provided by Robert McCaughey and the data that was found within the archives. His notes contain for example 10 PhD candidates that are not mentioned within the *List of Theses Submitted by Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University, 1972-1910*. While it is mentioned that the list is not complete and that omissions will be published in a subsequent list (which never seems to have happened), the archive of Columbia University does not contain any thesis of these 10 candidates. They were therefore not included in this study.

<sup>132</sup> An exception was for example the *Monographs on Education in the United States* which were published in 1900 by the Department of Education for the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition in the same year.

<sup>133</sup> A detailed history of Columbia University Library was written by Winifred B. Linderman in 1959. See: Winifred B. Linderman, *History of the Columbia University Library: 1876-1926* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1959).

regarding what was stored within it, not to mention the procedure for how documents were moved into the archive from the faculties and offices of the university is unclear. Unlike Berlin, the archive of Columbia University seems not to have had the role of an essential information storage institution for the university as whole.

Again, unlike Berlin, which was focusing on its students' past, Columbia University tried to maintain active connections with its former students through its Alumni Association. A student's past was important regarding the admission criteria of Columbia University. However, after he finished his studies, the focus of Columbia University was on his career. While this made the research more difficult, it also shows that the former students of Columbia University were an important asset, at a time when, unlike Berlin, it was a privately funded institution. Their connections and resources were therefore of importance for Columbia University. It used these to promote the success of the university in general as well as to acquire financial support from possible benefactors. Berlin, fully funded by the state, also benefited from the success of its former students, especially when they went into politics. However, there was no need for Berlin to try to maintain an active network of former students like Columbia University's Alumni Association in order to provide financial support.

Unlike Berlin, the archive of Columbia University does not maintain a complete list of all the theses written and accepted. It further does not maintain the records of the oral examination of PhD candidates. However, there are two final sources that must be mentioned. One is the *List of Theses Submitted by Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University, 1872-1910* that was made at the time by the reference librarian of Columbia University Alice L. Miller. It contains information on the title of each thesis written between 1872 and 1910, the name of the writer and if it was published at Columbia University or another institution.<sup>134</sup> The name of the list indicates that it includes not only those theses that were accepted but also all those submitted but not accepted. Another list that was found within the archive contains the name, the subject and the year the degree was awarded for all PhD candidates between 1900 and 1940. It does not contain the title of the thesis in contrast to the list mentioned before. The list is undated, untitled and it is unclear if it is totally accurate. An author is not mentioned. Nevertheless, both lists were helpful to get an overview of the degrees awarded by Columbia University. They pointed to the location of the thesis of each candidate within the digital records of the archive, making it possible to compare this with the information provided by the archive.

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<sup>134</sup> These other publications did not contain a CV and were therefore of no use for this study.

Comparing the data on both lists allowed for an evaluation of whether a thesis, which had been written between 1900 and 1910, had not only been submitted but also accepted, as the second list only contains those PhD candidates who received the degree. There were no discrepancies found between the two lists.

## 2.4 Conclusion

The availability of data depends on each university and its structure. It seems that the more centralised the institution was, the more likely it was that the documentation of the PhD candidates was being done properly. The University of Berlin is an example of an institution that documented everything. Columbia University, with its various schools and most likely also due to its reforms in the 1890s, documented less. While the student records were not archived, the PhD theses, including the CV, were. There were even efforts, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, by the librarians of Columbia University to establish a list of PhD candidates and their theses.

Another challenge for this study is the variety of the sources and their availability. The basic research was done by focusing on the data available at Columbia University and at the University of Berlin, especially the CVs of the PhD candidates. The information gained during this research was later combined with other sources such as newspapers, biographies, teachers' as well as census records or reports of the university. However, all these sources served a different purpose when they were created. While a newspaper article, for example, was for a larger audience and contains a lot of details not necessarily required for this study, the teachers' records were more focused on the educational background and teaching experience. They have therefore been used to document the careers of the teachers in Prussia.

The purpose of each of the source at the time it was created used must not be underestimated. CVs of PhD candidates, although accurate, aimed to present their achievement in the best possible light, which means that a PhD candidate chose his/her words carefully. Meanwhile, census and teachers' records as well as statistical reports aimed to generate comparable data that could be used by policy makers.<sup>135</sup> This means that any changes in the statistical data provided and the categorisation of said data must be interpreted in the relevant historical context. A good example is the ever-changing content of the reports of Columbia's presidents. It might be worth comparing Columbia's reports with those of its American competitors, especially

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<sup>135</sup> See Vincent Carpentier, "Quantitative source for the history of education", in *Journal of the History of Education* 37, no. 5 (2008), 701-720, 706-710.

Harvard, to see if there are similarities or differences with regard to the content of the yearly reports. This would indicate shifts in public debates about higher education at the time the reports were published.

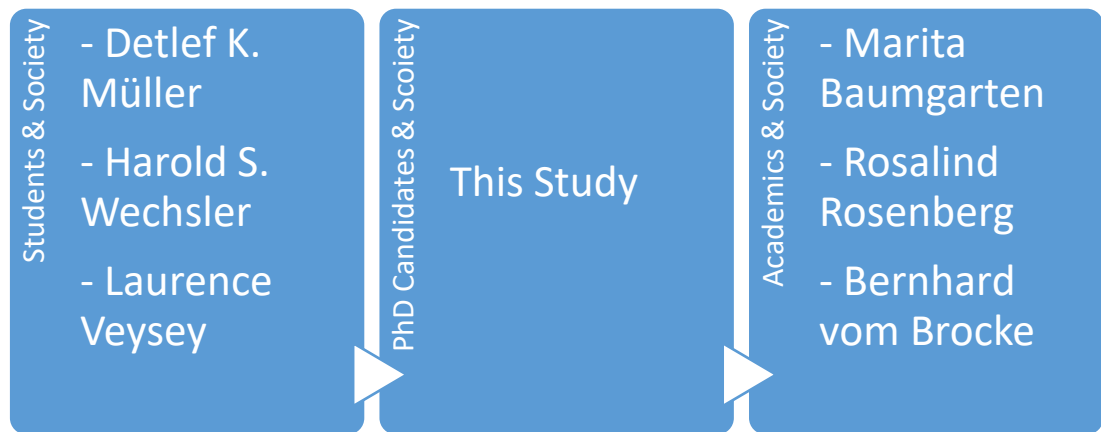
Interestingly, the University of Berlin had no opportunity to present its development in a yearly 'all-inclusive' report as Columbia did. All its statistical data was released, together with the data of the other Prussian and German universities, in the yearly reports of the Office of Statistics. For better or worse, Berlin had to directly compete with all other German universities on the number of students, PhD candidates and representation within the official statistics. Hiding or emphasizing specific data to promote a critical issue was not possible. On the other hand, the fact that all data is available and that it does not have to be collected from various reports facilitates the research and might be a reason for the relatively (in comparison to Columbia) detailed research about the history of the University of Berlin.

We know a lot about (college) students and society as well as about successful academics and their impact on society. Regarding Columbia, for example, Harold S. Wechsler tells the story of admission procedure and criteria from 1870 and 1970 at Columbia,<sup>136</sup> focusing on college students and the policy changes of higher education institutions in the United States while Rosalind Rosenberg<sup>137</sup> shows the impact of female academics from Columbia on society. The same applies for the University of Berlin, with studies like Detlef Müller's study about students on the one side and investigations such as the one Marita Baumgarten about academics on the other side. However, PhD candidates, if they are even mentioned, in these studies only appear as a qualitative resource, for example if they pursued a career as academics. They were never used as a quantitative resource out of which leaders were recruited.

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<sup>136</sup>Unfortunately, he excluded women in his study. See Harold S. Wechsel, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2014).

<sup>137</sup>See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the subject: How the women of Columbia shaped the way we think about sex and politics* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 2004).



*Figure 2 Previous, studies and their connection to this research*

Through the combination of records and by including the admission and degree criteria, which were neglected so far as well, this study allows to make the PhD candidates available as a source for the history of (higher) education and society in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. By building upon existing studies and methodologies, especially regarding the social categorisation, it allows to be included into the current historiography about the development of higher education in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century regarding the admission of students but also regarding the social mobility and leadership.

### 3. Berlin & Columbia

It is important to be aware of the evolution of the University of Berlin and Columbia in order to understand and contextualise the development of the PhD candidates at these two institutions. The focus is to highlight those developments that affected PhD students the most. Also highlighted is the German university model developed and established by the University of Berlin and how it influenced Columbia University.<sup>138</sup>

The quantity and type of information for this analysis varies according to the university. The main reason is that not all the relevant files and documents were retained. Either they thought it was unnecessary to document the information or the files were lost or destroyed. Columbia University destroyed or lost part of its student records as there was no central archive or similar structures until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Another reason is that the histories of the two universities has not been equally researched. Only the history of the University of Berlin has been researched in detail regarding its role and relationship with society and politics.

One reason for this was possibly the revolutionary approach to teaching and research proposed by one of its founders, Wilhelm von Humboldt, under the terms *Lernfreiheit* [Freedom of Learning]<sup>139</sup> and *Lehrfreiheit* [Freedom of Teaching].<sup>140</sup> Another reason for the detailed documentation of the history of the University of Berlin is that Berlin was the leading institution of higher education until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 2010 the University of Berlin published a multiple-volume critical analysis of its history coinciding with its 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary.<sup>141</sup> One might assume that such a detailed

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<sup>138</sup> Information about the admission of women to three universities can be found within the chapter about female PhD candidates at all both universities.

<sup>139</sup> "*Lernfreiheit* meant that a student was free to specialize in his particular field of interest, choose his courses and even move from one university to another. Once he could prove attendance at several courses and satisfy examiners by producing the requisite thesis and defending it satisfactorily in the faculty, he would be awarded his degree." Renate Simpson, *How the PhD came to Britain: A century of struggle for postgraduate education* (Guildford: Society for Research into Higher Education, 1983), 14.

<sup>140</sup> "The principle of *Lehrfreiheit* assured him [the university professor] freedom of expression, at least within the precincts of the university, thereby protecting him from any interference with the subject matter of his lectures." *ibid.*, 14.

<sup>141</sup> The series consists of four books. The first three focus on the history of the university; the last one on the history of its faculties. See Rüdiger vom Bruch and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, eds., *Geschichte der Universität zu Berlin 1810-2010: Biographie einer Institution, Praxis ihrer*

analysis of an institution's history would have occurred at Columbia University as well. This is, however, not the case. The most detailed analysis of the history of Columbia University was published in 2003 by Robert McCaughey, but it is nowhere near as comprehensive as the one published by the University of Berlin.<sup>142</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to note that the situation of Columbia University is not unique.

### 3.1 The Germany Empire and the University of Berlin

The Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin was established in 1810 and grew to become the most important university of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>143</sup> There was a need for a university in the capital city of the Prussian Kingdom. The state gave financial backing to the establishment and development of the university from its beginning, and this support became a model for German universities established later, especially within Prussia.<sup>144</sup> The university was in the middle of Berlin, right between the old palace and the Reichstag, which also meant it was located in the political centre of the German Empire. While most professors lived outside the city centre, in Dahlem or Grunewald, they were still involved in its political life and were influenced by as well as influencing it. Due to this, the university became part of politics within the German Empire.<sup>145</sup>

The revolutionary approach of Wilhelm von Humboldt to teaching and research, who was also the catalyst behind the vision of establishing a university in Berlin, was the reason for its success. Later this approach was exported to the wider world as the 'German University Model'. Wilhelm von Humboldt's approach not only found its expression in the PhD program. Following the principles of *Lernfreiheit*, students could change from one university to another, as the basic curriculum as well as of the structure of all German universities were the same. This freedom became increasingly

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*Disziplinen* [History of the University of Berlin 1810-2010: Biography of an Institution, Practice of its Disciplines] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag Berlin, 2010).

<sup>142</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia: A history of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754-2004* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 2003).

<sup>143</sup> There were two other universities with that title besides Berlin, one in Breslau and the other one in Bonn. The one in Breslau was closed in 1945 and reopened in 1946 as the University of Wrocław. The other is the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn. It is, however, operating under the name University of Bonn.

<sup>144</sup> See Alain Touraine, *The academic system in American society* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1974), 34.

<sup>145</sup> See Charles E. McClelland, "Berlin historians and German politics," *Journal of contemporary history* 8 (1973): 5.

important, especially after the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, when students could change between any university within the German Empire. Lecturers, following the principles of *Lehrfreiheit*, were free to teach what they deemed to be of importance to their students, which also led to a competition of ideas. Their freedom was, however, not absolute. Non-tenured lecturers or those who needed to be approved by the government, were required to adjust their lectures according to the wishes of the state or the senior lecturers at the university. Additionally, these non-tenured lecturers were mostly paid according to the number of students present, which was a challenge as the students could freely change university if they were not satisfied. As state examinations were established for groups of professionals, such as high school teachers or lawyers, students began to look for those lecturers who would prepare them for these exams in the best way possible.<sup>146</sup> The combination of these factors, and the fact that all universities were financially well endowed due to state financial support, led to competition among the universities to attract the best teachers and students.<sup>147</sup> However, the students' mobility makes it difficult to establish how many semesters a student had been studying until he got his degree. Even contemporary witnesses were not able to say how long their students had been studying.<sup>148</sup>

Regarding the PhD program of the University of Berlin the most important development was the establishment of the seminar in the Humanities. Developed and established right after the restoration of 1815, it allowed advanced students to engage in a constant exchange with professors, learning their research techniques, methods, and applying them directly to their research.<sup>149</sup> This so-called 'unity of research and teaching' was first developed in Berlin and was introduced into every German university during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>150</sup> The expression of the unity of research and teaching within the seminars was the most impressive aspect for foreign students and researchers. The requirement for "the student to try his hand at research" further offered the professor an opportunity "to share with the students not only the results

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<sup>146</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, "Science and the university system," in *Scientific Growth, In Scientific Growth: Essays on the Social Organization and Ethos of Science*, Gad Freudenthal, ed. (Berkeley (WV) et al.: University of California Press, 1991) 159-173, 162.

<sup>147</sup> See Stuart Wallace, *War and the image of Germany*, 1.

<sup>148</sup> See Johannes Conrad, *The German Universities for the Last Fifty Years* (Glasgow: Bryce & Son, 1885), 33.

<sup>149</sup> See Robert D. Anderson, *British universities past and present*, 32.

<sup>150</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, "Science and the university system," in *Scientific Growth*, 160.



but also the methods and techniques of his enquiry".<sup>151</sup> This combination was, nevertheless, undermined by the establishment of specialised research institutes towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as certain levels of research could no longer be included in the current structure. The professors of the university, who were actually the university due to their role as its corporate body, however blocked any reform of the university structure that would have included the institutions into the university structure and therefore including their research methods into the university's research program.<sup>152</sup> For reasons of status and power, German professors preferred to maintain the fiction that "all 'real' teaching took place at the university, that all 'real' research took place within the minds of individuals, and that the bureaucratically organized institutes were merely organizational aids to the private research of the professor."<sup>153</sup> The university was only engaged as a guild of professionals, in safeguarding the standards of the university and in the protection of the rights and privileges of its members. Meanwhile, the projects conducted within the research institutes, first called *Grossforschung* [Large Scale Research] by Theodor Mommsen in 1890, were strictly hierarchically organised and usually not connected to the university and its idea of the unity of research and teaching. This undermined not only the idea of a corporate collegiate among the professors and researchers, but also Humboldt's idea of a 'learned republic'.<sup>154</sup>

German universities focused on what today would be called 'postgraduate' students.<sup>155</sup> In fact, this focus led to the situation "that by the second half of the nineteenth century its [the university system] overall research productivity exceeded that of all other countries. Students from all over the world were converging on their universities to enjoy the higher studies which they could not find in their own."<sup>156</sup> This focus does not mean that the number of students in the German Empire was low. The number of students in Berlin never fell below 1000, not during the development of

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<sup>151</sup> Joseph Ben-David, "Science and the university system," in *Scientific Growth*, 164.

<sup>152</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *The scientist's role in society: A comparative study with a new introduction* (Chicago (IL): University of Chicago press, 1984), 130.

<sup>153</sup> Joseph Ben-David "Science and the university system", in *Scientific Growth*, 166.

<sup>154</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, "A Slow Farewell to Humboldt? Stages in the History of German Universities, 1810-1945," in *German universities, past and future: Crisis or renewal?*, ed. Mitchell G. Ash (Providence (RI): Berghahn Books, 1997), 3-32, 13-14.

<sup>155</sup> It is difficult to divide German students into graduate and postgraduate students as the university system at that time did not have today's bachelor-master system.

<sup>156</sup> Renate Simpson, *How the PhD came to Britain*, 27.

1848, and not during the war of unification.<sup>157</sup> More impressive is the fact that the number of students doubled within twenty years of the unification of the German Empire, while the staff numbers also doubled within forty years.<sup>158</sup>

A reason for this growth is connected to the war; students who postponed their studies, because they wanted to or had served in the war of unification, came back to the university afterwards. This, however, only explains the immediate growth after 1871. Other reasons were related to the increasingly higher social standing that men with a university degree enjoyed within German society. Additionally, more and more positions within the state, as well as in the economy, required applicants to have a university degree, while at the same time the cost of pursuing study at the university was reduced due to the financial support of the state for the universities and their students.<sup>159</sup> The low fees, the financial support, and the generally low living costs were another reason for the high mobility of the German students. Financial support was even available to those who were studying beyond the German Empire.<sup>160</sup> The University of Berlin, or the Ministry of Education, could even admit students for free. Additionally, the university offered a discounted fee, mentioned within its constitution, to students if they had been studying at another university within the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or Switzerland:

„If he has already been studying at another university, he pays half.  
(As other universities, according to §.8, count the universities of the  
German Empire and the universities of Vienna, Prague, Graz,  
Innsbruck, Dorpat, Bern, Basel and Zurich (Ministerial Order from 5th

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<sup>157</sup> See Johannes Conrad, *The German Universities for the Last Fifty Years*, 28.

<sup>158</sup> "In Germany the number of university students doubled between 1871-76 and 1892-93 from 16,124 to 32,834; in 1908-09 it was 46,632. In the institutes of technology, which were given university status in 1899, the numbers rose from about 4,000 in 1891 to 10,500 in 1899. The growth in numbers of academic staff was somewhat slower, but it started earlier (1,313 in 1860, 1,521 in 1870, 1,839 in 1880, 2,275 in 1892, 2,667 in 1900 and 3,090 in 1909)." Joseph Ben-David, "The Universities and the Growth of Science in Germany and the United States," *Minerva* 7, no. 1 (1968/69): 1.

<sup>159</sup> See Johannes Conrad, *The German Universities for the Last Fifty Years*, 25-26.

<sup>160</sup> See Stuart Wallace, *War and the image of Germany*, 5.

March 1861/12, October 1871 and Art Order from 8th December  
1869)<sup>161</sup>.

Berlin did not only ideologically support the mobility of students but it financially supported (indirectly) the idea of a mobile student who might start his study at another university and finish it later in Berlin. The support, however, was only granted to students of German-speaking universities. Another limitation affected only the students from the German Empire; students who failed at another German university were not allowed to study the same course they had studied before arriving at the University of Berlin.<sup>162</sup>

A German student was required to get an *Abitur* at a *Gymnasium* to be admitted to any German university. However, the required content of the *Abitur* was not outlined within the constitution of the University of Berlin as it was up to each state. Berlin had therefore no direct influence upon the educational background of its incoming students. The wording of the constitution of the University of Berlin stated that those who did not have the necessary ethical and intellectual capabilities were not allowed to participate in the study program of the university. This allowed the university to exclude a German student even if he had an *Abitur*. Foreigners had the additional requirement of being at the same age upon matriculation as a regular student in Berlin.<sup>163</sup> It seems that the last rule was implemented to avoid the problem that a foreigner might be able to start studying at a younger age than that of a regular German student, who usually started his studies at the age of 18. Apart from this, it was further required for a student, independent of whether he was a German national or a foreigner, to prove his moral integrity. Students who had broken the law before joining the university were not admitted:

„§2. That who wants to be matriculated at the University of Berlin, has to; if he is a native, legitimate according to the edict regarding examination of the towards the universities graduating pupils from

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<sup>161</sup> Als andere Universitäten im Sinne von §.8. gelten die Universitäten des Deutschen Reich und die Universitäten zu Wien, Prag, Graz, Innsbruck, Dorpat, Bern, Basel und Zürich. (Ministerialerlass vom 5. März 1861/12, Oktober 1871 und Kunstbeschluss vom 8. Dezember 1869). Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Universität zu Berlin* (Berlin: Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt), 1912, 31.

<sup>162</sup> See *ibid.*, 30-31.

<sup>163</sup> See *ibid.*, 39.

12<sup>th</sup> October 1912; but if he is a foreigner he needs to prove his respectability through testimonial from his home country.”<sup>164</sup>

German students were not allowed to be part of the military while they were studying. The main reason for this was that students and members of the military were under two different legal systems. It would have raised the question of which legal system should take precedence, the civil law of the university or the legal system of the military.<sup>165</sup>

While the constitution of the university does not say what would have happened to students who joined the military while studying, the law of 1832 stated that they would lose their academic civil rights while serving in the military. However, students of the University of Berlin who joined the military, and who were part of the military garrison in Berlin, still had the right to attend lectures at the university while serving, even though they were, from a legal perspective, not students. They did not have to pay any fees and, as their matriculation was only suspended not revoked, they did not have to pay any additional fees to get their academic civil rights reinstated after their military service had ended. Apart from the social prestige, this last regulation seems to have been the reason why many German PhD candidates mentioned within their CV that they had fulfilled their military service, including, in some cases, information regarding their rank and division. The German law not only regulated the relationship between the university and the military, but also outlined rules regarding how students had to behave. Duels were banned, and so was the foundation of secret societies. It was forbidden to insult other students or university staff members, and the interruption of a church service, lectures or the institutions of the Charité, the medical faculty of the university, was not allowed either. Additionally, the law outlined the fees for matriculation, for leaving the university and for official documents.<sup>166</sup> It is important to

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<sup>164</sup> „§2. Wer auf der Universität Berlin immatrikuliert werden will, muss, wenn er Inländer ist, sich nach dem Edikt wegen Prüfung der zu den Universitäten abgehenden Schüler vom 12ten October 1812 legitimieren; ist er aber Ausländer, sich durch Zeugnisse aus seiner Heimath über die Unbescholtenheit seiner Person ausweisen.“ Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Universität zu Berlin*, 29.

<sup>165</sup> See *ibid.*, 30-31.

<sup>166</sup> Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Gesetze für die Studierenden auf der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin: Zufolge Abschnitt VI. der Königlichen Universitäts-Statuten unter Beifügung der gesetzlichen Bestimmungen welche die Verhältnisse der Studierenden betreffen* [Law for the Students of the Royal Friedrich-Wilhelms University in

note, however, that these laws were either partially included in the constitution of the university or were added later. In fact, there are various duplications in the law and the constitution of the university. The matriculation procedure, for example, which included the requirement that the dean welcomes each student and shakes his hand to confirm the matriculation, as well as the students' duty to follow the laws and the constitution of the university, was included in both documents: the constitutions of the university as well as the students' by-laws.

Berlin had four faculties at the time of its foundation in 1810: law, medicine, theology and philosophy. A new development was that the Faculty of Philosophy included all the Sciences and the Humanities, and that all faculties had the right to confer degrees including the doctoral degree.<sup>167</sup> The Faculty of Philosophy was the only faculty that did not prepare students for a specific employment after university. The fact that the Faculty of Philosophy was at the same level as the other faculties, and that the privileges of the older faculties were eliminated, fundamentally changed how these fields were perceived; whereas the Humanities and Sciences had previously been a preparation for further study, they were now viewed as separate fields of study and research, that were on the same level as the others.

The Faculty of Philosophy grew in the decades after the foundation of the University of Berlin to become the most important one.<sup>168</sup> Within 30 years of its establishment, it had become by far the largest faculty in Berlin, not only in terms of student numbers, but also regarding the number of teachers, 270 out of a total of 633 regular professors,

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Berlin: Section IV of the Royal University Statute including the Legal Definition which relate to the Students], (Berlin: Nauckschen Buchdruckerei, 1832), 4-8.

<sup>167</sup> "§. 4; Der höhere wissenschaftliche Unterricht, dessen Ertheilung[sic!] der Zweck der Universität ist, zerfällt, wie auf anderen Deutschen Universitäten, in folgende vier Abtheilungen[sic!]: die theologische; die juristische; die medizinische und die philosophische, zu welcher letzteren, ausser der eigentlichen Philosophie, auch die mathematischen, naturwissenschaftlichen, historischen, philologischen und staatswissenschaftlichen oder sogenannten kameralistischen Wissenschaften und Disciplinen [sic!] gehören." [The higher academic education, which is the task of the university, as it is the task of the other German universities, is separated into the following areas: theology, medicine and philosophy, part of the last is, besides philosophy, also mathematics, science, history, philology and economics as well as political science] Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Universität zu Berlin*, 5.

<sup>168</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *Centers of learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States*, Repr. (London, New Brunswick (NJ): Transaction Publishers, 1977), 20.

124 out of 253 *extraordinarii* [extraordinary professor] and 142 out of 325 *Privatdozenten* [private professor] were members of the Faculty of Philosophy. This also meant new job opportunities for young scholars, not only in Berlin, but at other universities as well. Additionally, the other faculties employed philosophically trained staff too, which increased the job opportunities even more.<sup>169</sup> The professionalization of the role of the professor, and the combination of research and teaching, started in the Faculty of Philosophy and was then implemented by the newly educated scholars who moved to other faculties.<sup>170</sup> In fact, the influence of the Faculty of Philosophy grew even beyond the academic world as enlightened industrialists began increasingly to support research at the university, especially in science.<sup>171</sup>

The unity of research and teaching also had an influence on the PhD degree. The University of Berlin conferred two degrees for students of the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Theology, a *Magistri atrium liberlium*, or master's degree, and a *Doctoris philosophiae*, or PhD, but no bachelor's degree. Like today, the difference was that the master's degree required graduates to understand and share the knowledge acquired during their studies, while the PhD required them to apply their knowledge and extend their field of research. For neither of the two degrees were the requirements outlined in detail within the constitution of the university.<sup>172</sup> A PhD candidate needed to have studied for at least three years, which was called *Triennium*. It was possible, at least from 1843 onwards, for PhD candidates to have studied at another university and be admitted to the PhD examination at the University of Berlin without having to fulfil the *Triennium* in Berlin.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, "Universities and Academic Systems in Modern Societies," in *Scientific Growth*, 132.

<sup>170</sup> See Marita Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft [Professors and Universities in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Critical Studies in the History of Science] 121 (Göttingen, Gießen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 10.

<sup>171</sup> See F.G. Brook, *University of London 1820-1860: with special reference to its influence on the Development of Higher Education* (PhD, University of London, 1958), 420.

<sup>172</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Universität zu Berlin* (Berlin: Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1912), 37-38.

<sup>173</sup> The exception to this rule were students who were studying for the *Gymnasium's* teacher admission exam. If they wanted to be admitted as PhD candidates, they were required to have studied for five years. See *ibid.*, 38.

A PhD candidate had to hand in a thesis and defend the thesis afterwards in public. The examiners decided whether a candidate had passed immediately after the public defence of the thesis. This was followed by a subsequent award ceremony, which was outlined in detail within the constitution of the university.<sup>174</sup> If a candidate did not pass the oral examination, it was possible, as at some universities today, to offer him a master's degree instead. What was possible, was that a master's candidate, whose work was considered of sufficient quality to qualify for a PhD degree, could be offered a PhD instead.<sup>175</sup> The thesis was part of the PhD requirements right from the foundation of the university, and it had to be written by the candidate himself. The faculty could request, either when a candidate was handing in his thesis, or after he passed the oral examination at the latest, that the candidate added an official statement that he had written everything by himself.<sup>176</sup> In 1912, this requirement was included in the application procedure.<sup>177</sup>

Berlin outlined the language and content requirement for the thesis within its constitution. A thesis was either one or several essays from the PhD candidate's main area of study. Knowledge of Latin was required for all fields of study. At first, only a thesis in history or philology had to be in Latin, but it also expected in all other subjects, although not a necessity from a legal perspective. The thesis of Bruno Erdmann, for example, admitted in 1873, is the first thesis analysed that was written in German, although the CV was still in Latin.

The first official changes of the regulations were implemented in 1867. Initially, the Faculty of Medicine could waive the requirement to write the thesis in Latin. Afterwards the requirement was officially lifted for the other faculties and subjects as well, except for Latin, Greek, Archaeology and History, although it could be lifted upon application by the candidate.<sup>178</sup> The application for the oral examination, however, still

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<sup>174</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Universität zu Berlin*, 41-42, 45-47.

<sup>175</sup> See *ibid.*, 43.

<sup>176</sup> The length of the thesis was, however, not defined. See *ibid.*, 41.

<sup>177</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Philosophischen Fakultät der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin: Erlassen am 29. Januar 1838. Neudruck unter Berücksichtigung der bis zum 30. September 1908 eingetretenen Änderungen* [Statutes of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Royal Friedrich-Wilhelms University in Berlin. Decreed on 29<sup>th</sup> January 1838. Reprinted including the changes until 30<sup>th</sup> September 1908] (Berlin: Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1912), 39-44.

<sup>178</sup> See Renate Simpson, *How the PhD came to Britain*, 14.

had to be in Latin and even if the thesis was written in German. Additionally, the candidate was still required to prove his knowledge of Latin at the public defence by interpreting an extract from the Roman classics.<sup>179</sup> It was also up to the examiners if they wanted to ask their questions in German or Latin during the oral examination. It was therefore possible that a candidate had not only to prove his knowledge of Latin through an interpretation of a Latin text, but also by answering the examiners' questions in Latin even though his thesis was in German.<sup>180</sup> In 1912, the language requirements changed again. The faculty decided that Latin was no longer a general requirement to be admitted to the oral examination. Nevertheless, the experts at the examination could decide, based on the topic of the thesis and the language, if the exam would be partially in Latin.<sup>181</sup> Another change was that the request to be admitted as a PhD candidate had to be written in the language of the thesis.<sup>182</sup> At the same time, the requirement for foreigners to know Latin was lifted.<sup>183</sup>

After the thesis was defended and accepted, the candidate had to hand in 150 copies of his dissertation. The dissertation had to have a CV attached, which included the information about the religion of the candidate, the universities he had visited, as well as studies he had undertaken before the exam. In addition, candidates had to add their leaving certificate and, in the case of citizens of the German Empire, also their *Abitur* certificate.<sup>184</sup> Other requirements regarding the CV are not mentioned, but the candidates were allowed to add any other information that proved their capabilities as

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<sup>179</sup> The changes to the constitution after 1867 are a bit confusing as the years for the following changes are missing. The language requirement was changed for the dissertation and the oral examination. While there is no official statement, the changes do not seem to be applicable to the application and the CV. Both still seem to have to be written in Latin. This seems to be the reason why the CV and the thesis are not necessarily written in the same language in the period from 1867 until 1912, when the Latin requirement was abandoned completely. See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Philosophischen Fakultät der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 40.

<sup>180</sup> See *ibid.*, 42.

<sup>181</sup> See *ibid.*, 37-44.

<sup>182</sup> There was an official doctoral degree regulation, but the document seems to have been lost as neither the archive nor the faculty had it. See *ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to note that, already by 1900 and with regard to students from the United States of America and from England, it was decided to admit foreigners on case-by-case basis. See *ibid.*, 32.

<sup>184</sup> The term 'undenominational' had to be included into the CV by those students to whom it applied by 1887. See *ibid.*, 38.



scholars.<sup>185</sup> As the 150 copies of the dissertation were sent to other universities,<sup>186</sup> the candidates used the opportunity to present themselves within their CV in the best way possible by including all the information that they deemed to be beneficial, such as field trips, additional language training or work experience.

### **3.2 The USA and Columbia University<sup>187</sup>**

Columbia was established in 1754 as King's College but had to close during the American Revolutionary War. It was briefly run by the state after the war had ended and was finally re-established under a new charter and under the control of a board of trustees in 1784 as Columbia College. It changed its name to Columbia University in 1898, the same year it moved to its current location in Morningside Heights, where today Barnard College, Teachers College and the Union Theological Seminary are also located. Nevertheless, Columbia University kept the title college as its corporate title in reference to the college that was now an integral part of the university's structure.<sup>188</sup>

The situation of higher education in the United States was very different to that in the German Empire. As a country that was westwards orientated while its east still attracted migrants from Europe, there were fresh opportunities to establish new institutions of higher education everywhere. There was neither an educational nor a professional monopoly of any kind in the United States at that time, and no efforts were made to change the system from one based on status to one based on merit.<sup>189</sup> The uncontrolled growth of educational institutions in the United States until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not directly lead to a higher level of education and research. By European standards, according to which a university needed to have a certain well-defined series of departments or faculties as a minimum to be called a university, some of the biggest higher education and research institutions in the United States at

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<sup>185</sup> Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Universität zu Berlin*, 39.

<sup>186</sup> A copy of those theses, which had the history of Germany or Prussia as their topic, were sent to the royal state archive too. See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Philosophischen Fakultät der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 39.

<sup>187</sup> The term Columbia University is used within this thesis to refer to both the college and the university.

<sup>188</sup> See Edward D. Perry, "The American University," in *Monographs on Education in the United States*, vol. 6, Nicholas M. Butler, ed. (New York (NY): J. B. Lyon & Company, 1900), 253-318.

<sup>189</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *Centers of learning*, 24-25.

that time were not able to call themselves by this title.<sup>190</sup> By 1900 only six of them were “properly” established universities regarding their level of education, research and professionalization by European standards, one of which was Columbia University.<sup>191</sup> The pressure of newly-established institutions all over the United States upon those already-established, which were all located in the East, forced the latter to adapt and be innovative with regard to their research, structure and content if they wanted to stay ahead. As in Germany, there was an on-going competition among the universities to get the brightest and most innovative students and researchers for their institutions.<sup>192</sup>

At first, the newly established as well as already established institutions had followed the French as well as the British university model, but this changed when neither models were capable to adapt to changes within science in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while the German one proved to be more flexible.<sup>193</sup> As soon as it was clear that German teaching and training methods and new types of research practices had had a perceptible impact on the success of the German education, the American colleges began to try to copy this success by implementing parts of the German system into their own.<sup>194</sup> In the beginning, only the newly-established institutions followed the German university model, but soon after it had proved its efficiency and success the German university model was introduced by the older universities too.<sup>195</sup> The American academics who embraced the ideal of scientific research could hardly fail to acknowledge an intellectual debt to the German university model, especially when they were studying or researching in Germany for a longer period of time.<sup>196</sup> During the 19<sup>th</sup> century about 100,000 Americans went to Germany for graduate

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<sup>190</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, “Universities and Academic Systems in Modern Societies,” in *Scientific Growth*, 149.

<sup>191</sup> See Renate Simpson, *How the PhD came to Britain*, 19-20.

<sup>192</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, “Universities and Academic Systems in Modern Societies,” in *Scientific Growth*, 148.

<sup>193</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *The Scientist's Role in Society*, 118.

<sup>194</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, “Science and the University System”, in *Scientific Growth*, 162.

<sup>195</sup> See Edward D. Perry, *Monographs on Education in the United States*, 254.

<sup>196</sup> See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago (IL): University of Chicago press, 1970), 125.

study, far more than to any other European country.<sup>197</sup> The wide range of possible experience in Germany, in addition to the success of the research and the university model, makes it difficult to define a specific German influence beyond the German university model.<sup>198</sup> What can be said is that the Americans who studied in Germany focused primarily on their studies and research and not on the social activities.<sup>199</sup> Germany stood not only for a positive approach to science and research, but also for the literary romanticism and idealistic philosophy that is still connected to the older 'enlightened' Germany. While academic men of letters were still more attracted to the United Kingdom, philosophers and scientists were focused more on the German Empire.<sup>200</sup>

What American students and researchers did not bring back was the idea of universities being closely connected to the state or of university students as an opportunity for the middle class to distinguish itself from the ruling elite while giving everyone a chance to climb the social ladder.<sup>201</sup> The universities in the German Empire had developed their own social class consisting of academics who had, and still have, their own academic rhetoric. Additionally, they were more focused on research, science and teaching while being open to everyone who qualified for entry as the fees were low because the universities were funded by the state.

American universities were much more influenced by the ideologies of the university officials, especially the presidents,<sup>202</sup> and were much more closely connected to local society.<sup>203</sup> Education, and especially higher education, was not only a way to give people the chance to climb the social ladder, but also a tool to control who could use this opportunity by limiting access to the higher 'ranks' of society. This meant that

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<sup>197</sup> It is argued that this is the reason why the American university consists of single faculties. See Bernhard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1960), 11.

<sup>198</sup> See *ibid.*, 131-132.

<sup>199</sup> See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 141.

<sup>200</sup> See *ibid.*, 197.

<sup>201</sup> See, Alan Touraine, *The Academic System in American Society*, 34.

<sup>202</sup> See *ibid.*, 35.

<sup>203</sup> See Michael S. Kimmel and Thomas E. Mosmiller, *Against the tide: Pro-feminist men in the United States, 1776-1990 a documentary history* (Boston (MA): Beacon Press, 1992), 13.

American universities, which were largely funded by the (economic) elites, exercised control over access to higher education and (career) opportunities it offered.<sup>204</sup>

In the case of Columbia, the most important figure in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was Columbia's president Frederick A. P. Barnard. He supported the foundation of the School of Mines and the School of Political Science and established the tradition of annual reports to the Board of Trustees. These reports allowed him to support his ideas with statistical data and put pressure on the Board of Trustees to either support his ideas or explain why they did not. It was Barnard who pushed Columbia College to professionalise itself and thus become one of the leading universities of the United States, through expansion of its infrastructure, personal, students, teaching and research.<sup>205</sup>

The lack of state influence can be seen during the various reform processes in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that reshaped the American university landscape. These reforms started more than 70 years later than in Europe. Higher education was not a public concern, but rather the focus of the small academic community in the East. The more American academics visited European universities, especially those in Germany,<sup>206</sup> the more they became aware of the need to reform. German institutions were declared the 'literal' models for American higher education.<sup>207</sup> There was however, no *tabula rasa*, as in Germany after the Napoleonic Wars, in the United States and there were no central controlling institutions that imposed the German university model or influenced the process through financial or political influence.<sup>208</sup> There was instead an 'Americanisation' of the German higher education system based on the liberal and federal spirit of the United States of America. One of the first things to happen was the professionalization of university teaching staff and through this the improvement of teaching. Being a university teacher or researcher became no longer a part-time but a full-time job.<sup>209</sup> The second step was the incorporation of the German 'graduate school' into the existing undergraduate British-orientated college structure, and the incorporation of the PhD into the university's curriculum.

This means that the higher education system that was developed in the United States towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a combination of the British and German

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<sup>204</sup> See Alan Touraine, *The Academic System in American Society*, 15.

<sup>205</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 146-160.

<sup>206</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *Centers of Learning*, 59.

<sup>207</sup> See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 10.

<sup>208</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *Centers of Learning*, 81.

<sup>209</sup> See Alan Touraine, *The Academic System in American Society*, 31-33.

university models. The American universities could introduce training and research, not only into their own curriculum, but were able to convince businesses that a higher education degree was for their own benefit as well.<sup>210</sup> The undergraduate colleges organised according to the English university model focused primarily on the practical use of knowledge and not on theory and research. Even Columbia University followed this approach by co-operating with the College of Surgeons and Physicians in 1861 and arranging for the latter's incorporation into the university in 1891. Another example is the foundation of the School of Mines in 1865, whose first president, Charles Frederick Chandler, got his PhD in 1856 as a chemist from the University of Gottingen,<sup>211</sup> and the incorporation of Teacher's College in 1900, which at that time called itself a "professional school for the training of teachers."<sup>212</sup>

These changes are also reflected in the admission criteria of Columbia. According to the statutes of 1851,<sup>213</sup> the minimal age to join Columbia College as a student was 15. However, this minimal age limit began to vary with the foundation or incorporation of the various schools. By 1891, the School of Arts had kept the minimum age of 15 years,<sup>214</sup> but the School of Mines<sup>215</sup> and the School of Law<sup>216</sup> defined the admission age as 18. The School of Political Science<sup>217</sup> and the School of Philosophy<sup>218</sup> had no official admission age. However, their students were at least 17 years of age as it was required to have pursued a course of undergraduate study either at Columbia College or at another institution with a similar curriculum. All schools included the requirement that a student should not be eligible "to a more advanced study without a corresponding increase of age".<sup>219</sup> Columbia University had, unlike Berlin, no

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<sup>210</sup> See "Universities and Academic Systems in Modern Societies," in *Scientific Growth*, 150.

<sup>211</sup> He is also the first member of Columbia University who had been awarded a PhD in Germany. See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 153.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>213</sup> Columbia College, *Statutes of Columbia College revised and passed by the Board of Trustees: February 1851; to which is prefixed a historical sketch of the college* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1851), 17.

<sup>214</sup> Columbia University, *Statutes of Columbia University* (New York (NY): Columbia University, 1908), 9.

<sup>215</sup> See *ibid.*, 43.

<sup>216</sup> See *ibid.*, 35.

<sup>217</sup> See *ibid.*, 46.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*

restriction regarding military personnel even during the Civil War. Furthermore, a student studying at another institution at the same time was not excluded if he was pursuing “professional studies” while a student at Columbia College.<sup>220</sup>

Columbia implemented a series of rules regarding how students had to behave. At the same time, undergraduate students of the School of Arts were required to hand in a certificate of good moral character, either from their last teacher or another citizen in good standing, before any examination. Students from other colleges had the additional requirement to prove their honourable discharge from their former institution.<sup>221</sup>

Before 1891, the rules were much more ‘detailed’. Columbia expected its students “to be gentlemen, and they will be treated as such.”<sup>222</sup> Depending on the seriousness of a violation, a student might be admonished, suspended, dismissed or expelled, and in all cases, his parents or guardians would be informed.<sup>223</sup> Students were required to be on time and it was recorded when they did not attend a class, were late, did not attend at all or left the classroom before the end of the lesson. Students were further required to sit in alphabetical order and, at least until the statutes of 1866, according to their respective merits.<sup>224</sup> Students were obliged to observe the strictest decorum when in class “not countenancing anything which may tend to incommode” the lecturer or “divert the attention of” other students.<sup>225</sup> The formation of a group of students to resist either the university’s authorities and/or the law was forbidden, and a student who was active in any such organisation could be expelled from the college. The use of tobacco in any form was forbidden on the college premises.<sup>226</sup> The rules

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<sup>220</sup> Columbia University, *Statutes of Columbia University* (New York (NY): Columbia University, 1908), 19.

<sup>221</sup> No other of Columbia’s Schools had the same requirements as the School of Arts, most likely because it was also the only school that admitted students below the age of 18. *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>222</sup> Columbia College, *Rules of Order: Adopted by the Faculty, Feb 17, 1869* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1869), 1.

<sup>223</sup> See Columbia College, *Statutes of Columbia College, as passed by the Trustees; to which are added, the Statute organizing the School of Mines, and the Statute organizing the School of Law* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1865), 12.

<sup>224</sup> See *ibid.*, 14.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>226</sup> Columbia College, *Rules of Order: Adopted by the Faculty, Feb 17, 1869*, 2.

went even further and did not only cover behaviour within the college, but also outside. Students were not allowed to be:

“intoxicated, bring or to be brought intoxicating liquors to the college; being concerned in any riot; making disturbances about the college at any time; striking a fellow-student; injuring or disfiguring any building or any other property belonging to the college; [...] and doing any act, either singly or in concert with others, having a design or tendency to annoy the officers of the college, or any of them, or to obstruct them in the discharge of their duty.”<sup>227</sup>

While Columbia had no dress code, it was expected of all members of the College to wear the academic costume “in all places and on all occasions in which it is proper or desirable that the academic character should be indicated.”<sup>228</sup> The “academic costume”, which distinguished the various degrees and schools by colour, was either to be made of worsted stuff or silk for ordinary wear and out of cassimere for dress or ceremonial occasions.

The religious affiliation of Columbia University is ambiguous. While the University of Berlin had its own theological faculty and British universities like Cambridge or Oxford only admitted Anglicans, Columbia had its own chapel. However, an official religious affiliation was not part of Columbia’s constitution although attending service at the university’s chapel on campus was always part of its daily life. The charter and rules of order of Columbia University did not state that participation in the chapel’s morning prayers were an obligation, although it seemed to have been part of the curriculum and therefore an indirect requirement.<sup>229</sup> This changed in 1890 when it was declared that the “attendance upon the chapel services shall be voluntary, but persons connected to the College whether as instructors or students, shall be invited to take part in such services.”<sup>230</sup>

While the minimum admission age remained at fifteen years until the end of the century, the requirements regarding the knowledge of the students became more flexible over time. Overall, there was a tendency to make the admission criteria and

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<sup>227</sup> Columbia College, *Statutes of Columbia College, as passed by the Trustees*, 11-12.

<sup>228</sup> Columbia College, *Revised Statutes: October 1891* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1891), 10.

<sup>229</sup> Columbia College, *Rules of Order: Adopted by the Faculty, Feb 17, 1869*, 1-3.

<sup>230</sup> Columbia College, *Revised Statutes: October 1891*, 19.

curriculums less strict. The charter of 1851 outlined in detail, the Latin and Greek books that a student had to know, as well as the required knowledge of Arithmetic and Algebra. This was changed by the introduction of the statute of 1865, when admission exams were introduced. It stated that “every applicant for admission to the Freshman class (of the College) shall be examined in the English, Latin, and Greek Grammars, Latin Prosody and Composition, Ancient and Modern Geography, Arithmetic, and so much Algebra and Geometry, and such authors of Greek and Latin, as the Board of the college may prescribe”.<sup>231</sup>

The detailed admission requirements were published annually in the college catalogue, and it was up to the board of the college to modify the requirements if necessary. By 1891, the School of Arts included the admission examination into its statutes too. Its content was, however, not outlined as it was up to the faculty to change it whenever required.<sup>232</sup> The School of Law included the additional requirement to have either passed the “Regents’ exam as required by the rules of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York”, or to have been a graduate of another college of good standing.<sup>233</sup> The same applied to the content of the bachelor degrees. The charter of 1851 outlined in detail every single course for every year offered at Columbia College.<sup>234</sup> The charter of 1861 mentions only general aims for every year. The final plan of the course was made by the board of the college and approved by the trustees.<sup>235</sup> Again, this procedure was abandoned with the introduction of the schools at Columbia College. From this moment on, it was up to the individual schools to prepare a plan of each year’s courses while the approval of the Trustees was no longer a requirement.<sup>236</sup> This was reinforced by the fact that all students, except for undergraduates of the School of Arts and the School of Mines, were able to attend any combination of courses, if permitted by the President, and were not bound to their school anymore, which was another move towards the German university model.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Columbia College, *Statutes of Columbia College, as passed by the Trustees*, 12.

<sup>232</sup> Columbia College, *Revised Statutes: October 1891*, 31

<sup>233</sup> Columbia College, *Statutes Enacted by the Trustees of Columbia College in the City of New York: July 1891* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1891), 9-12.

<sup>234</sup> Columbia College, *Statutes of Columbia College revised and passed by the Board of Trustees*, 14-17.

<sup>235</sup> Columbia College, *Statutes of Columbia College, as passed by the Trustees*, 6-12.

<sup>236</sup> Columbia University, *Statutes of Columbia University*, 32.

<sup>237</sup> See Columbia College, *Revised Statutes: October 1891*, 23.



The graduate schools, on the other hand, focused primarily on research. While they first had difficulty attracting enough students, their rise became possible through the professionalization of teaching at the colleges.<sup>238</sup> The more colleges required professional teachers, the more important the graduate schools became training institutions for college teachers. PhD programs in the Humanities and social science either began to include professional training programs for teachers or created specialized institutions as in the case of Columbia University.<sup>239</sup> Ultimately, this changed the requirements to be employed in any higher position at the prominent universities too. Until about 1893 a one could be employed as a teacher at a college or university without a PhD. However, this changed towards the turn of century when a PhD degree became to be a requirement.<sup>240</sup>

Due to the lack of a coordinating institution that could have intervened, the fourteen most prestigious universities established the American Association of Universities in 1900.<sup>241</sup> The founding members provided up to 90% of PhD programs. Harvard, Columbia, John Hopkins and California alone were responsible for up to 55% of all PhDs awarded in the United States by the turn of the century. They accepted each other's degrees by outlining specific requirements for these degrees and therefore created at the same time a "class organisation of American institutions interested in graduate study."<sup>242</sup>

The lack of central coordination was, on the one hand, beneficial to American universities, as they could try out new methods more easily compared to German ones. On the other hand, it prevented students from changing their universities as easily as in the case of the German Empire, where the universities had to recognise not only one another's degrees but also one another's curriculums. The move by the universities organised within the American Association of Universities towards standardising the PhD was a crucial step towards facilitating exchanges but also

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<sup>238</sup> "In 1900 there were no more than 5,831 students in the graduate schools. By 1940, their number had already reached 106,119. With the development of research, the proportion of graduate students in the total student population increased more and more rapidly." Alan Touraine, *The Academic System in American Society*, 146.

<sup>239</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *Centers of Learning*, 62.

<sup>240</sup> See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 176.

<sup>241</sup> The association was established in 1900. The founding universities were Harvard, Columbia, John Hopkins, Catholic University, Chicago, Clark, Connell, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Stanford, Wisconsin and Yale.

<sup>242</sup> Bernhard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States*, 15.

recruitment. However, it only affected postgraduate and research students. Universities also restructured their undergraduate courses within their own institutions, especially towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the implementation of a credit system. The pressure to standardise this system came not from the universities themselves, but from former students.<sup>243</sup> Their efforts led to the foundation of the “College Accreditation Movement”, a pressure group for the standardisation of degrees and curriculums. The reform process had started by 1890 and was implemented nationwide by 1913, when the accredited universities implemented a minimum standard.<sup>244</sup> While the PhD requirements were already standardised by 1900, it took another thirteen years to achieve the same for the bachelor and master degrees.<sup>245</sup>

While colleges followed the English university model, graduate schools followed the German model and so did PhD programs. The first university to introduce a PhD program was Yale in 1861.<sup>246</sup> It was, however, John Hopkins, which established the first successful PhD program in 1876, while the programs of other universities, including the ones at Harvard and Columbia University, failed to achieve a sustainable impact at first.<sup>247</sup> In the case of Columbia University, the School of Mines introduced the PhD as a degree for its students. The first was awarded in 1872 to Charles Wells Marsh.<sup>248</sup> As Charles Frederick Chandler was president of the school, a position he kept until 1897, it is not unlikely that his experience as a PhD scholar in Germany led to the development of the PhD program. These were, however, solely science-related PhDs. It took more than ten years until the first two PhDs in the humanities were awarded by the School of Political Science to Nathan Bijur and Felix Herzog in 1883.

The School of Political Science at Columbia University was established in 1880 and John W. Burgess became its first president. He had studied in France and Germany for two years and tried to implement the German university model in the American system. He failed at Amherst College, where the trustees did not follow his plan to

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<sup>243</sup> See Bernhard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States*, 16.

<sup>244</sup> See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 311-314.

<sup>245</sup> See Bernhard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States*, 18.

<sup>246</sup> See Alan Touraine, *The Academic System in American Society*, 36.

<sup>247</sup> See Bernhard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States*, 6.

<sup>248</sup> See Columbia University, *List of Theses Submitted by Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University: 1872-1910* (New York (NY): Columbia University Bulletins of Information, 1910), 1.

reform the institutions according to the German university model, and moved to Columbia, where he established the School of Political Science.<sup>249</sup>

Burgess established a three-year PhD program at this school. Soon after the program was established, it became much more successful than the one at the School of Mines as the number of PhDs awarded was far higher. The reason for this success was that Burgess and his colleagues aimed to create a professional, serious and research-orientated atmosphere within the school and, by so doing, the School of Political Science would change the whole university.<sup>250</sup> At the same time, the school's curriculum overlapped with the School of Arts, which still had a department of history and political science. The overlap was not only regarding the name but also the content of lectures and seminars.<sup>251</sup> Ultimately, and after the foundation of the School of Philosophy in 1890 and the School of Pure Science in 1892, all institutions that were awarding master and PhD degrees were amalgamated into the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, with the exception of Teachers College. While the schools still were partially independent, the reform created an overall governing body for the post-graduate institutions of the university.<sup>252</sup>

Columbia followed the PhD rules of Berlin in many cases, for example by including the rule that candidates had to add a CV to the end of the thesis.<sup>253</sup> As in Berlin, it was always required to write a thesis to get a PhD degree. A comparison of

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<sup>249</sup> See John William Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American Scholar* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1934), 179-180.

<sup>250</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 162.

<sup>251</sup> See for example Columbia College, *Annual Report of the President of Columbia College, made to the Board of Trustees: May 4, 1885* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1886), 57, 81.

<sup>252</sup> See Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1913* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1913), 8.

<sup>253</sup> The universities were also closely connected due to an exchange of professors in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. See Bernhard vom Brocke, "Der deutsch-amerikanische Professorenaustausch," [The German-American exchange of professors], *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* [Journal for cultural exchange] 31, no. 1 (1981), 137-142.

examination procedure is, however, not possible. Unlike Berlin, Columbia University did not outline its procedure except that it was up to the University Council:<sup>254</sup>

“To fix and determine, by concurrent action with the Faculties of Political Science, Philosophy, Pure Science and Fine Arts, severally, the conditions upon which the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy shall be conferred, and to recommend for such degrees.”<sup>255</sup>

Once a candidate had passed, he was required to send a specified number of copies of his thesis to the library, where they were stored or sent to other institutions. This caused a debate within the university as it could create quite a financial burden for the candidates. It was, therefore, decided that the Dean’s office had the right to have “the number reduced in certain cases where the cost of depositing one hundred copies is excessive”.<sup>256</sup> Still, candidates had to pay an examination fee as well as a matriculation and annual tuition fee.<sup>257</sup> PhD candidates were further required to prove their reading knowledge of French, German and Latin at least one year before they finished their dissertations.<sup>258</sup> Columbia further adopted some general procedures by implementing a Registrar’s Office in 1900. Before that, it was each school’s own responsibility to register the students and send the statistics to the university administration.<sup>259</sup> Nevertheless, there were differences to Berlin. A candidate only had to study for two years to get admitted as a PhD candidate for examination. A request

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<sup>254</sup> The University Council consisted of the president and the deans of the faculties as well as additional representatives of each faculty of the schools and the colleges of Columbia University. See Columbia University, *Statutes of Columbia University*, 7.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>256</sup> Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1913*, 89.

<sup>257</sup> By 1891, the matriculation fee was \$5, the annual tuition fee \$150 and the examination fee \$35. The matriculation fee had to be paid every year and before any examination took place. If a candidate could finish and defend his thesis within two years, the minimum amount of time required, he would have paid at least \$345 or about \$9,108 according to today’s rate of exchange. See Columbia University, *Statutes of Columbia University*, 26-27.

<sup>258</sup> See Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1904* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1904), 157.

<sup>259</sup> See Columbia University, *Twelfth Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 7, 1901* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1901), 4.

to increase the number of years to three, while it was still up to each faculty whether they could admit someone after two years, was not approved in 1904.<sup>260</sup> On the other hand, it was not possible to get a master's degree and a PhD at the same time as in Berlin. The clear majority of PhD candidates at Columbia had a bachelor's and a master's degree, many of them from colleges other than Columbia College.<sup>261</sup>

At first, it seems as if a PhD candidate at Columbia University was required to study for a much longer period than a candidate at the University of Berlin. It was, however, from a legal perspective, not a requirement to get both a bachelors and a master's degree. PhD candidates only had to have acquired a first degree in Law, Letters, Arts, Science or Philosophy from Columbia College "or in some other institution maintaining an equivalent curriculum".<sup>262</sup> It should also be pointed out that a bachelor's degree from an American college counted as much as one year of study at the University of Berlin while Columbia University, on the other hand, recognized the German *Abitur* as a bachelor's degree.<sup>263</sup>

### 3.3 Conclusion

After the Bologna reforms, the structure and curricula of most American and European universities are similar and in most cases easily comparable. They award the same degrees, and the time required to obtain a degree is mostly the same, as is the age of admission. Arguably, the chief remaining difference is that Berlin is still a state-funded university with no student fees<sup>264</sup>, while Columbia University is at least partially funded through student fees.

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<sup>260</sup> See Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1904*, 157.

<sup>261</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 161.

<sup>262</sup> Columbia University, *Statutes of Columbia University*, 52-53

<sup>263</sup> See Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1913*, 89

<sup>264</sup> Although the university has introduced an administration fee to be paid for each term

**Degree System of Columbia University by 1892**

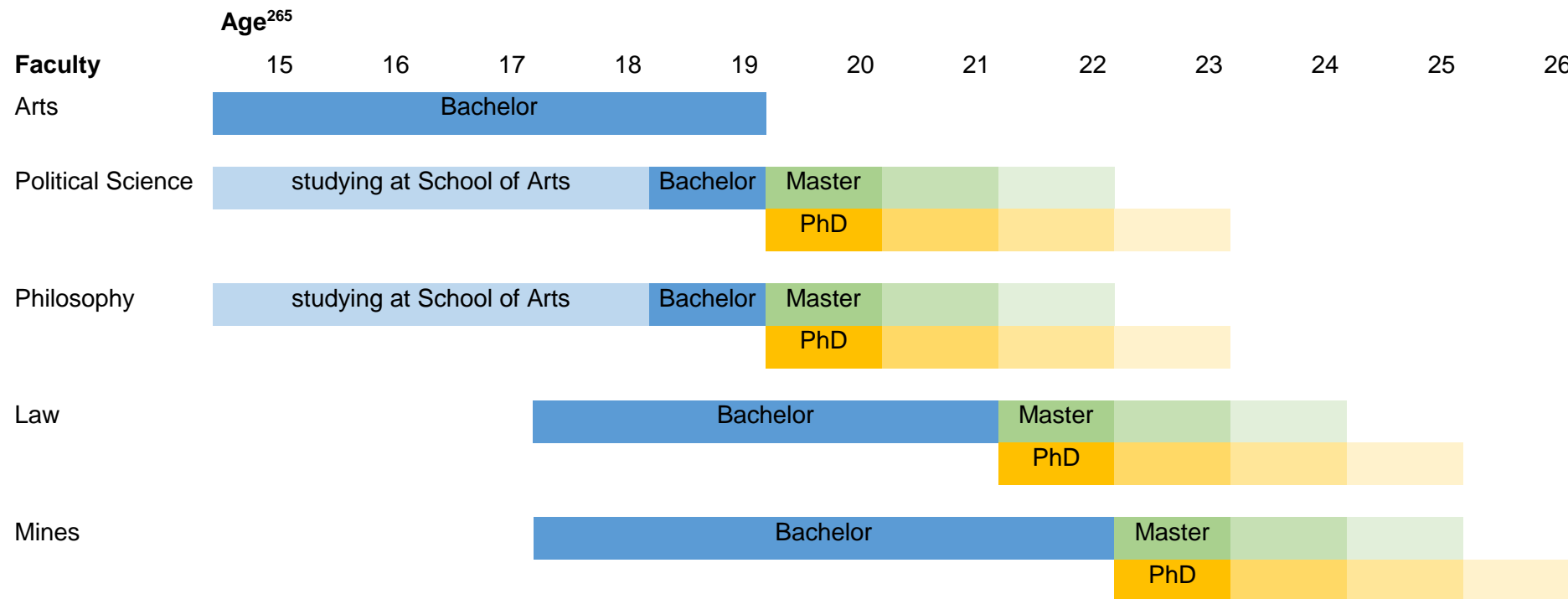


Figure 3 Degree System of Columbia University by 1892

<sup>265</sup> This represents the minimum age a student would be if his curriculum had not had any interruptions.

However, this development is the result of an intense exchange between American and European universities and the various reforms started in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by the University of Berlin and later the American universities. The differences between the two universities reflect the specific understandings and roles of higher education in the United States of America and the German Empire, and their relationship to society, state, politics, science, religion and economy. Hence, this is only a partial analysis of the differences, and one that focused primarily on those that affect, directly or indirectly, the primary subject of this study, the PhD candidates in the Humanities at Columbia University and at the University of Berlin.

The admission requirements were the first crucial difference. The University of Berlin, according to its constitution, was required to accept every student who passed the German *Abitur*, of which the content was, however, up to each state of the German Empire to define and not the university itself. This requirement applied to non-German students, as well. While students in countries like Switzerland or Austria had no problem as they had passed the *Abitur*<sup>266</sup> in their own countries, students from other countries had more difficulties and were solely admitted on a case-by-case basis. As regards students from the United States, Berlin decided that it required a bachelor's degree for students to be admitted to any of its courses. The reason for this decision was not only the content, but also the age difference. A student at a German university usually started his studies at the age of 18, while an American one could start studying for a Columbia College degree at the age of 15.

On the other hand, Columbia changed its age requirements during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is not surprising that these changes were initiated at Columbia University during this period, when it started implementing the German university system by establishing the Graduate School in 1895. Additionally, Columbia started to promote its degrees as requirements for its own graduate and postgraduate lecturers, who, after all, prepared the future Columbia PhD candidates.<sup>267</sup> It is not by coincidence that Teacher's College, founded in 1887, was affiliated to Columbia University in 1898 and later incorporated. While the University of Berlin could, or had to, rely on the state to sufficiently prepare its upcoming students, Columbia had to promote its standards on its own. Remembering this, it is also not surprising that Columbia University outlined its admission requirements within its constitution, at least at the beginning. It provided some clarity while there was no consensus in the

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<sup>266</sup> The *Abitur* is called *Matura* in Austria and Switzerland.

<sup>267</sup> See Robert McCaughey: *Stand, Columbia*, 192.

United States at that time on the necessary education that would qualify students to be admitted to any university within the country.

These differences still exist today. Humboldt University Berlin is required to admit every student who has an *Abitur* or equivalent degree to most of its bachelor and master degrees and still has no direct influence on the content, although today's German high school teachers usually have studied at a university, as well. On the other hand, it has implemented a *numerus clausus* rule for popular degrees, which requires students to have reached a certain standard in their *Abitur* in order to have some control over the admission of its students. Columbia, on the other hand, has added various standardised tests such as the SAT to its admissions requirements. Yet it is legally not obliged to admit any student, however good his SAT degree is. Additionally, and unlike Berlin, Columbia has added a review of a candidate's CV, employment and other activities to identify and recruit those students who meet its standards. In a nutshell; the University of Berlin relies on state-approved certificates to admit its students, while Columbia University uses the certificate of a not-for-profit institution due to the lack of a central nationwide authority.

The requirements for the PhD degree were also different at both universities. Berlin was the forerunner regarding establishing a PhD program, new research and teaching methods. However, it lost its reform momentum towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The university was unwilling to adapt to changes within society, the economy and the rising number of students. Berlin did not establish new faculties or spilt up the enormous Faculty of Philosophy, unlike Columbia. On the other hand, Berlin could maintain and even extend its flexible approach regarding its PhD requirements. There were no rules regarding the length, structure or content of a thesis. The only exception was the use of Latin, which was taught in every German high school. Most CVs attached to the dissertations in Berlin that were analysed for this study were in Latin until the end of the century. Moreover, each candidate had to prove his knowledge of Latin at the oral examination of his thesis.<sup>268</sup> Berlin dropped the Latin language requirement towards the turn of the century for the written thesis except for those in classical, oriental and ancient studies. However, knowledge of Latin remained a requirement to be admitted as a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Philosophy until 1912.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Universität zu Berlin*, 8-9.

<sup>269</sup> It was possible for a candidate to apply for an exemption from the Latin requirement for the oral examination. This application had to be handed in with the thesis and if not granted, the



While Columbia University, like Berlin, does not ever seem to have had regulations on the length of the thesis, it had, unlike Berlin, also no requirements regarding the language of the thesis. The only exception were theses on Latin, Ancient Greek or any other modern language. They were mostly written in the language they were analysing, although no regulation has been found that they had to be written in this language.<sup>270</sup> The limit of this investigation, however, is that these comparisons are primarily made based on the basis of the constitutions of the universities and the theses collected because other documents, such as minutes from faculty meetings, and in some cases even faculty regulations, were not stored.

Columbia University had a curriculum included within its constitution for its degrees, including the PhD, until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when it adopted the German university model. Berlin, on the other hand, was much more liberal, not only as to the curriculum, but also with regard to the time required to acquire a degree. While at first there was no limit, it decided later that a student had to have studied for at least three years before being admitted as a PhD candidate for his examination. It was up to the student to decide what lectures and seminars he would attend during his course of study. Still, the University of Berlin expected its students to participate. The university could exclude a student if he did not participate in lectures or seminars for half a year. It was further possible for the university not to award a degree to a student if he was studying for too long and/or had not taken enough courses in the faculty.<sup>271</sup> Therefore, while there was no official limitation, the University of Berlin still had the option to intervene if it thought that a student had not been focusing on his studies appropriately.

Another notable difference was the social control that the two universities enforced upon their students. Columbia controlled the lives of its students in detail. The clearest

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application was rejected completely. It is unclear if this procedure was introduced in 1867 or later as only the date (12<sup>th</sup> December) is mentioned. See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Philosophischen Fakultät der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 40.

<sup>270</sup> An example of an exception to this 'rule' was the thesis of James Dennison Roger who wrote his dissertation, *The language of Aeschylus compared with the language of the Attic inscriptions prior to 456 B. C.* in English in 1894. See James Dennison Roger, *The language of Aeschylus compared with the language of the Attic inscriptions prior to 456 B. C.*, 1894, CXO R63.

<sup>271</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Philosophischen Fakultät der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 8-9.

example of this is the requirement to attend the morning service at the chapel. This not only allowed the university to check if every student was present, but also to question and take note of those students who came late or did not attend at all. This requirement might be surprising for some, especially when looking at today's Columbia University. Yet it was a heritage of Columbia University's predecessor, King's College, whose first trustees were primarily clergymen.<sup>272</sup> The debate about the religious identity of Columbia University intensified during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is not surprising that with the overall professionalization of Columbia University as expressed by the separation of the college and the graduate school, and the founding of the schools during the presidencies of Barnard and Low towards the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the requirement to attend the chapel service was abolished.<sup>273</sup>

The ban on tobacco and alcohol at Columbia University, including the indictment to be intoxicated, as well as the general ban on behaviour critical of the institution, further gives us essential information about Columbia University's and its trustees view of its students and its role as an institution of higher education. They did not see the students as adults. The main reason for this might be the fact that students at Columbia College started their studies at the age of 15 while a German was usually at least 18 years old when he started his studies. In Berlin, the university focused on a combination of its own rules and laws only applicable to students. The latter, to which the university even referred within its constitution, were enforced by the state.<sup>274</sup> Neither the rules within the constitution nor the laws were as detailed as the rules of Columbia University. There was no dress code, the consumption of alcohol or tobacco was not forbidden and there was no mandatory church service.<sup>275</sup> This does not mean that Berlin was more liberal than Columbia. It was expected instead that a student

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<sup>272</sup> See Columbia College, *Statutes of Columbia University and its Associations Schools* (New York: Columbia College, 1878), 1.

<sup>273</sup> One could argue that Columbia University followed the example of Princeton University. Like the latter, which separated Princeton Theological Seminary, but still has close ties like cross-registration and the mutual use of the library, Columbia University is closely connected to the Union Theological Seminary.

<sup>274</sup> For detailed analyses of the student laws and the conflicts between the German universities, the state and the students, see, for example Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, *Dueling Students: Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities, 1890-1914* (Ann Arbor (MI): University of Michigan Press, 2011).

<sup>275</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin *Statuten der Philosophischen Fakultät der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 32-33.

would be aware of social rules so that outlining these was deemed unnecessary. On the other hand, Berlin focused more on the procedure of the PhD examination and ceremony. The constitution included a detailed procedure for the degree examination, the degree-awarding ceremony, which followed, and the pledge a PhD candidate had to make during the ceremony.

Due to the oversight capacity of the Ministry of Education upon the University of Berlin, the constitution and its changes had to be approved. Columbia University, on the other hand, was not and is not a state university.<sup>276</sup> Its board of trustees, therefore, had the right to decide upon its constitution as well as any other major decision, such as the election of a new president. While Columbia University maintained a strong connection to the City of New York through its official name<sup>277</sup> as well as the scholarships outlined within its constitution, neither the City nor the State of New York had any official say on the development of the university. Unlike Berlin, Columbia University never had the official task of training the upcoming state employees of the city or the state.

By adopting the German university model towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as promoted by the University of Berlin, Columbia University became a more liberal institution of higher education. It dropped its strict admission criteria and opened its curriculum and even allowed students to attend courses in schools different from the one within which they were officially registered. However, Columbia University did not just copy the German university model. It adapted and improved upon those parts it deemed worthy of attention in order to support its goals of becoming the leading institution for research and teaching in the United States.<sup>278</sup> While Berlin was unable to reform due to the veto of its professors and its close connection to the state, Columbia University, especially due to its powerful presidents, was much more independent in its decisions. It established new schools and reformed those already established but also implemented the PhD program into its curriculum. In the end, it extended the German university model by developing and merging its own system with the idea of 'unity of teaching and research'. At the same time, it tried to maintain the system flexibility in order to be able to amend and change the system as required.

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<sup>276</sup> The state university for New York City is the 1847 established City University of New York.

<sup>277</sup> The official name of Columbia University has been "Columbia University in the City of New York" since 1896. See Columbia University, *Statutes of Columbia University*, 0.

<sup>278</sup> See Gabriele Lingelbach, "Intercultural Transfer and Comparative History: The Benefits and Limits of Two Approaches", in *Traversea* 1 (2011), 46-59, 54.

## 4. The University of Berlin

### 4.1 Introduction

The University of Berlin was by far the largest and most influential university in the world from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of the First World War. Its innovative approach to teaching, research and learning was copied by universities both in Germany and abroad. It had the highest number of students including PhD candidates. The size of the PhD program has facilitated the use of statistical data to gain information about the PhD candidates and to reconstruct the careers and lives of individual PhD candidates before they received their degree.

The primary sources for the following sections are the CVs added by the PhD candidates to their theses. Additionally, reports from the statistics departments, the Ministry of Education, and reports from the University of Berlin itself are included whenever they were available, as well as suitable, for the purposes of this chapter. While the basic methodological requirements have been outlined previously, this chapter will also outline any adjustments that have been made.

Unlike Columbia University, at Berlin science and Humanities were part of the same faculty. Students in both fields of research received the same degree at the end of their studies. This means that the theses, as well as all other information about the PhD candidates, were stored together. The archive of the University of Berlin does not separate these two fields within its own records. For this reason, the main task at the outset was to separate the theses dealing with topics in the Humanities from those dealing with the topic of science. The separation was comparably easy to achieve in most cases.

There were two main factors that decided if a thesis qualified as being part of the Humanities or part of Science. The first factor was the title as well as the content of the thesis. At the beginning of their theses, candidates often added a list of assumptions which they were trying to prove or disprove. This, however, had changed by the end of century when the length of the theses increased. A table of contents replaced the list. If the title and the content of the thesis were clearly dealing with a topic from the Humanities, the thesis was added to this study. The challenge regarding this factor were studies dealing with upcoming new fields of research, such as Sociology, Economics or Political Science. They are not part of the traditional definition of the Humanities. They use empirical data and methods, such as statistics, from the field of sciences. At the same time, they are still dealing with matters of human nature and

society, while also drawing on the methodologies of the Humanities. There are two reasons why these theses were included in this study. The first reason is that, until the assimilation of the commercial college of Berlin in 1936, as well as the foundation of the faculty of Economics in 1946, they remained part of the faculty of Philosophy. The second reason is that these new fields of research were still in development during the period this thesis focuses upon. The use of empirical data was not necessarily a requirement for a thesis in Economics or Political Science at that time. The thesis by Hans Gutenberg for example, accepted in 1912, about the public companies of the electricity industry, was primarily descriptive without any empirical data.<sup>279</sup>

The second factor was the curriculum of each student. This includes the lectures and seminars he attended during his studies as well as the supervisor(s) of his thesis. Every PhD candidate listed the lecturers he met during his studies. Most students only mentioned the surname of a lecturer but not the topics. This made identifying the course of study challenging as some surnames appeared several times on the list of staff members of the University of Berlin. The fact that students were able to attend courses not only in the faculty of Philosophy, but also in other faculties, such as Law or Theology, made the research even more complex. However, it must be noted that there seems to have been no regulation regarding the courses within the CV as students mention only some of their teachers. An extreme example is Hans Landsberg. He was awarded a PhD in 1900 for his thesis about the Georg Büchners drama *Dantons Tod* [Danton's Death]. He mentions only one of his professors in his CV and only mentions the surname, even though he studied in Berlin for seven years.<sup>280</sup> A source used to overcome this obstacle was the catalogue of Johannes Asen. His catalogue, published in 1955, contains information about all faculty and staff member at the University of Berlin from the foundation of the university until 1945.<sup>281</sup> Furthermore, German students were allowed to change their university and

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<sup>279</sup> See Hans Gutenberg, *Die Aktiengesellschaften der Elektrizitätsindustrie* [Public limited companies of the electric industry], 1912, 516.

<sup>280</sup> See Hans Landsberg, *Georg Büchners Drama „Dantons Tod“* [Georg Büchner's „Dantons Tod“], 1900, 353.

<sup>281</sup> Johannes Asen's list was originally planned as a two-issue series. It was planned to publish the second part to coincide with the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the university in 1960. The manuscript appears to have been available but was never published. See Rüdiger vom Bruch et al., *Geschichte der Universität Unter den Linden 1810-2010: Sozialistisches Experiment und Erneuerung in der Demokratie - die Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 1945-2010* [History of the

continue their studies at another university within the German Empire.<sup>282</sup> Although, they mention their professors, they do not indicate at which university they met them. Nevertheless, it was possible to exclude all the theses that had a science topic as their main field of research, by referring to the aforementioned catalogue, using the information provided by the PhD candidate within his CV, as well as the documentation of the university about the supervisors and, finally, the content as well as the title of the thesis itself.

## 4.2 Numbers

Berlin awarded 3806 PhDs from 1871 to 1913.<sup>283</sup> While the awarding ceremony took place immediately after the oral examination, the PhD was not registered as the official degree right away. A candidate still had to fulfil the formalities, which included producing copies of the thesis for distribution, as well as the payment of all fees. From these 3,806 theses, a total of 1663, or 43.69%, categorised as dealing with topics from the field of Humanities were included in this study. 699 theses were accepted before 1900; 964, or about a third more, were accepted in the period from 1900 to 1913. Surprisingly, there is nearly no shift between the number of PhDs awarded in the Humanities and in science. 43.66% of the PhDs awarded before and 43.72% of the PhDs awarded after 1900 were in the Humanities.

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university under the limes: socialistic experiments and renewal of democracy - The Humboldt University Berlin 1945-2010] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 133.

<sup>282</sup> The statistics released by Office of Office of Statistics in Prussia showed the information about the number of students changing their university or faculty. It recorded how many times students changed their university or faculty. It is, however, not possible to say if students changed between Humanities and science as both were part of the same faculty. A change in subject was therefore not recorded as a change of faculty. See for example: Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten mit Einschluss des Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg, der bischöflichen Klerikerseminare und der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Akademie für das militärische Bildungswesen zu Berlin für das Studienjahr zu Ostern 1911/1912* [Statistic of the Prussian National Universities including the Lyceum of Braunsberg, the episcopalian clerical Seminaries and the Kaiser Wilhelms Academy for the Military Education in Berlin for the Easter Year 1911/1912] (Berlin: Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau, 1912), 76-77.

<sup>283</sup> It is possible that more PhD candidates passed the oral examination than these 3,806 as a PhD was only conferred after a candidate had fulfilled all the requirements including sending the additional copies of his thesis to the university.

Comparing the number of PhDs awarded every year gives a better overview of the development at the University of Berlin, especially regarding the comparison of PhDs in the Humanities and sciences. Until 1885, the number of PhDs awarded for each field of research was usually more or less the same. In fact, there were often more PhDs awarded in the Humanities than in the sciences. This changed in 1886 when the number of PhDs awarded for science-related research more than doubled from 24 in 1885 to 49 in 1886. After 1885, only in 1896 were there more PhDs awarded in the Humanities than in Science, 49 vs 48. In all other cases until 1913, there were more PhDs awarded for science-related research than for research in the field of Humanities, although the difference between the two academic fields is minimal.

Additionally, the comparison shows that, while the overall number of PhDs awarded rose, the number of PhDs awarded for research in the field of science was always higher after 1886. The only exception was 1892, when 49 PhDs were awarded in the Humanities and 48 for science-related research. The Faculty of Philosophy slowly became a faculty of science, at least according to the research published.

The more detailed statistics also show that the number of PhDs awarded did not increase steadily. There were years, and even whole periods, when the number of PhDs was lower than in previous years or periods, like the 1890s, or did at least not increase, as from 1883 to 1885. One explanation for this development can be found when comparing these developments with the overall number of students as well as the economic development of the German Empire during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

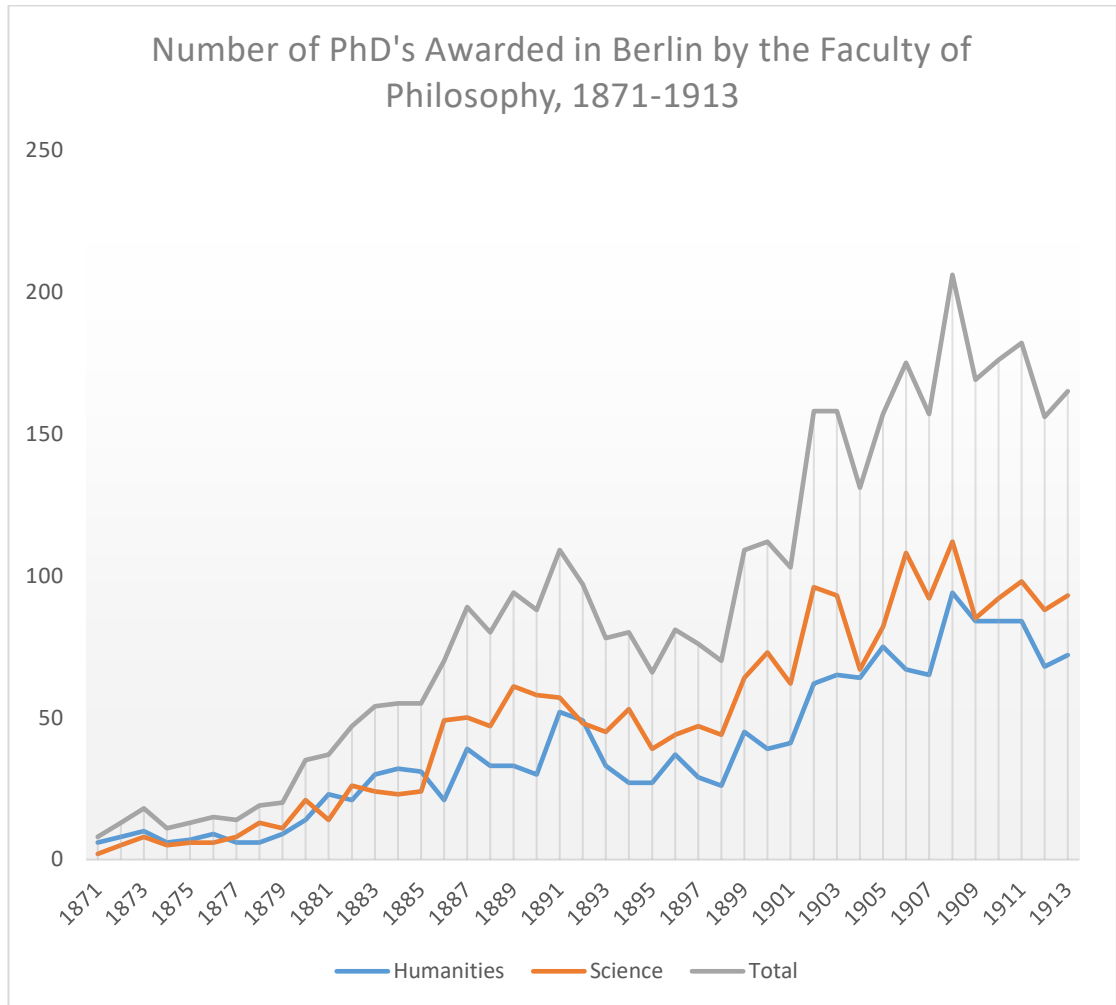


Figure 4 Number of PhD's awarded by the Faculty of Philosophy, 1871-1913

As with the number of PhD candidates, the total number of students at the University of Berlin increased from 1871 to 1913. Students were required to fill out a detailed matriculation form. The university requested basic information, such as date of birth or home address. It also requested information such as the employment of the father of the student, any bursaries the student had received, the religion or denomination of the student, other universities the student was a member of, and whether the student had served, would serve or was still serving in the military.<sup>284</sup> Comparing the number of students with the number of PhDs awarded is, however, challenging as the student numbers were organised by semester and the PhDs by year. The number of students at the start of the summer semesters was used for this study as most students finished their studies by the end of this semester. Additionally, if a student

<sup>284</sup> The matriculation form was amended from time to time but only regarding its structure and wording, not regarding the requested information. See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten 1911/1912*, 1.



stopped his studies, he usually did this after the first winter semester. This is the reason why the number of students during the winter semester was always higher than during the summer one.

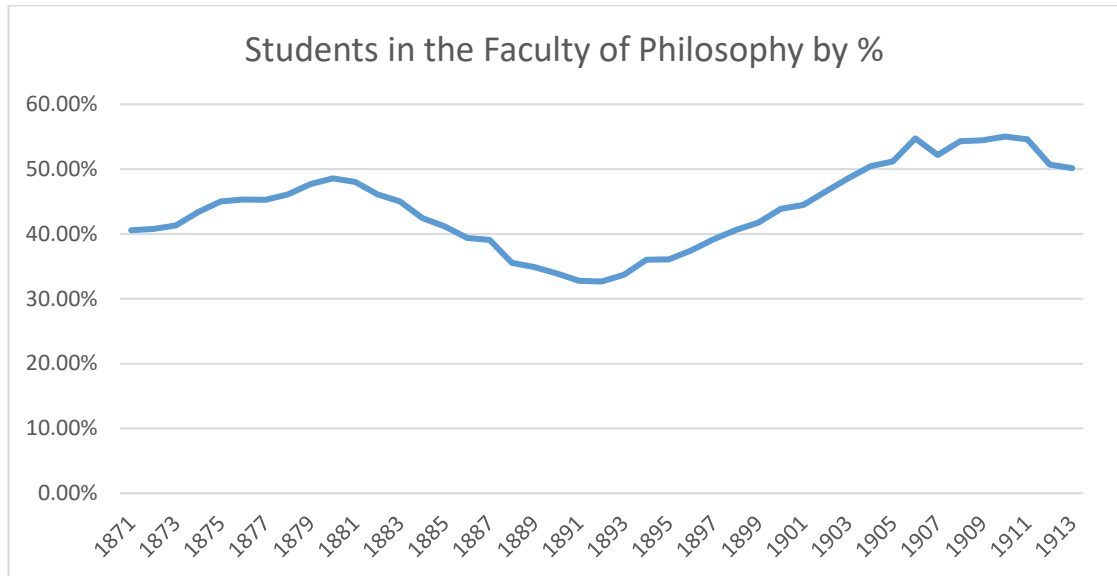
It is important to bear in mind that the number of students consists of data from two different sources, one of which, statistics about Prussian universities, was released not by the German Empire, but by the Prussian Statistical Office, and made its final appearance in 1912 with reference to the period 1910-1911. After this, statistics were added to the official statistics of the German Empire. They included the data not only from the Prussian universities, but also from all education institutions, including an overview of primary schools, high schools and all other state-funded institutions of higher education. It was not possible to clarify why this change happened. It might be connected to the fact that Berlin officially admitted women as students by 1908, later than other universities in the German Empire. Furthermore, the data from these two sources were not coherent. The statistics released by the Office of Statistics in Prussia in 1912 counted 6,325 male students and 369 female students during the summer term of 1909. This means 6,694 students were studying at the University of Berlin.<sup>285</sup> The statistics released by the Office of Statistics in the German Empire counted 6,854 students or 160 students more.<sup>286</sup>

The number of students can best be described as a growing wave. There are certain years when the number of students was lower than in previous years. Most often, however, the number of students was rising. However, the number of students in this faculty was much more volatile compared to the overall development of student numbers. In 1871, 40.8% of all students were part of the Faculty of Philosophy. This percentage rose to 48.89% in 1880. After this, the number of students at the University of Berlin still rose, but the number of students in the Faculty of Philosophy remained more or less the same, which means that by percentage it fell. In 1890, when the number of students at the University of Berlin decreased from 4686 to 4537, only 33.93% of all students were part of the Faculty of Philosophy.

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<sup>285</sup> See See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten, 1911/1912*, 72.

<sup>286</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1911* [Yearbook of statistics of the German Empire 1911] (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1911), 275.



*Figure 5 Percentage of students at the Faculty of Philosophy, 1871-1913*

Until 1908, the number of students only included male students as females were not allowed to matriculate. On the other hand, the number of PhDs awarded does include the PhDs awarded to female candidates. The lowest percentage of students at the Faculty of Philosophy at Berlin was recorded in 1892 at 32.67%. What is interesting to note about the early 1890s is that the number of students in the Faculty of Philosophy, as well as at the University of Berlin, was still falling until 1894/1895. However, the percentage of all students at the Faculty of Philosophy compared to the overall number of students began to rise after 1892. This means that the fall in number of students in the Faculty of Philosophy began to slow down earlier compared to other faculties. When the overall student numbers began to rise again in 1896, the number of students in the Faculty of Philosophy rose disproportionately compared to the other faculties. Within 10 years, the number of students in the Faculty of Philosophy rose to over 50% of all students. In 1910, the peak was achieved at 55.03%.

The total number of PhDs awarded was directly connected to the number of students in the Faculty of Philosophy. Like the total number of students, the number of PhDs awarded also increased until the early 1890s and began to fall after that. With the increasing number of students in the mid-1890s, the number of PhDs began again to rise and did so until 1908, when the Faculty of Philosophy awarded 206 PhDs within one year. As in the case of the comparison of the overall student numbers with the students in the Faculty of Philosophy, it is important to examine the percentage of students acquiring a PhD.

In 1871, only 0.89% of all students at the Faculty of Philosophy acquired a PhD. This was the lowest percentage between 1871 and 1913. The highest percentage was achieved in 1891 at 7.77%. In the years following this, the percentage dropped again and became unstable especially when compared with the overall number of students and the number of students in the Faculty of Philosophy, which were both rising. The percentage dropped and rose by only about 1% from one year to the next. Nevertheless, in the 20 years between 1894 and 1913, nearly 5% of all students in the Faculty of Philosophy acquired a PhD. To compare it with today's situation: in 2016, 1.5% of the students at German universities were PhD candidates.<sup>287</sup>

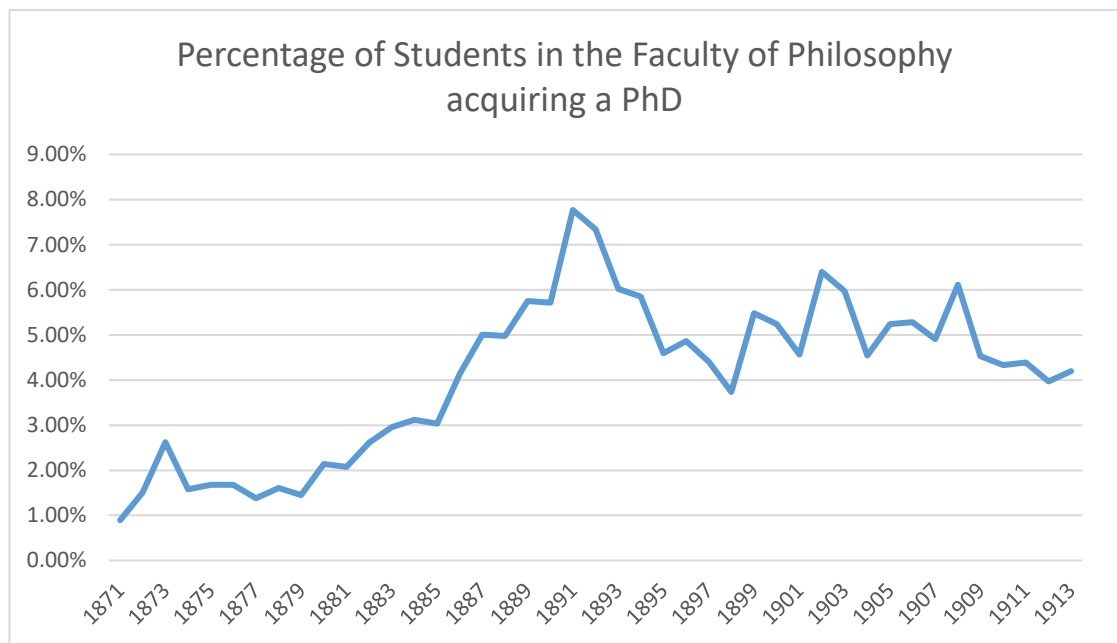


Figure 6 Percentage of students in the Faculty of Philosophy acquiring a PhD, 1871-1913

<sup>287</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt, *Hochschulen*, accessed 14<sup>th</sup> October 2017, <https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/BildungForschungKultur/Hochschulen/Hochschulen.html>.

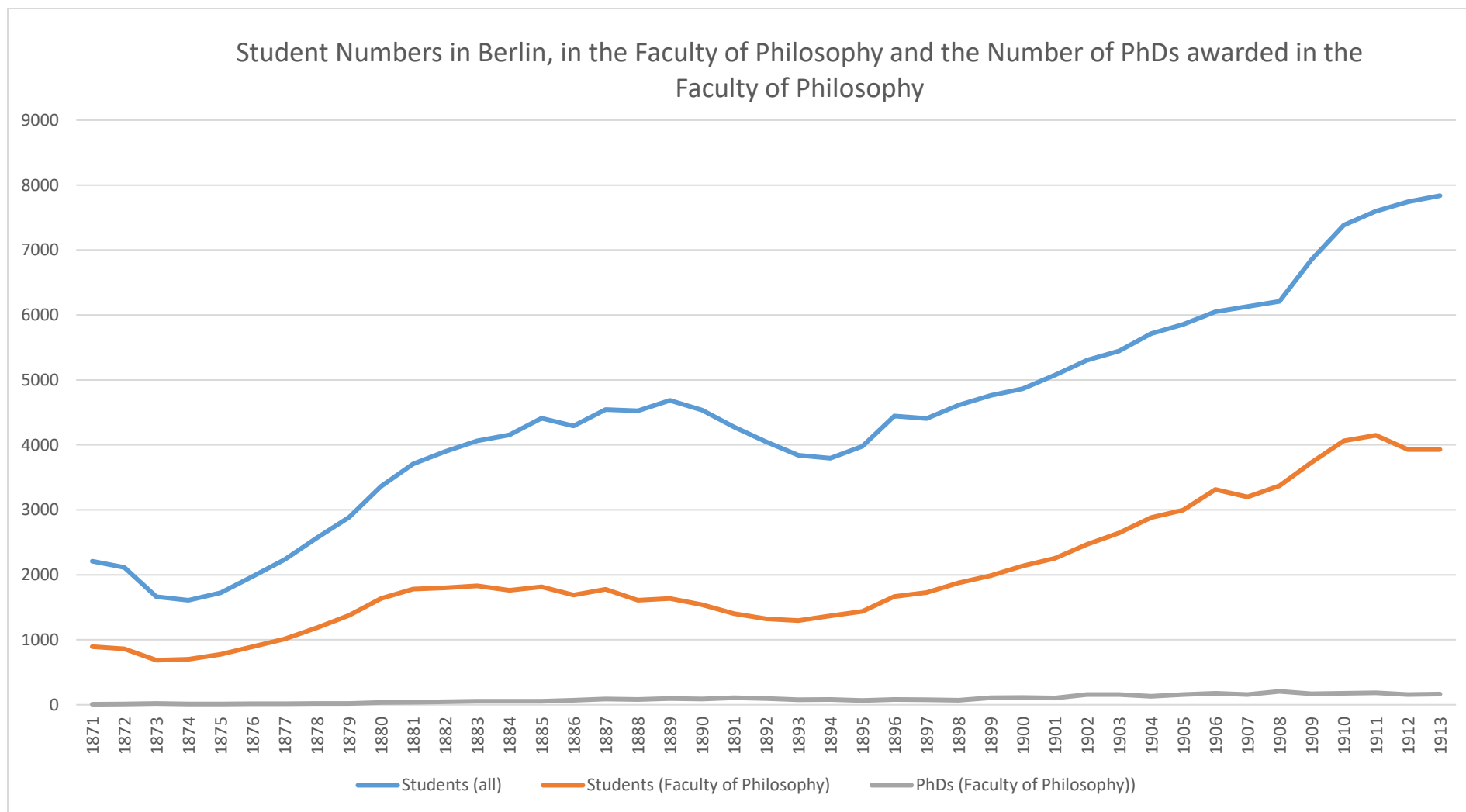


Figure 7 Student numbers at the University of Berlin, in the Faculty of Philosophy and the number of PhDs awarded in the Faculty of Philosophy, 1871-1913

As the Faculty of Philosophy did not separate its students into the Humanities and sciences, it is difficult to compare the separate theses with the number of students in the Faculty of Philosophy. Until 1907, only the overall number of students is available.<sup>288</sup> After this, the Office of Statistics in the German Empire released the statistics of all universities in the German Empire. These statistics separated the students in the Faculty of Philosophy according to their fields of study. The problem is that the categorisation is not that clear. In some issues, students studying cameralism or national economy, and students studying agriculture, were contained within the same category, while in other issues they were separated. There was also the category, 'other fields of study', but the statistics do not include information about what these 'other fields of study' were. Usually, more than 10% of all students were part of this category. There is, however, an exception in 1910, when the number and percentage of students rose significantly. During this year, 23.18% of all students in the Faculty of Philosophy were part of this category. The reason for this seems to have been a mistake by the university. It included students studying Economics into this category. The year after, they were added to the other fields within the faculty, which explains the sharp rise in number of students between 1910 and 1911.<sup>289</sup> It is difficult to establish any valuable conclusions from only six years of data and with the aforementioned challenges. Nevertheless, it can be said that 'emerging' fields of research, like political science and economics, seem to make the difference; if one adds them to the numbers in the Humanities, the number of students in this field is higher. The same might apply to the theses. However, the distinction there is easier. The reason is, as mentioned before, that there is more information available about a PhD candidate and the thesis submitted than about a single student.

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<sup>288</sup> See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten*, 106.

<sup>289</sup> Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1911*, 275.

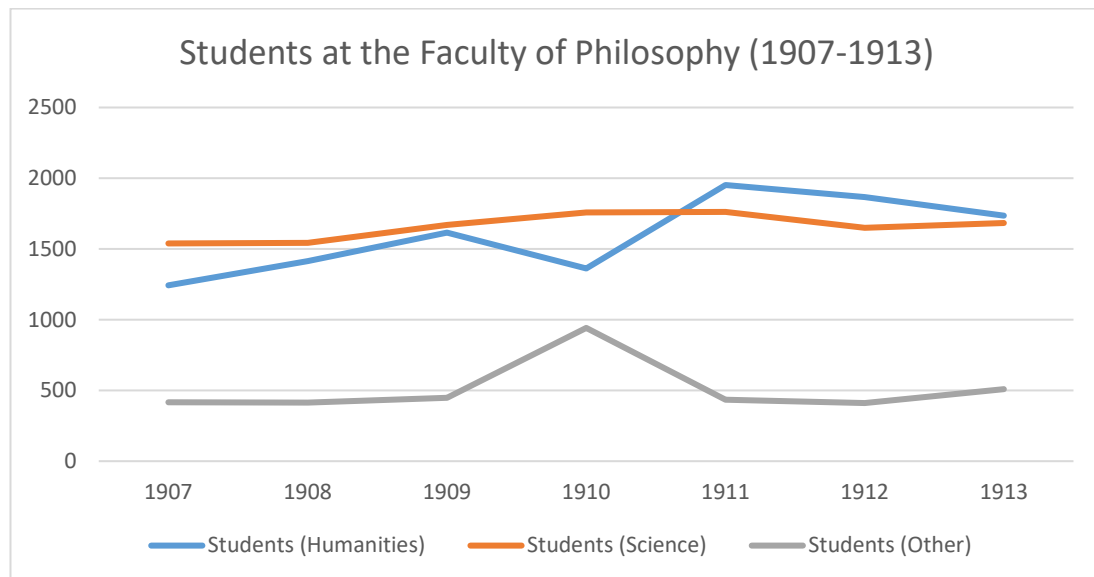


Figure 8 Number of students at the Faculty of Philosophy separated by the fields of study, 1907-1913

Comparing these numbers does not explain the rise and fall of student numbers and PhDs awarded. The overall increase is most likely caused by an overall increasing interest in higher education due to better career opportunities in the state as well as the private sector. The rise and fall, however, cannot be explained in this way. The first reason one might consider are changes in the admissions criteria. The regular admission of women by the winter semester of 1908/1909 explains the sharp rise in the number of students in Berlin compared to the summer semester of 1908 and 1909. It seems to be the only rise in student numbers that was directly affected by a policy change at the university and not by any external factors.

Another factor was economic development. Hans-Ulrich Wehler has defined five periods of economic expansion and depression in the period from 1873 to 1913 in the German Empire. Each of these periods has a different intensity and duration.<sup>290</sup> The University of Berlin accepted 1,842 theses during the five periods of economic expansion, but only 464 during an economic depression. This means that 83.7 PhDs were awarded per year of expansion, while only 25.7 theses were awarded during a year of depression. The same applies when comparing PhDs in the Humanities and sciences. On average, 12 theses in the sciences and 13.7 in the Humanities were

<sup>290</sup> See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Von der "Deutschen Doppelrevolution" bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges 1849 – 1914* [German History of Society: From the «German Double Revolution» until the beginning of the First World War 1849-1913] [(München: Beck, 2008), 547.

accepted during a year of depression. During an economic expansion, the numbers rose to 41.6 for science-related theses and 42.1 for the Humanities. While the economy affected the number of PhDs awarded, it did so with a delay of about a year. The reason for this delay is that those students already working on a PhD decided to finish it despite the economic challenges involved, while others hesitated to start. Comparing PhDs in science and Humanities after 1900 shows that the overall economic development affected the humanities less. The number of science-related PhDs grew and fell in larger quantities during an economic expansion or depression. The reason for this was that the funding for science-related research depended more on overall economic development. In times when the economy had sufficient resources, it used them to support science-related research, especially research that was directly applicable.<sup>291</sup>

Comparing the number of all students at the University of Berlin with those of the Faculty of Philosophy allows an examination of whether and how the economy affected the overall number of students as well as PhD candidates. Until 1900, the overall number of students was affected by the economy as much as the number of PhDs. In the early 1870s, after the Franco-German War, and during the depression until the mid-1890s, the number of students rose and fell in with the overall economic circumstances. This changes after the turn of the century. Even though there were years of depression until 1913, the number of students rose every year which contrasts with the number of theses accepted, whose numbers fluctuated greatly after 1900 due to the economic troubles.

### 4.3 Age

The age of a PhD candidate was defined by comparing his year of birth with the year he received his PhD as not all PhD candidates provided the exact date of birth in their CV. In addition, the examination of a PhD candidate was at the end of his status as a candidate. Although the ceremony was right after a candidate passed, the title was officially awarded after he was able to fulfil all the additional requirements. As this date was not recorded, and therefore unknown, the decision to only include the year seems to have been the best option available.

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<sup>291</sup> See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Von der "Deutschen Doppelrevolution" bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges 1849 – 1914*, 615.

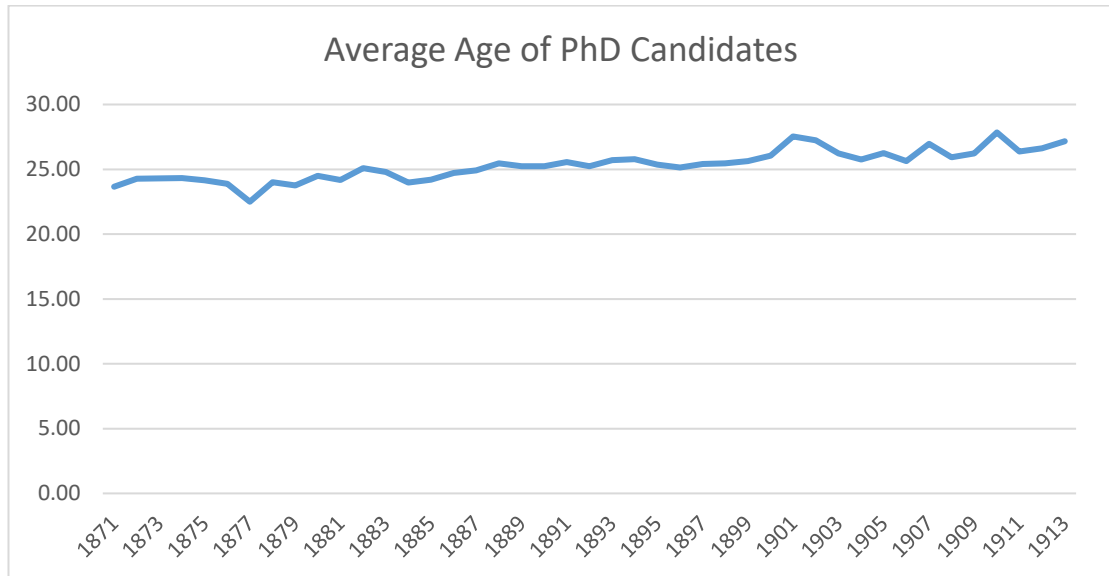


Figure 9 Average age of PhD candidates in the Humanities at the Faculty of Philosophy, 1871-1913

The average age was 24.85 years before and 26.85 after 1900. In comparison, the typical PhD candidate in Germany today is about 32.5 years old at the time of his graduation.<sup>292</sup> However, the comparatively small increase of about two years between the two periods hides the fact that the average age increased quite steadily over the years and that after 1885, the average age never fell below 25.

The oldest PhD candidate was Emil Gerhardt, who received his PhD in 1910. He was 54 years old when he was awarded his PhD. He did not complete the *Abitur* while at school. He started working as a merchant and lived in various countries including the United States, Canada and Scotland. He retired in 1906 and completed his *Abitur* in 1907. He started studying in Berlin in 1907, which means that he finished his studies, including his PhD, within three years, the absolute minimum.<sup>293</sup>

No candidate was younger than 20 years of age when he received his PhD. This is not surprising as the average student completed his *Abitur* by the age of 18. It nevertheless means that those students who received their PhD by the age of 20,

<sup>292</sup> See Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft, *Selektion nach Geschlecht im Bildungswesen* [Labour Union Education, Selection by gender in education], accessed 11<sup>th</sup> November 2014,

[http://www.gew.de/Binaries/Binary24824/bildungsbiographie\\_juni\\_04.pdf](http://www.gew.de/Binaries/Binary24824/bildungsbiographie_juni_04.pdf),

<sup>293</sup> See Emil Gerhardt, *Bieten die natürlichen Entwicklungsbedingungen Kanadas die Grundlage zur Ausbildung eines selbstständigen Staatswesens?* [Allow the development conditions of Canada the creation of an independent state?], 1910, 472.



must have finished their *Abitur* a year earlier due to the requirement to have been studying for at least three years to receive a PhD. It is also interesting to note that all these candidates received their PhD before 1900. An example is Heinrich von Stein. He was born in 1857 and received his PhD in 1877. He initially studied in Heidelberg and changed his university to complete his PhD in Berlin.<sup>294</sup> After 1900, all PhD candidates were at least 21 years of age when they received their degrees.

Comparing the place of birth and the average age of the PhD candidates shows that there is no noteworthy difference between students from Prussia and the rest of the German Empire. There is, however, a difference between German and foreign PhD candidates. The average age of foreign PhD candidates was 28.31 years before, and 28.62 years after, 1900. German PhD candidates were, on average, 24.98 years old before 1900 and 25.54 years old after 1900. This means that a foreign PhD candidate was significantly older than a German PhD candidate was, and that the difference did not change; a German PhD candidate was always about three and a half years younger than a foreign PhD candidate was.

The difference between the various foreign PhD candidates is striking. After 1900, a typical PhD candidate from the United States was about 32 years old when he was awarded his PhD. A PhD candidate from Russia was at 27.45 years of age nearly five years younger. The main reason for this was the differences in the respective higher education systems. In the United States, students had to get their Bachelor and Master's degrees before starting their PhD. The Russian higher education system was, on the other hand, heavily influenced by the higher German foreign schools,<sup>295</sup> which prepared not only Germans within Russia, but also Russians, to join the German higher education system according to the curriculum of the German Empire. Interestingly, the average age of PhD candidates from both Austria and Switzerland increased between the two periods even though both had the same education system as the German Empire. In the case of Switzerland, it rose from 24 to 28 years of age, and in the case of Austria, from 26 to 28 years of age.

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<sup>294</sup> See Heinrich von Stein, *Ueber Wahrnehmung* [About perception], 1877, 249.

<sup>295</sup> See Arthur Ellis, Reinhard Golz, Wolfgang Mayrhofer, "The Education Systems of Germany and Other European Countries of the 19th Century in the View of American and Russian Classics: Horace Mann and Konstantin Ushinsky," *International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present*, accessed 14<sup>th</sup> October 2017, <http://www.ide-journal.org/article/ellis-golz-mayrhofer-education-in-19thcentury-europe-views-of-mann-and-ushinsky-countries-of-the-19th-views-of-mann-and-ushinsky>

#### 4.4 Geographical Background

It is important to note that the place of birth and the nationality of a PhD candidate was, like today, not necessarily the same and that PhD candidates were obliged to mention their place of birth in their CV but not their nationality or place of origin.<sup>296</sup> This causes two challenges. First, it is possible that candidates provided both information. One of these few examples of PhD candidates is Ferdinand Graf von Degenfeld-Schonburg. He received his PhD in 1913 and was born in Vienna but had citizenship of Württemberg. He is categorised as a PhD from Austria for this study as the place of birth was deemed more relevant for this study.<sup>297</sup> The other challenge is that it is possible that some candidates were counted as Germans because they were born in the German Empire even though they were not German citizens, especially as it was getting more and more difficult for foreigners to acquire German citizenship by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was especially the case for Jews from Russia and Austria. The authorities often informed foreigners who tried to apply for citizenship that this might not be in their best interest. The reason was that if the authorities denied their request, they usually had to leave the country.<sup>298</sup> In the case of foreign PhD candidates it is therefore important to include the CVs in order to note their educational background before they started their studies at the University of Berlin.

Berlin was not only a 'university town' but also a capital city. Due to the growth in size and influence up to 1913, it was decided to include the neighbouring regions in the definition of Berlin, including regions that later became part of 'Greater Berlin'. The number of people living in the city centre documents the changes. In 1871, 90% of all the people living in Berlin had their home address in the city centre. This number dropped to 65% in 1905 and 50% in 1919.<sup>299</sup> While Berlin grew until the First World

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<sup>296</sup> The statistics of the Prussian universities does distinguish between the place of origin of a Prussian student and his place of birth. Only a few countries in Europe, like Switzerland, make this differentiation still today.

<sup>297</sup> See Ferdinand Graf von Degenfeld-Schonburg, *Die Lohntheorien von Ad. Smith, Ricardo, J. St. Mill und Marx* [The theories of salary of Ad. Smith, Ricard J. Mill and Marx], 1913, 542.

<sup>298</sup> See Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education, 1865-1914* (Stanford (CA): Stanford University Press, 2003), 121.

<sup>299</sup> See Michael Erbe, *Berlin im Kaiserreich (1871-1918)* [Berlin during the German Empire (1871-1918)], in *Geschichte Berlins Von der Märzrevolution bis zur Gegenwart* [History of

War, the growth of the city centre fell by 7.5% in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, since people moved into the suburbs while working in the city centre.<sup>300</sup> The home addresses of the professors of the university also reflect these changes. Until 1890, most professors lived as close to the university as possible. Towards the end of the century, this began to change when more and more professors moved to external areas like Schöneberg, Dahlem, Steglitz or Grunewald, all of which are today part of the city.<sup>301</sup>

At the same time, the debate intensified about changing the location of the university and moving it out of the city centre to create a 'German Oxford', uninfluenced by the city and its politics.<sup>302</sup> Berlin was, after all, the most important and most reputable university in the German Empire. It had the lowest percentage of professors in the Humanities of all German universities leaving the university, at only 3.85% until the 1870s and 9.3% towards the end of the century. One could compare the PhD candidates at other German universities and the universities they had attended beforehand to see if Berlin also attracted more students to finish their PhD in Berlin than the other way around. However, due to the difficult archival situation as outlined by Anja Werner this would be a challenging task.<sup>303</sup>

Comparing the overall development of the two periods, one can say that the percentage of foreign PhD candidates as well as PhD candidates from non-Prussian regions of the German Empire rose more than the average. While PhD candidates from Prussia were still dominant, PhD candidates became more diverse during the

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Berlin. From the March revolution until today], Wolfgang Ribbe, ed. (Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag: Berlin, 2002), 742.

<sup>300</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1911*, 2.

<sup>301</sup> See Frank Wagner. "Professoren in Stadt und Staat: Das Beispiel der Berliner Universitätsordinarien" [Professors in city and state: The example of the professors at the University of Berlin], in *Universität im öffentlichen Raum* [University in the public space], Rainer C. Schwinges, ed. (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2008), 365-385, 371.

<sup>302</sup> While this vision was not realised, one could argue that the foundation of the Freie Universität Berlin after the Second World War in Dahlem was inspired by this early vision of a university in Berlin away from politics and the influence of the city on its researchers and students. See Charles E. McClelland, "Berlin historians and German politics," *Journal of contemporary history* 8 (1973), 5.

<sup>303</sup> See Anja Werner, *The transatlantic world of higher education: Americans at German universities, 1776-1914*, European studies in American history, 4 (New York (NY): Berghahn Books, 2013), 51.

second period due to a higher percentage of foreign and non-Prussian German PhD candidates.

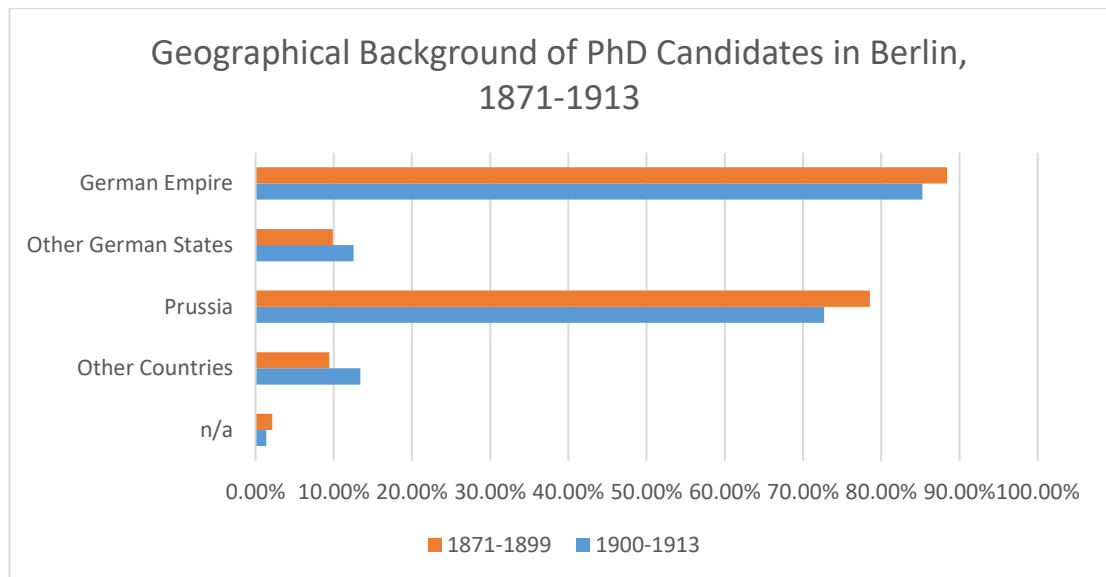


Figure 10 Geographical background of PhD candidates in Berlin, 1871-1913

#### 4.5.1 Candidates from the German Empire

Until 1900, 88.41 % of PhD candidates were born in the German Empire; after this the percentage dropped to 85.27%. Most PhD candidates were born in Prussia, 78.54% before and 72.72% after 1900. Meanwhile, the number of German PhD candidates outside Prussia grew from 9.90% before to 12.06% after 1900. At the same time, the population of the German Empire grew by about 1% per year, or 60% between 1871 and 1914.<sup>304</sup> While the German Empire changed from a country of emigration to a country of immigration, especially for Poles, Danes, Italians, Slavs, the main reason for this growth was the high number of births in the German Empire.<sup>305</sup> However, the various states and provinces grew unequally. Berlin and Hamburg had the biggest growth of 2.5% and 2% respectively per year. The urbanisation of the German Empire during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries meant that only every third person lived in a city with fewer than 100,000 people at the

<sup>304</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1911*, 2.

<sup>305</sup> See David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1870-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 265.

beginning of the First World War.<sup>306</sup> 'Smaller' states like the Grand-Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, or the Thuringian States, grew by only about 0.6% per year.<sup>307</sup>

While the overall number of PhD candidates from Prussia grew between these periods, not all provinces grew equally. In fact, eight of the thirteen Prussian provinces had fewer PhD candidates after compared to before 1900. Interestingly, the provinces around Berlin registered the highest loss. Before 1900, for example 11% of all Prussian PhD candidates, or 9% of all PhD candidates, came from Brandenburg. However, the number of PhD candidates from Brandenburg dropped in the following period to only 8% or 6% respectively. The highest loss was in Pommern. Before 1900, 7% of all Prussian PhD candidates came from this province. This number dropped to 3% afterwards. Other provinces gained significantly. The number of PhD candidates from Berlin rose from 34% of all PhD candidates from Prussia to 46%. This means that during the period after 1900, more than a third of all candidates were born in Berlin. This growth is directly connected to the above average growth of the city and its incorporated regions as no other region experienced such a growth.

PhD candidates from Bavaria are a good example of the mobility of German students. Thirteen of the fourteen candidates from Bavaria during 1900 to 1913 began their studies at a university in Bavaria. Seven were studying at the University of Munich Rudolf Heckel Rudolf, who received his PhD in 1906, for example, studied in Munich for three semesters until spring 1901, when he moved to Berlin.<sup>308</sup> Two were studying at the Technical University of Munich and three at the University of Würzburg such as Johann Baptist Klein, who was studying church music in Regensburg before studying in Leipzig and Berlin.<sup>309</sup> The only exception was Hans Bauer who received his PhD in Berlin in 1910. He studied theology at the Universitas Gregoriana in Rome, where he

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<sup>306</sup> See David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1870-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 265.

<sup>307</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1911*, 2.

<sup>308</sup> See Rudolf Heckel, *Das päpstliche und sicilische Registerwesen in vergleichender Darstellung* [A comparison of the papal and Sicilian administrative data collection], 1906, 417.

<sup>309</sup> See Johann Baptist Klein, *Der Choralgesang der Kartäuser in Theorie und Praxis unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Kartäuser* [The choral of the Karthäuser in theory and practice with a special focus on the German Karthäuser], 1910, 484.

was also ordained to the Catholic priesthood.<sup>310</sup> The number of PhD candidates from Heidelberg, Munich and Dresden, all provinces with prestigious universities, rose in number as well as, apart from Dresden, by percentage of total numbers.

Hamburg, on the other hand, is an example of development in the other direction. This trading hub grew by about 2% every year from 1816 to 1910.<sup>311</sup> However, the University of Hamburg was only founded after the First World War in 1919. PhD candidates born in Hamburg, therefore, had to move to another city if they were interested in studying or getting a PhD. Their percentage, however, dropped by 8% from 14% to 6% after 1900 despite the city's growth. The lack of a higher education institution with university status seems to have lowered the attraction for students to pursue a PhD. Besides Hamburg, all other non-Prussian states had a higher, or at least the same, number of PhD candidates in the period after 1900. One can also mention the Thuringian States. Their percentage of PhD candidates more than doubled from 5.8% to over 13.22%, while their numbers quadrupled from four to 16 PhD candidates. While the population growth in these states was below average, their growth in numbers of PhD candidates was way above the average. The reason is most likely the fact that, unlike other German states and provinces, the Thuringian States had no political, scholarly or economic centre, while they were situated in the middle of the Empire, which facilitated travel to other centres.

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<sup>310</sup> See Hans Bauer, *Die Tempora im Semitischen. Ihre Entstehung und ihre Ausgestaltung in den Einzelsprachen* [The Tempora in the Semitic languages. Their creation and their definition in the singular languages], 1910, 481.

<sup>311</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1911*, 2.

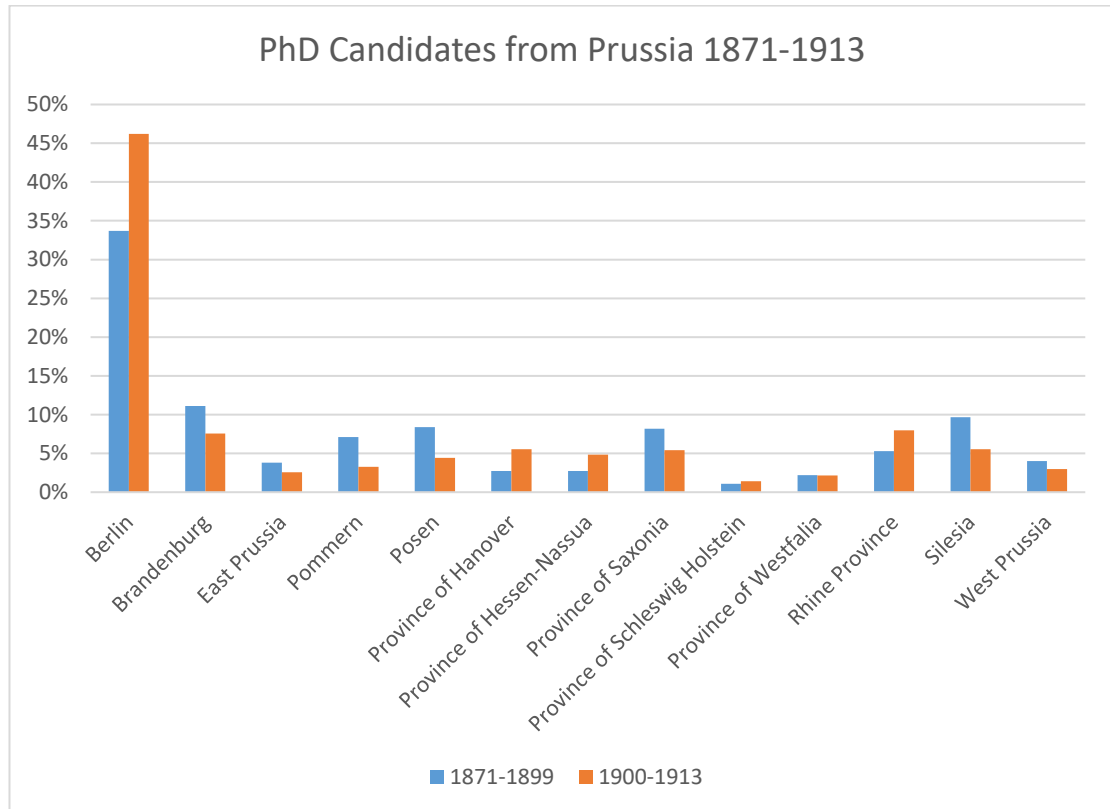


Figure 11 Geographical background of Prussian PhD candidates, 1871-1913

This irregular development indicates that the growth of the population in Germany had no or little influence on the number of PhDs awarded. Only Berlin shows a direct connection between the above-average growth in its population and number of PhDs awarded. Additionally, if the population growth was not only due to immigration but also due to a high number of births, it would take some time to influence the number of students and PhDs. As the highest growth by percentage was in the 1890s<sup>312</sup>, it was simply too early to influence the number of PhDs but might be the reason why the number of students ‘jumped’ after 1910. This means that any growth is most likely connected to the socio-economic and political situation of each individual German state and province.

#### 4.5.2 Non-German Candidates

The percentage of non-German PhD candidates rose from 9.44% before to 13.38% after 1900. This means that there were more non-German PhD candidates graduating from the Humanities at the University of Berlin during the second period than non-Prussian Germans. These non-German PhD candidates came from 27 different

<sup>312</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches* 1911, 2.

countries. including not only European countries like Norway or Italy, but also countries on the other side of the globe, such as Japan or Australia.

It is important to note that the German universities had a worldwide reputation due to their professionalism and academic record. They were the first to introduce and professionalize, for example, cultural studies.<sup>313</sup> The German Empire promoted this excellence actively in order to publicise the leading international role of the German approach to science and culture.<sup>314</sup> The state, as well as the universities, had an interest in attracting not only the best German students, but also the best foreign students.

These efforts intensified in the 1880s, which was comparatively late compared to other European countries, especially France.<sup>315</sup> The German Empire focused not only on promoting its cultural values, but also on attracting science students. The focus of these advertising efforts regarding students from the United States were the World's Fairs in Chicago in 1893 and in St. Louis in 1904. At the one in Chicago, the German Empire not only presented its advantages in science, but also shared and explained its education system.<sup>316</sup> The German foreign schools were another important instrument. In 1871, there were only 86 of such schools worldwide. By 1914, this number had increased to approximately 900. These schools were not only established in Western countries, but also in countries like Brazil, where two schools had been established by 1914.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> See David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1870-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 208.

<sup>314</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, "Gesellschaftliche Initiativen in den auswärtigen Kulturbeziehungen Deutschlands vor 1914" [Initiatives of society regarding the foreign cultural relationships of Germany before 1914], *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* [Journal for cultural exchange] 31, no. 1 (1981), 43-67, 44.

<sup>315</sup> See Gerhard A. Ritter, "Internationale Wissenschaftsbeziehungen und auswärtige Kulturpolitik im deutschen Kaiserreich" [International academic relationships and foreign cultural policy in the German Empire], in *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 31, no. 1 (1981): 5-16, 6.

<sup>316</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 46.

<sup>317</sup> See Geheime Denkschrift des Auswärtigen Amtes über das deutsche Auslandsschulwesen, April 1914 [Secret memorandum of the Departement of Foreign Relations about the German foreign school system, April 1914], in *Deutschlands Auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1918 – 1932: Grundlinien und Dokumente* [Germany's foreign cultural policy 1918-1932: basics and documents], Kurt Düwll, ed. (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1976), 271-273.



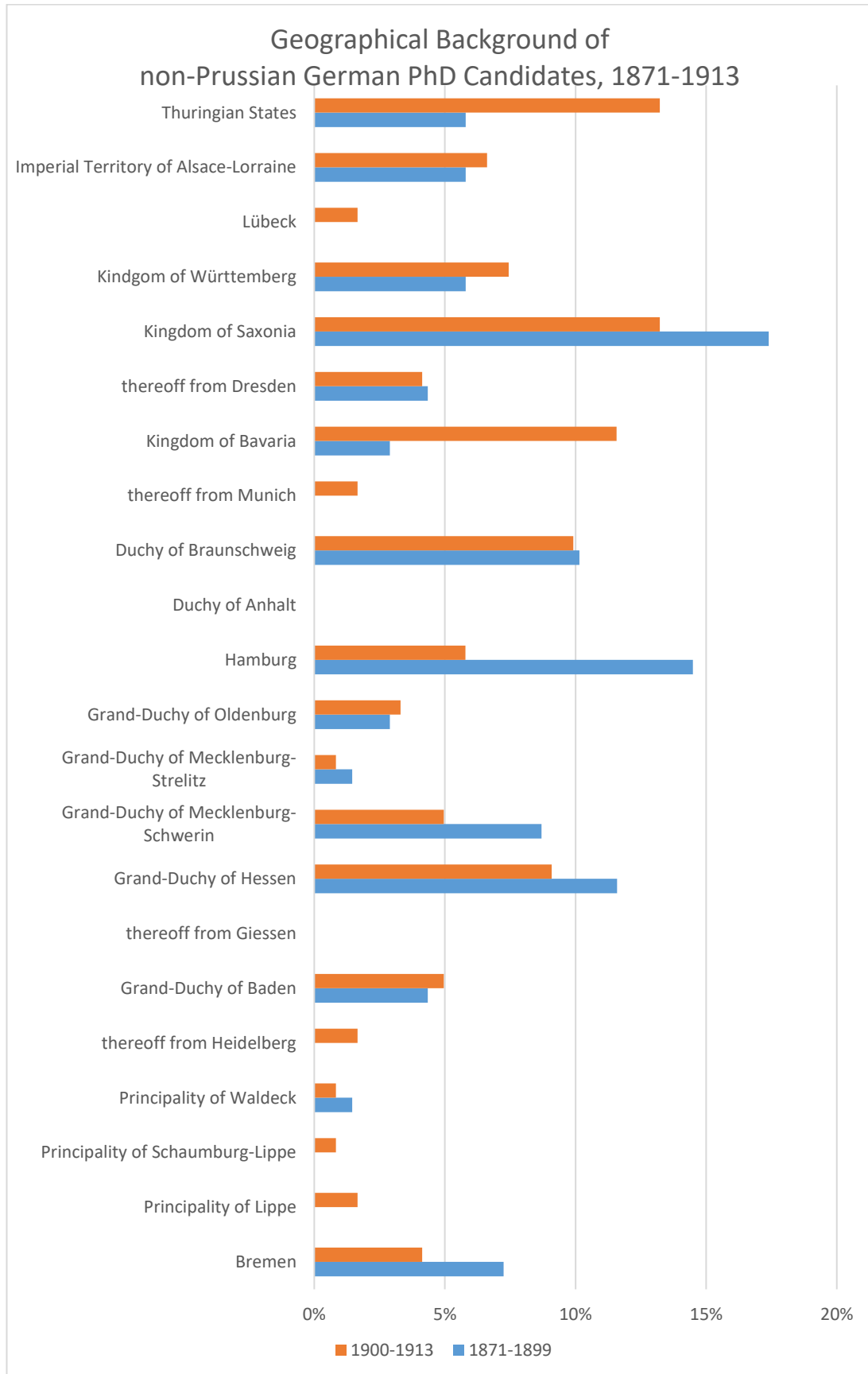


Figure 12 Geographical background of non-Prussian German PhD candidates, 1871-1913

The official goals of these schools was to teach native people according to the German education system and culture and, by doing so, create a friendship between the German Empire and these nations.<sup>318</sup> The other official aim was to prevent local Germans from losing their connection with their homeland by allowing their children to be educated according to the German curriculum.<sup>319</sup>

Apart from these, it is important to note that there was no national coordinated effort to promote the study of humanities in the German Empire. Most international initiatives and coordination efforts were not organised by the state but by the public.<sup>320</sup> Financiers as well as business leaders, promoted the German education system because they believed that it was superior. The private sector supported these efforts because they hoped to gain an advantage over companies from other nations.<sup>321</sup>

By 1871, 194,364 people of non-German nationality lived in the German Empire. This meant that of a population of 40 million people, 0.5% were foreigners. The largest group were Austrians, who numbered about 76,000, or a third of all foreigners. The second largest group were about 25,000 Swiss, followed by the Dutch, who numbered about 22,000.<sup>322</sup> Over the next thirty years, the number of foreigners in the German Empire rose to 1%. The Austrians were, with 370,000 nationals, still by far the largest group, followed by the Dutch, the Italians, who came to outnumber the Swiss, and the Russians.<sup>323</sup> Only 10 years later, 1.2 million foreigners were living in the German Empire. This meant that 2% of the population were not German citizens. The Austrians remained the largest group with over 635,000 people, followed by the Dutch, the Russians and the Italians. The group of citizens from the United States of

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<sup>318</sup> See Kurt Düwell, ed., *Deutschlands Auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1918 – 1932: Grundlinien und Dokumente*, 269.

<sup>319</sup> See Gerhard A. Ritter, *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 7.

<sup>320</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, Björn Hofmeister and Hans-Christoph Liess, *Gelehrtenpolitik, Sozialwissenschaften und akademische Diskurse in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, [Academic policy, social science and academic debates in Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries] (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 101.

<sup>321</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 1981, 46.

<sup>322</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1883* (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1883), 121.

<sup>323</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1904* (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1904), 9.

America rose by only 1,000 from 17,000 to 18,000 between 1900 and 1910, but it was one of the few groups of foreigners which consisted of more women than men.<sup>324</sup>

The question now is whether the increasing number of foreigners among the population in the German Empire is reflected in the growth of foreign PhD candidates at the University of Berlin. It is important to be aware that foreign PhD candidates are a specialised group of people who came to Germany for a reason; to get a PhD degree. As in the case of the German PhD candidates, the answer to the question of whether the increasing number of foreigners affected numbers of PhD candidates is not that simple. Within forty years, the number of foreigners sextupled, while the number of foreign PhD candidates in the German Empire doubled. Due to this, one could assume that there is a direct correlation and that the increasing number of PhD candidates reflects the increasing number of foreigners. More important, however, is a comparison of each group of foreigners with the related PhD candidates.

From many countries, there was only one PhD candidate recorded. From Italy, for example, the only candidate was Mario Novaro. He was born in Diano Marina, a commune in the north west of Italy and received his PhD in 1893. He received his *Abitur* in Italy and studied in Vienna and Berlin.<sup>325</sup> The Italians were the third largest group of foreigners in the German Empire in 1900, and the fourth largest in 1910. This means that the substantial number of Italians in the German Empire had no effect on the University of Berlin. One might assume that this was the case due to the different language and education system. The problem with this assumption is that there are other examples which disprove it, especially regarding the two largest groups, the Russian and American PhD candidates.

The largest group of foreign PhD candidates before 1900 were those from the United States of America, who numbered 22 candidates, while the second largest group were 13 Russians. In the period after 1900, they switched places; there were now 29 PhD candidates from Russia and 20 from the United States of America. The two groups combined provided more than 50% of the foreign PhD candidates before and still

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<sup>324</sup> Other countries with more women than men were, for example, Chile or Panama. Their numbers were however statistically insignificant. See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1914* (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1914), 11.

<sup>325</sup> See Mario Novaro, *Die Philosophie des Nicolaus Malebranche* [The Philosophy of Nicolaus Malebranche], 1893, 318.

nearly 40% in the period after 1900. For these two groups, neither the language nor the different education system seems to have been a problem.

#### 4.5.2.1 The Austrians & the Russians

The largest group of foreigners in the German Empire, the Austrians, were during neither period the largest group of foreign PhD candidates. Until 1900, 7.58% of the foreign-born PhD candidates came from Austria. After 1900, their percentage rose to 20.93%. The fact that Germany and Austria had largely the same education system and official language made it easier for Austrian students to move to Germany to finish their studies. German was not only the official language in Austria, but also an official language in other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. There was a continuing exchange between German and Austrian universities. In 1890, for example, 40% of students in Austria were Germans.<sup>326</sup> On the other hand, Austrian researchers were moving to Germany and teaching at its universities. The University of Berlin appointed five Austrians as professors between 1875 and 1886.<sup>327</sup> While the Austrian universities tried to compete with those in Germany, they were not as independent as their competitors until 1867 when the restrictions on research and teaching in Austria began to be lifted.<sup>328</sup> Additionally, the German universities had also close connections to universities in Hungary, which allowed an exchange of knowledge as well as students. On the other hand, rising Hungarian nationalism caused some challenges for Hungarians as well as non-Hungarian minorities. There was only one German

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<sup>326</sup> See Helmut Slapnicka: "Die Rechtsstellung der Universität im alten Österreich von den Reformen Leon Thun bis zum Ende der Monarchie". *Universitäten im östlichen Mitteleuropa: Zwischen Kirche Staat und Nation – Sozialgeschichtliche Entwicklungen* [Universities in East Central Europe: between church, state and nation – social historical developments], Peter Wörster, ed. (München: Oldenbourg-Verlag, 2008), 206.

<sup>327</sup> See Marita Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 121 [Professors and universities in the 19th century, critical studies in history] (Göttingen, Gießen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), and Arthur J. Engel, "The Emerging Concept of Academic Profession at Oxford 1800-1954," in *The University in Society*, Lawrence Stone, ed., 2 vols. 1 (Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press, 1974), 183.

<sup>328</sup> See Ernst Schübl: "„Wir wollen ein Gebäude von fester Dauer“. Zur Standortproblematik und baulichen Entwicklung der österreichischen Universitäten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" [„We want a permanent building“: About the problems and development of the Austrian universities in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century], in *Universität im öffentlichen Raum* [University in the public space], Rainer C. Schwinges, ed. (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2008), 439-467, 440.

school in Hungary, founded in 1908 in Budapest, but Hungarians were not allowed to attend this school by decision of the Hungarian government.<sup>329</sup> Meanwhile, the non-Hungarian minorities used opportunities to study in the German Empire because they did not want to get a Hungarian diploma.<sup>330</sup> It is thus not surprising that no PhD candidate born in today's Hungary was recorded due to the aforementioned rising nationalism within Hungary and the restrictions regarding the German school, while the number of PhD candidates from neighbouring regions and state grew.

Due to this, it is important to compare the Austrian PhD candidates in more detail. The fact that the Austro-Hungarian Empire consisted of several nationalities, and given the separation of Austrians and Hungarians, is a critical issue. Until 1900, no PhD candidate specifically mentioned that he was from either Austria or Hungary. After 1900, two of the 27 PhD candidates mention that they are from Hungary although both were born outside of today's Hungary. These were Stanjoe Mihajlowitsch and Armin Blau. Mihajlowitsch was born in 1883 in Kobilj, which today is part of Serbia. He studied law in Belgrade and moved to Berlin afterwards, where he received his PhD in 1904.<sup>331</sup> Armin Blau was born in 1887 in Verbó, which today is a part of Slovakia. He moved to Berlin right after he received his *Abitur*, which is likely to be the reason why he finished his PhD by the age of 23. He also attended the Jewish theological seminary in Berlin and worked as a teacher at the Talmud school in Hamburg while finishing his thesis.<sup>332</sup> On the other hand, only one Austrian PhD candidate mentioned that he was from Austria. This was Graf Alexander Starzenski. He received his PhD in 1913. He was born in 1873 in Dukla, which at that time was part of the Austria-Hungarian Empire and is today part of Poland. He was, by heritage,

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<sup>329</sup> See Kurt Düwell, ed., *Deutschlands Auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1918 – 1932: Grundlinien und Dokumente*, 288.

<sup>330</sup> See László Szögi, "Die Universitäten in Ungarn. Gründungswellen vom späten Mittelalter bis in das 20. Jahrhundert" [The universities in Hungary. Wave of foundations from the late medieval until the 20<sup>th</sup> century]. in *Universitäten im östlichen Mitteleuropa: Zwischen Kirche Staat und Nation – Sozialgeschichtliche Entwicklungen*, [Universities in Eastern Central Europe: Between church, state and national – social historical developments], Peter Wörster, ed. (München: Oldenbourg-Verlag, 2008), 266.

<sup>331</sup> See Stanjoe Mihajlowitsch, *Das Grundrentenproblem (Die Grundrente als Einkommen)* [The basic pension problem (the basic pension as income)], 1908, 440.

<sup>332</sup> See Armin Blau, James Thomson's „Seasons“. *Eine Genetische Stiluntersuchung* [James Thomson's „Seasons“. A genetical style analysis], 1910, 479.

an earl in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.<sup>333</sup>All other PhD candidates mentioned neither Austria nor Hungary but only their place of birth and/or region. Three of them, Kärnten, Steiermark and Tirol, are still part of Austria today. The other three regions mentioned were Galicia, today split between Poland and Ukraine; Transylvania, today a part of Romania; and Bohemia, today a part of the Czech Republic.

Ten German PhD candidates studied at an Austrian university, seven at the University of Vienna and three at the University of Graz. Most of them studied at an Austrian university before joining the University of Berlin. Max Creutz, for example, was born in 1876 in Aachen, Rhine Province. He started his studies at the University of Vienna in 1897, changed to the University of Munich, and finally to the University of Berlin, where he received his PhD in 1901.<sup>334</sup> Another candidate, Johann Peter Baum, born in 1867 in Wiesbaum, Rhine Province, was studying at the missionary school in St. Gabriels, close to Vienna, but had to leave for health reasons. He worked as a journalist before joining the University of Berlin, where he received his PhD in 1903.<sup>335</sup>

The Russians were the other large group of foreigners within Germany and formed a considerable number of the PhD candidates at the University of Berlin. During the 1890s, the German Empire financed the foundation of various German schools in the Baltic and the southern provinces of the Russian Empire. Unlike in the case of Hungary, there was no opposition to German schools in the Russian Empire. Nine of these schools were established as high schools to teach students according to the German curriculum and to prepare them to study at a German university. These schools were also available for Russian students, unlike in the case of Hungary.<sup>336</sup> The establishment of these institutions is probably one of the causes of the rising numbers of students and PhD candidates from Russia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> See Graf Alexander Starzenski, *Die kommunalen Anleihen in England und Wales* [The communal loans of England and Wales], 1913, 536.

<sup>334</sup> See Max Creutz, *Masaccio. Ein versuch zu stilistischen und chronologischen Einordnung seiner Werke* [Masaccio. A try to classify his works by style and chronology], 1901, 363.

<sup>335</sup> Johann Peter Baum, *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Obereichsfeldes in der Neuzeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Hausindustrie* [The economic development of the Obereichsfeldes during the modern period with a special focus on the home industry], 1903, 379.

<sup>336</sup> See Kurt Düwell, ed., *Deutschlands Auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1918 – 1932: Grundlinien und Dokumente*, 279.

<sup>337</sup> No PhD candidate indicated if he had attended a German Foreign School before moving to Germany. However, those candidates who attended a high school in the Russian state do

Another reason was the foundation of the University of Tartu, whose curriculum was only taught in German. It increased the chances of being accepted by a German university for those who had not been able to attend a German school in Russia for their high school degree.<sup>338</sup> Two PhD candidates from Russia studied at this institution before starting their PhD in Berlin. One of them was Wilhelm Arnold Christiani. He studied at the University of Tartu for nine semesters. He worked as a tutor in Bessarabia before moving to Berlin, where he worked as a journalist for a year before starting his studies in 1904. He received his PhD in 1906.<sup>339</sup> The University of Berlin seems to have recognised studies completed at the University of Tartu, as neither student was required to study for three years in Berlin. Other candidates specifically mention that they had pre-university education in Russia before moving to Berlin. Michael Golodetz, who received his PhD from the University of Berlin in 1905, is such an example. He only mentioned that he had pre-university education at home before moving to Leipzig and later to Berlin. As the details of his pre-university education are unknown, it might also be possible that he was accepted by the University of Leipzig and the University of Berlin not due to these courses, but because he had studied at the public trade schools in Leipzig before joining the local university.<sup>340</sup>

Only five non-Russian PhD candidates mention that they were in Russia before they received their degrees. Out of this five, four were born in the German Empire and one in Bulgaria. None of the German PhD candidates who mention that they were in Russia attended a university there. They were there to work as an engineer,<sup>341</sup> for a study trip regarding their thesis<sup>342</sup> or they simply state that they were there for a longer

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mention it, which could be an indication that those attending a German Foreign High School seem to have seen it as a requirement to mention it.

<sup>338</sup> See Klaus Meyer, *Universitäten im östlichen Mitteleuropa. Zwischen Kirche, Staat und Nation – Sozialgeschichtliche Entwicklungen*, 46.

<sup>339</sup> See 1906 Wilhelm Arnold Christiani, *Über das Eindringen von Fremdwörtern in die russische Schriftsprache des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* [About the intrusion of foreign words into the Russian written language of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century], 409.

<sup>340</sup> See Michael Golodetz, *Die Staatsaufsicht über Hypothekenbanken* [The state supervision regarding mortgage banks], 1905, 397.

<sup>341</sup> See Otto Groebel, *Die russischen Industriearbeiter* [The Russian industrial workers], 1905, 507.

<sup>342</sup> See Friedrich Andrae, *Preussische und russische Politik in Polen. Von der taurischen Reise Katharinas II. (Januar 1787) bis zur Abwendung Friedrich Wilhelm II. von Hertzbergischen Plänen (August 1789)* [Prussian and Russian politics in Poland. From the tauric travels of

stay without any further information.<sup>343</sup> Only one German PhD candidate mentioned that he went to school in Russia, probably probably due to the relocation of his family.<sup>344</sup>

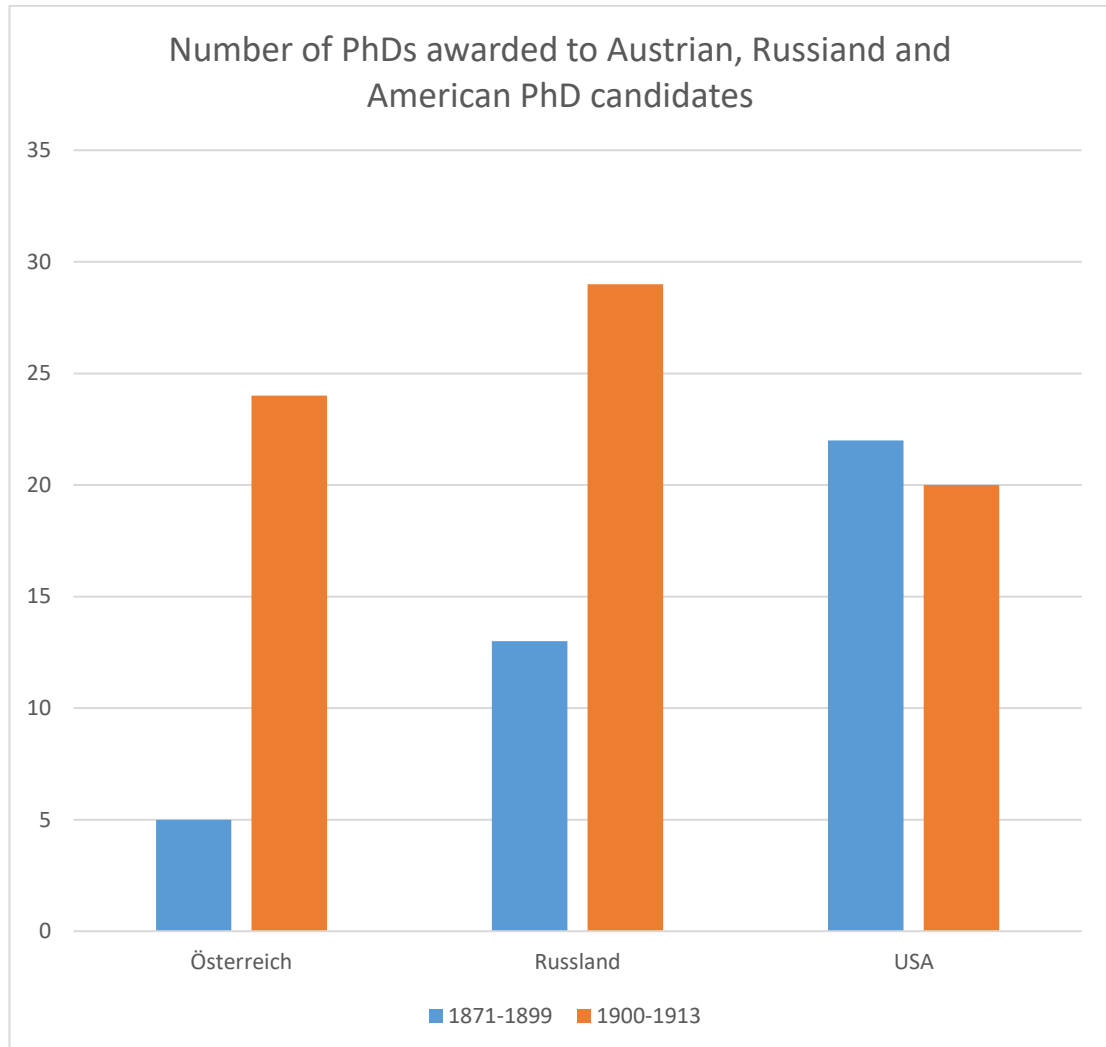


Figure 13 Number of Austrian, Russian and US PhD candidates, 1871-1913

Two other cases are worth mentioning as both were born in Russia but had left the country before attending school. One was Francis Smith. He was born in 1881 in St. Petersburg, but moved to Germany for his education. The reason for his relocation is

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Katharina II (January 1787) until the avoidance of Friedrich Wilhelm II.'s plans of *Hetzberg*], 1905, 404.

<sup>343</sup> See Walther Recke, *Die Verfassungspläne der russischen Oligarchen im Jahre 1730 und die Thronbesteigung der Kaiserin Anna Ivanova* [The constitutional plans of the Russian oligarchy in 1730 and the accession of Empress Anna Ivanova], 1911, 505.

<sup>344</sup> See Anton Palme, *J. G. Sulzers Psychologie und die Anfänge der Dreivermögenslehre* [J. G. Sulzer's psychology and the beginning of the Dreivermögenslehre], 1905, 401.



unknown. He studied in Bonn and Munich and received his PhD in 1906.<sup>345</sup>The other was Joseph Pedott. He was born in 1891 in Grodno, which today is a part of Belarus. He left Russia in 1888 and lived in Chicago, where he attended university. He received a Bachelor of Philosophy from the University of Chicago in 1906. He then moved to Berlin where he received his PhD in 1910.<sup>346</sup>

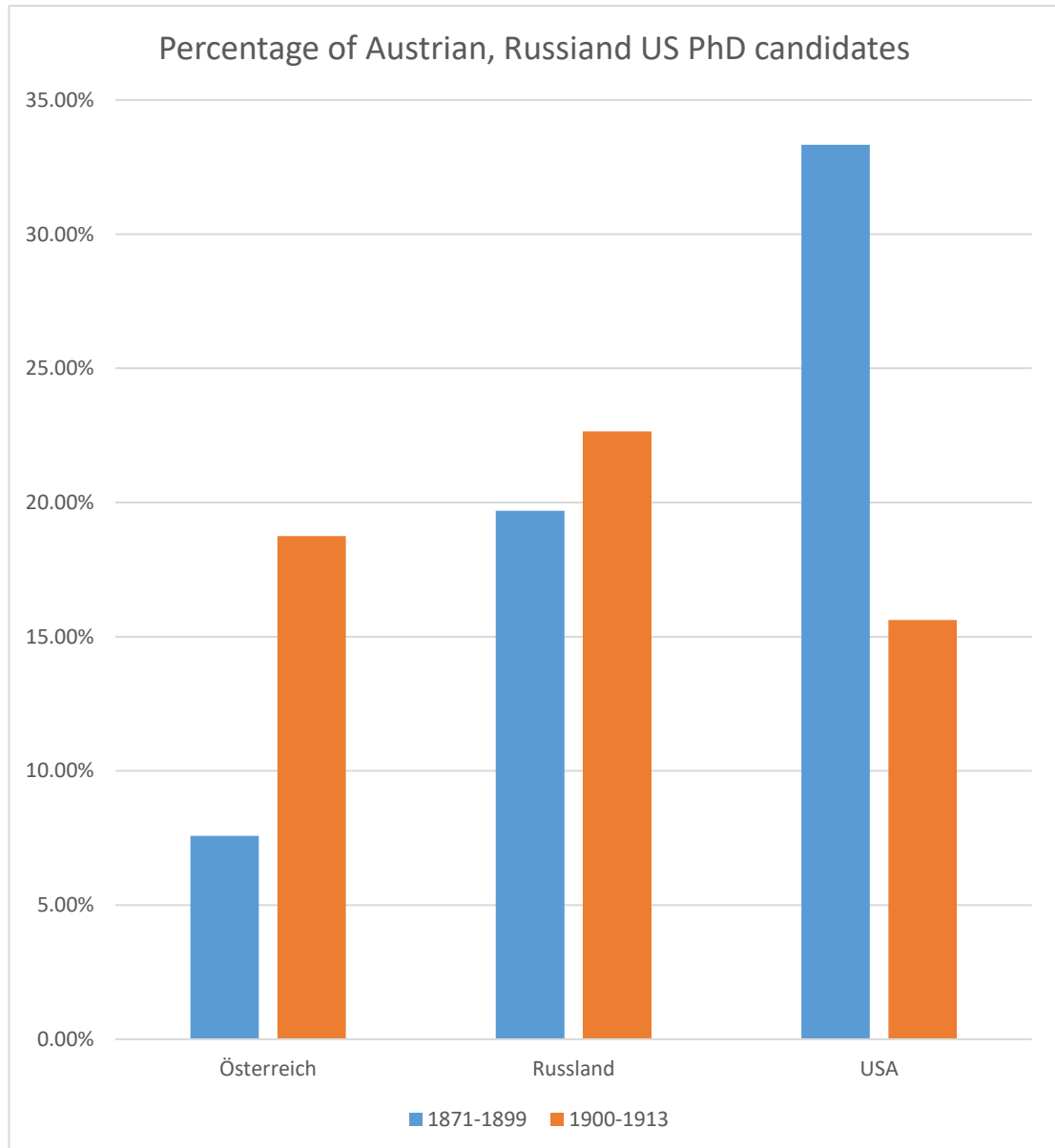


Figure 14 Percentage of Austrian, Russian and US PhD candidates in comparison to other foreign PhD candidates, 1871-1913

<sup>345</sup> See Francis Smith, *Römische Heeresverfassung und Timokratie* [The state of Rom's army and timocracy], 1906, 414.

<sup>346</sup> See Pedott Joseph, *Die deutsche Arbeiterversicherungsgesetzgebung und ihre soziale Bedeutung* [The German workers insurance laws and their societal importance], 1910, 473.

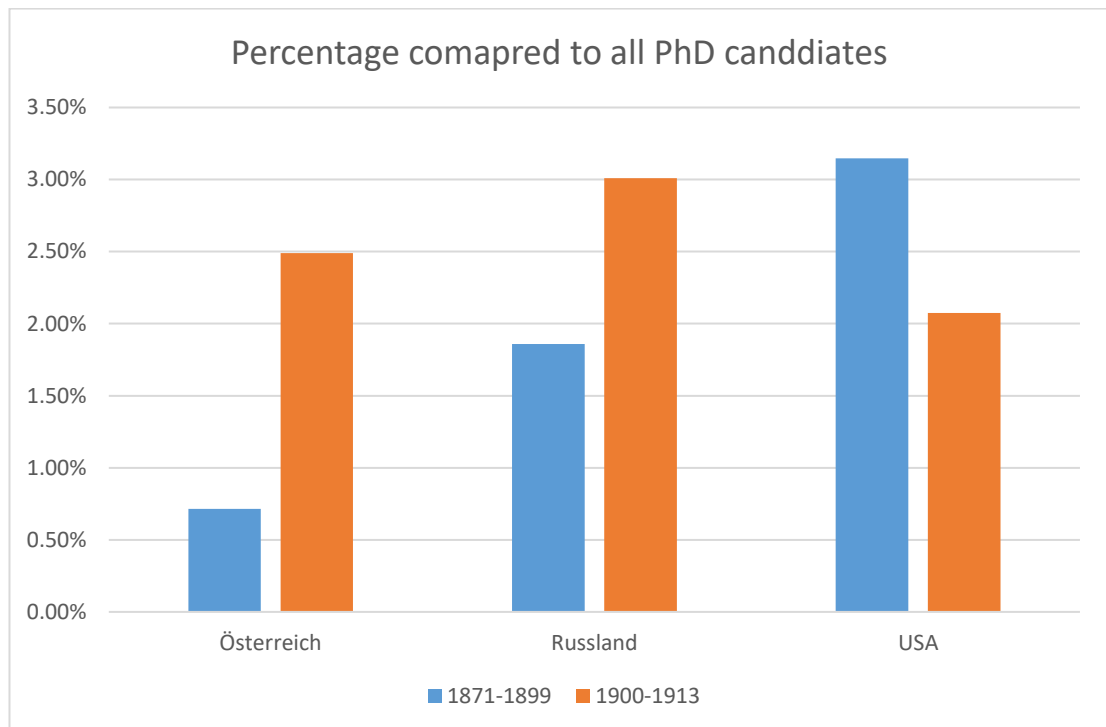


Figure 15 Percentage of Austrian, Russian and US PhD candidates in comparison to all PhD candidates, 1871-1913

#### 4.5.2.2 The Americans

There are two reasons for the comparatively high number of PhD candidates from the United States apart from the generally good reputation of the German universities. The first reason was the numerous German-American schools which taught German. The foreign ministry of the German Empire recognised that there were “hundreds, if not thousands” of them.<sup>347</sup> Unlike in the case of Russia, however, these schools were not recognised as German foreign schools by the German state as they were embedded in the American education system and did not follow the German curriculum. The second reason was the ongoing exchange of professors between the American and German universities. This exchange was formalized into an official exchange agreement between German and American universities in 1904 during the World’s Fair by German and American professors. From the University of Berlin, the theologian Professor Adolf von Harnack was chosen. He was impressed by American efforts not only to improve their teaching capabilities, but especially to professionalise research at the universities. He founded the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft* seven years

<sup>347</sup> Kurt Düwell, ed., *Deutschlands Auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1918 – 1932: Grundlinien und Dokumente*, 288.

later due to his experiences during the exchange programme.<sup>348</sup> Another noteworthy person involved was Nicholas Murray Butler, who had studied in Germany and became president of Columbia University two years before the exchange program was established. Unlike German-American schools, the exchange programme was supported, financially and ideologically, by the German state and was primarily used by professors from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Berlin.<sup>349</sup>

Nevertheless, it is difficult to assess the effect of the exchange programme on the number of PhD candidates from the US at the University of Berlin. The reason is that the programme started officially in 1904, which means that it was only in place for the last ten years of this study. Only three PhD candidates from the US mention that they had studied at Columbia University before moving to Berlin and two received their PhD before the programme was established. The first was Stanton George Coit, born in 1857 in Columbus, Ohio. He studied at Amherst College before he moved to New York City, where he studied law at Columbia College. While studying there, he got in contact with Felix Adler, who inspired him to go to Germany after he had finished his studies at Columbia College.<sup>350</sup> Unlike Felix Adler, however, who received his PhD from the University of Heidelberg in 1873, Coit moved to Berlin in 1883 and received his PhD two years later.<sup>351</sup> The second candidate was Otto Siemon. He studied at Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis<sup>352</sup> before joining Columbia University, after which he moved to Berlin for his PhD degree. He received his PhD in Berlin in 1881, which makes him the first PhD candidate from the United States who received his PhD in the Humanities by the University of Berlin. There does not seem to be any

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<sup>348</sup> See Karl-Heinz Füssl, *Deutsch-amerikanischer Kulturaustausch im 20. Jahrhundert: Bildung, Wissenschaft, Politik* [German-American cultural exchange in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Education, Science, Politics] (Frankfurt/Main, New York: Campus, 2004), 52.

<sup>349</sup> See vom Bernhard vom Brocke, "Der deutsch-amerikanische Professorenaustausch," [The German-American exchange of professors], *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* [Journal for cultural exchange] 31, no. 1 (1981), 137-142.

<sup>350</sup> Felix Adler was a citizen of the German Empire. He was born in Alzey, Grand Duchy of Hesse, but had left the German Empire by the age of six as his father had accepted an appointment as head rabbi of the Temple Emanu-El in New York. See Howard B. Radest, *Toward common ground, The story of the ethical societies in the United States*, Ethical culture publications (New York (NY): Ungar, 1969), 14.

<sup>351</sup> See Stanton Coit, *Die innere Sanktion als der Endzweck des moralischen Handelns* [The inner sanctions as the final reason of moralistic actions], 1885, 270.

<sup>352</sup> See Chicago Tribune, *School Strike*, accessed 10<sup>th</sup> November 2017, <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1902/11/24/page/15/article/school-strike-as-text/>

connection between Coit and Siemon. While they both went to Columbia University, Siemon did not study law, but the classics.<sup>353</sup> The third candidate was Alfred Gudeman. He was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1862 and graduated from Columbia University in 1883. He moved to Berlin and received his PhD in 1888.<sup>354</sup> Gudeman moved back to Germany in 1904 after being professor at the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>355</sup> Otto Kinkeldey, who received his PhD in 1909, studied at City College of New York and at New York University, but not at Columbia University. However, he worked at the latter institution for two years as an organist and conductor of the choir before moving to Berlin in April 1902.<sup>356</sup>

As the United States had no state-run higher education system, the education of the American PhD candidates prior to moving to Berlin is very diverse. What is interesting to examine are the institutions where the PhD candidates received their bachelor and even master degrees before starting their PhD studies in Berlin. Out of the 22 candidates until 1900, fifteen studied at American universities before studying at Berlin. Of these fifteen, four studied at Harvard,<sup>357</sup> three at Amherst College, and, as outlined before, at Columbia University, and two at Princeton. The remaining candidates were studying at the University of Nebraska, Wofford College, Wesley College, Northwest College and Shurtleff College.

Three PhD candidates from the American continent before 1900 had left the United States for Germany before enrolling in the American school system. Robert Fuchs,

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<sup>353</sup> See Otto Siemon, *Quo Modo Plutarchus Thycididem*, 1881, 254/1.

<sup>354</sup> See Alfredus Gudeman, *De Heroidum Ovidii Codice Planudeo*, 1888, 284.

<sup>355</sup> Alfred Gudeman died in 1942 in Theresienstadt. He was classified as “being Jewish” by the Nazi Regime even though he described himself as nondenominational in the CV attached to his thesis. He left all his belongings to Columbia University, his “alma mater” and described himself in his testament as being “born American” even though he had received German citizenship in 1917. See Donna Hurley, “Alfred Gudeman, Atlanta George, 1862 - Theresienstadt, 1942,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 120 (1900), 355-381.

<sup>356</sup> See Otto Kinkeldey, *Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik* [Organ and piano in the music of the 16th century. A contribution to the history of instrumental music], 1909, 463.

<sup>357</sup> Ernst Henderson studied at St. Trinity College, where he got his Bachelor’s degree, before moving to Harvard. See Ernestus Henderson, *Verbrechen und Strafen in England während der Zeit von Wilhelm I. (1066-1087) bis Edward I. (1272-1307)* [Crime and punishment in England from the times of Wilhelm I. (1066-1087) until Edward I- (1272-1307)], 1890, 292.

for example, was born in 1868 in Baltimore but went to school in Germany. He studied at the University of Leipzig and at the Sorbonne in Paris before starting his PhD at the University of Berlin, where he received his degree in 1892.<sup>358</sup> The other two candidates were Alexander Franz, who received his PhD in 1893,<sup>359</sup> and Louis Katzenstein, who received his PhD in 1896. The case of Katzenstein is, however, a little bit difficult. The title of the thesis states that he was born in Baltimore, but he mentions Bodenwerder in Saxony in his attached CV as his place of birth. There are, however, no birth records available.<sup>360</sup> He continued his studies in Berlin in 1892 and received his PhD four years later in 1896.<sup>361</sup> The remaining three American candidates had never studied at a university in the United States before moving to Germany. Francis Johnson, born in 1852 in Clarksville, Tennessee, studied at the University of Berlin for four years and received his PhD in 1893.<sup>362</sup> The other two PhD candidates, Eugen Ewh<sup>363</sup> and Henry Johnson,<sup>364</sup> studied at other German universities before finishing their PhDs in Berlin.

The group of American PhD candidates who received their PhD degrees in Berlin in the period from 1900 to 1913 is much more diverse and more “American” regarding the universities they attended before getting their PhDs in Berlin. Out of the 20 PhD candidates from the United States, only one, Adolf Stark, did not study at an American university. He was born in New Brunswick, New York, in 1877. He moved to Celle, Hannover, by the age of nine after the death of his father in 1886. He began his studies

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<sup>358</sup> See Robertus Fuchs: *Erasisstratea Quae in Librorum Memoria Latent Congesta Enarrantur Balatimorensis, Baltimorae Americae septentrionalis*, 1892, 307.

<sup>359</sup> Franz Alexander was a German citizen but was born in Rolla, Missouri, in 1870. See Alexander Franz, *Ostfriesland und die Niederlande zur Zeit der Regentschaft Albas 1567 – 1573* [Estern Friesland and The Netherlands during the regency of Alba 1667-1573], 1893, 314.

<sup>360</sup> See Data Files Relating to the Immigration of Germans to the United States, *Germans to America Passenger Data File, 1850-1897*, Manifest Record 38048

<sup>361</sup> See Louis Katzenstein, *Die Lohnfrage unter dem englischen Submissionswesen* [The question of salary under the English tender system], 1896, 333

<sup>362</sup> See Franciscus Johnson, *De Coniunctivi et Optativi Usu Euripidea In Enuntiatis Finalibus Et Condicionalibus*, 1893, 315.

<sup>363</sup> See Eugen Ewh, *Über die Lehre vom Syllogismus in der neueren Logik* [About teachings of Syllogism in the newer logic], 1891, 306.

<sup>364</sup> See Henry Johnson, *Gab es zwei voneinander unabhängige altenglische Übersetzungen der Dialoge Gregors?* [Were there two independent Old English translations of Gregor's dialogues?], 1884, 265.

in 1897 in Leipzig, moved to Marburg and later Berlin, where he received his PhD in 1903.<sup>365</sup> Meanwhile, 27 different universities and colleges were counted that American PhD candidates attended before joining the University of Berlin, 14 more than in the period before.<sup>366</sup> Additionally, one fifth of the 27 institutions counted more than one candidate. Those were Bryn Mawr College, the University of Michigan, the University of Chicago, Yale and Princeton. Other institutions, from which a comparably large group of PhD candidates had studied in Berlin in the previous period, lost their status as important recruiting universities. No student studied at Amherst College or Columbia University and only one had studied at Harvard before joining the University of Berlin. Another significant difference is that far more American PhD candidates had attended at least two colleges or universities before moving to Berlin. Five PhD candidates attended at least two colleges or universities before moving to Berlin. During the following period, their number rose to exactly 50% of all American PhD candidates at the University of Berlin.

It is difficult to explain these changes. The reputation of German institutions was still good, but it began to decline after the turn of the century, while the American institutions became more professional and successful. An indication of this is the exchange of professors between the American and German universities. It is unlikely that the German universities would have agreed if they had not seen their counterparts in the United States as equals. The increasing success of institutions such as Harvard or Columbia are also shown by the fact that they were no recruiting institutions for the University of Berlin. The only candidate who was at Harvard was Edward Ayers, born in 1865 in Egypt, Ohio. He attended the Mount Union College, and Boston University, before joining Harvard, where he received his Master's degree in 1898. He received his PhD from the University of Berlin in 1901.<sup>367</sup> Then there is the case of Roman Frederick. He was born in 1876 in Sidney, Ohio, and started his studies at Normal University, Lebanon, Ohio, where he received his Bachelor degree

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<sup>365</sup> See Adolf Stark, *Syntaktische Untersuchungen im Anschluss an die Predigten und Gedichte Olivier Maillards (1430 – 1502) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des ersten Auftretens des neufranzösischen Sprachgebrauchs* [Syntactic examinations of the sermonizes and poems of Oliver Maillard (1430-1502) with a focus on the first appearance of the use of New French], 1903, 388.

<sup>366</sup> This includes all universities a PhD candidate attended before joining the University of Berlin.

<sup>367</sup> See Edward E. Ayers, *Arbeiterversicherung und Armenpflege* [Workers insurance and poor relief], 1901, 363.

in 1899 after studying for seven semesters. After he had worked as a teacher for two years, he started studying at Yale, where he received another Bachelor's degree in 1902. After that, he worked as a teacher until 1907. In October of the same year, he was appointed by the State of Kentucky to study the German education system. He moved to Germany in January 1908 to pursue his research. During his time in Germany, he studied in Bonn for one semester and in Berlin for four, after which he received his PhD in 1910. While one could say that his stay in Germany was financially supported by the State of Kentucky, it also had a clear purpose. This is also reflected in the topic of his thesis as he compared the continuing education at German business schools with industrial and commercial schools in the United States.<sup>368</sup>

There were German PhD candidates who studied at Harvard either before or during their studies in Berlin. One was Ernst Viktor Wolff. He was born in Berlin in 1889. He visited the United States twice before receiving his PhD degree from the University of Berlin in 1913. Unlike Leichtentritt, he took his *Abitur* in Germany and started his studies right after that at the University of Berlin in autumn 1908. He went to the United States for three months in the following autumn as the assistant of privy councillor Max Jakob Friedländer. In the following winter, he went again with Friedländer, who this time was teaching at Harvard as part of the exchange programme.<sup>369</sup> Another interesting case is Karl Detlev Jessen. He moved to the United States and studied there at the University of Iowa and the University of Chicago, where he also received his bachelor's degree. Afterwards, he moved back to the German Empire and studied at the University of Kiel and the University of Berlin, where he received his PhD degree in 1901. Jessen seems to have finished his primary education in Germany before moving to the United States at the age of 20. He worked as a factory worker, reporter, and later teacher at Eureka College in Illinois before joining the University of Iowa. His employment as a teacher indicates that the American institutions seemed to have recognised his education in Germany as equivalent to theirs.<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>368</sup> See Frederick W. Roman, *Die deutschen gewerblichen und kaufmännischen Fortbildungs- und Fachschulen und die industriellen und kommerziellen Schulen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* [The German business and trade advance and professional schools and the industrial and commercial schools in the United States of America], 1910, 483.

<sup>369</sup> See Viktor Ernst Wolff, *Lieder Robert Schumanns in ersten und späteren Fassungen* [Songs of Robert Schuman in their first and later form], 1913, 540.

<sup>370</sup> See Karl Detlev Jessen, *Heinse's Stellung zur bildenden Kunst und ihrer Ästhetik* [Heinse's position regarding art and aesthetic], 1901, 365.

### 4.5.2.3 England and London

There were not that many PhD candidates from the United Kingdom. Only two were recorded in the period before 1900 and four in the period after. On the other hand, this is more than the PhD candidates from countries like The Netherlands, with a total of four candidates, or France, with a total of three.

The first candidate from Great Britain was Percy Andreae. He was born in 1858 in London and received his PhD from the University of Berlin in 1887. He studied in Strasbourg and London before he joined the University of Berlin, where he studied for four years. It is, however, unclear at which college he studied in London as he does not mention the institution, nor does he mention if he received a degree.<sup>371</sup> The next candidate from the United Kingdom who received a PhD was Ernst Euting. He received his degree in 1899. Unlike Andreae, he received his primary education in Germany, probably because both of his parents were German citizens,<sup>372</sup> and studied only at the University of Berlin.<sup>373</sup> The four candidates in the following period all studied at an English college or university before moving to Berlin. James Douglas Drummond, who received his PhD in 1905, for example, was born in 1880 in Bradford, York. He passed the Senior Local Examination in Oxford in 1900, which was a degree at a level between the German *Abitur* and the Bachelor degree.<sup>374</sup> Otto Stursberg, who was born in 1871 in Bath to German parents, and received his PhD in 1904.<sup>375</sup> After studying at the University of Bonn and working as a missionary for ten years, he joined the University of Berlin in 1906.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>371</sup> See Andreae Percy, *Die Handschriften des Pricke of Conscience von Richard Rolle de Hampole im britischen Museum* [The handwritings of Pricke of Conscience of Richard Rolle de Hampole in the British Museum], 1887, 281.

<sup>372</sup> See The National Archives of the UK (TNA), *Census Returns of England and Wales, Kew, Surrey, England*, Public Record Office (PRO), 1871, 76.

<sup>373</sup> See Ernst Euting, *Zur Geschichte der Blasinstrumente im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* [The history of wind instruments in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century], 1899, 347.

<sup>374</sup> See James Douglas Drummond, *Studien zur Kriegsgeschichte Englands im 12. Jahrhundert* [Studies about England's history of war in the 12<sup>th</sup> century], 1905, 404.

<sup>375</sup> See The National Archives of the UK (TNA), *Census Returns of England and Wales, Kew, Surrey, England*, Public Record Office (PRO), 1881, 25.

<sup>376</sup> See Otto Stursberg, *Das Caitanyacaritamrta des Krsnadasa Kaviraja. Eine altbengalische Lebensgeschichte Caitanyas* [The Caitanyacaritamrta of Krsnadasa Kaviraja, and old Bengal story of life], 1907, 432.



This low number of PhD candidates from the United Kingdom contrasts with the comparatively high number of non-British PhD candidates at the University of Berlin who had, at one time, lived, worked or studied in the United Kingdom. In the period after 1900, five foreign PhD candidates and 47 German PhD candidates mentioned in their CV that they had been in the United Kingdom. This means that every 20<sup>th</sup> candidate had been to the United Kingdom at least once. Out of these 52 candidates, only two had studied at the University of London. Fritz Karl Mann, born in 1883 in Berlin, studied Law in Freiburg, Munich and Berlin as well as English language at the University of London. After this, he completed a PhD in law at the University of Gottingen. A year later, he started studying again at the University of Berlin, where, after he had spent a semester in Paris, he received his PhD in 1913.<sup>377</sup> It is difficult to qualify his stay at the University of London, as it was only a degree-awarding body. He either attended the pre-college courses offered by the University of London, or studied at one of its colleges, which he does, however, not mention. The other candidate, Kurt Mehnert, does mention his college. Mehnert, who was born in 1876 in Greifenhain, Brandenburg, attended the University Extension Meeting of 1900 in Cambridge, after which he studied at UCL for one semester.<sup>378</sup> After a semester in Paris, he moved back to Berlin, where he received his PhD in 1902.<sup>379</sup>

While some PhD candidates mentioned they went to London to improve their language skills<sup>380</sup> or just for a longer period,<sup>381</sup> many went to the United Kingdom to pursue research for their theses. Out of the 52 candidates, 20 mention this as their primary reason for their stay. An exception is Otto Goebel who received his PhD from the University of Berlin in 1911. He went to the United Kingdom to improve his

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<sup>377</sup> See Fritz Karl Mann, *Die Volkswirtschafts- und Steuerpolitik des Marschalls Vauban* [The national and tax economy policy of Marshall Vauban], 1913, 536.

<sup>378</sup> It is difficult to interpret these contradictory results. It could be that Mann thought it might be more impressive to mention the University of London instead of a college. On the other hand, Mehnert could have thought that University College London already had a better reputation than the University of London in Germany so thought it might be better to mention the college.

<sup>379</sup> See Kurt Mehnert, *Über Lamartines politische Gedichte* [About Lamartines political poetries], 1902, 377.

<sup>380</sup> See Hans Maier, *Entstehungsgeschichte von Byrons „Childe Harold's Pilgrimage“*. *Gesang I und II* [Development history of Byron's «Childe Harold's Pilgrimage». Canto I and II], 1911, 500.

<sup>381</sup> See Kurz Schroeder, *Platonismus in der englischen Renaissance vor und bei Lyly* [Platonism in the English Renaissance before and after Lyly], 1907, 436.

language skills. After that, he worked as a trade expert for the German Empire in Russia and travelled through various countries including Finland, China and Japan. This explains why his thesis, analysing the situation of Russian factory employees, was not a topic related to the United Kingdom.<sup>382</sup>

Other candidates who mention London do not mention a college or the University of London. Edwin Francis Gay, for example, was born in 1867 in Detroit, Michigan, and received his PhD in 1902. He was in London for research at the British Museum for his thesis about the history of enclosure in England.<sup>383</sup> Ernst Rühl, born in Frankfurt am Main in 1880, was in Oxford and London for his thesis about Grobianus in England.<sup>384</sup> Finally, eight PhD candidates were at some point studying at a university in the United Kingdom. Carl Brinkmann, for example, who later became a sociology professor at the University of Berlin, studied at Queen's College Oxford for three terms between 1904 and 1906 as a Rhodes Scholar.<sup>385</sup> He received a Bachelor of Letters from Oxford in June 1907 and a year later his PhD from the University of Berlin.<sup>386</sup> All other candidates were in the United Kingdom for other reasons like travel or work, or they did not disclose the reason for their stay. Walter Zopf, who received his PhD in 1910, for example, researched the use of language in the church documents of St. Mary and Hill, London, but does not mention if he was affiliated to any college in London. He mentions only that he went to England for a study trip and for a summer school in Edinburgh.<sup>387</sup> Meanwhile, Samuel Blach was in Oxford for the Oxford Summer Meeting of 1902. While it is likely that he travelled through London on his way to Oxford, he does not mention that he was in London for research even though he was studying the written language of the Paulus School in London of the early

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<sup>382</sup> See Otto Goebel, *Die russischen Industriearbeiter um 1905* [The Russian industrial worker around 1905], 1911, 507.

<sup>383</sup> See Edwin Francis Gay, *Zur Geschichte der Einhegungen in England* [History of enclosure in England], 1902, 375.

<sup>384</sup> See Ernst Rühl, *Grobianus in England* [Grobianus in England], 1904, 390.

<sup>385</sup> Even though he studied at Oxford, he changed his positive attitude towards the United Kingdom with the advent of the Second World War. See Charles E. McClelland, *The German historians and England: A study in nineteenth-century views* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 275.

<sup>386</sup> See Carl Brinkmann, *Die Entstehung des Märkischen Landbuchs Kaiser Karls IV.* [The creation of of the March book of land of Emperor Karl IV.], 1908, 448.

<sup>387</sup> See Walter Zopf, *Zum Sprachgebrauch in den Kirchen-Urkunden von St.-Mary und Hill-London* [Regarding the use of language in the church documents of St. Mary and Hill-London], 1910, 485.

16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>388</sup> Travelling to the places, archives and institutions a candidate was researching does not seem to have been a requirement in Berlin. This does not only include London but the whole of the United Kingdom. Friedrich Hardegen, for example, born in 1882 in Barmen, Rhine Province, received his PhD in 1905. According to his thesis, he had never been to the United Kingdom even though his thesis was about the imperial politics of Henry II, King of England.<sup>389</sup>

## 4.5 Religion

PhD candidates at the University of Berlin were obliged to share this information in their CVs. Nevertheless, there are three challenges one must be aware of when comparing the data:

- The religious affiliation does not indicate how religious or how actively practicing a candidate was as all candidates were obliged to include this information.
- While some candidates did share information if they had been baptised or had changed their religion, there was no requirement to do so. This is especially a challenge regarding Jewish candidates who might have changed their religion to improve their employment opportunities but did not add this information to their CVs.<sup>390</sup>
- The constitution of the German Empire of 1871 enforced equal rights for all religions. It is not possible to say if this affected the student body as the official statistics released by the German Empire did not include a comparison of the

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<sup>388</sup> See Samuel Black, *Die Schriftsprache in der Londoner Paulsschule zu Anfang des XVI. Jahrhunderts (bei Colet, Lily, Linacre, Grocyn)* [The use of written language in London's Paul's school at the beginning of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century (at Colet, Lily, Linacre, Grocyn), 1905, 400.

<sup>389</sup> See Friedrich Hardegen, *Imperialpolitik König Heinrichs II. von England* [Imperial policy of King Henry II of England], 1905, 402.

<sup>390</sup> See Aleksandra Pawilczek, "Kontinuität des informellen Konsens. Die Berufungspolitik der Universität Berlin und ihre jüdischen Dozenten im Kaiserreich in der Weimarer Republik," [Continuity of the informal consent. The appointment policy of the University of Berlin and its Jewish lecturers during the German Empire and the Republic of Weimar], in *Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, [Continuity and Discontinuity in the history of science in the 20<sup>th</sup> century], Rüdiger vom Bruch, ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 70.

religious affiliation of the students. The first time the religion of the students of the German Empire was statistically recorded was after the First World War.<sup>391</sup>

Jewish candidates were all collected into the same group due to the difficulty of separating the various Jewish religious movements. The Christian PhD candidates were primarily separated into Protestants (which included all forms of reformed churches like Lutherans or Calvinists), Catholics and Orthodox. Other Christians, who did not fit into any of these three groups, like Anglicans or Mennonites, were counted as "Others". This category also included candidates of other religions and those who described themselves as unaffiliated. This categorisation is, although more detailed, the same as that used by the yearly statistical reports of the German Empire.

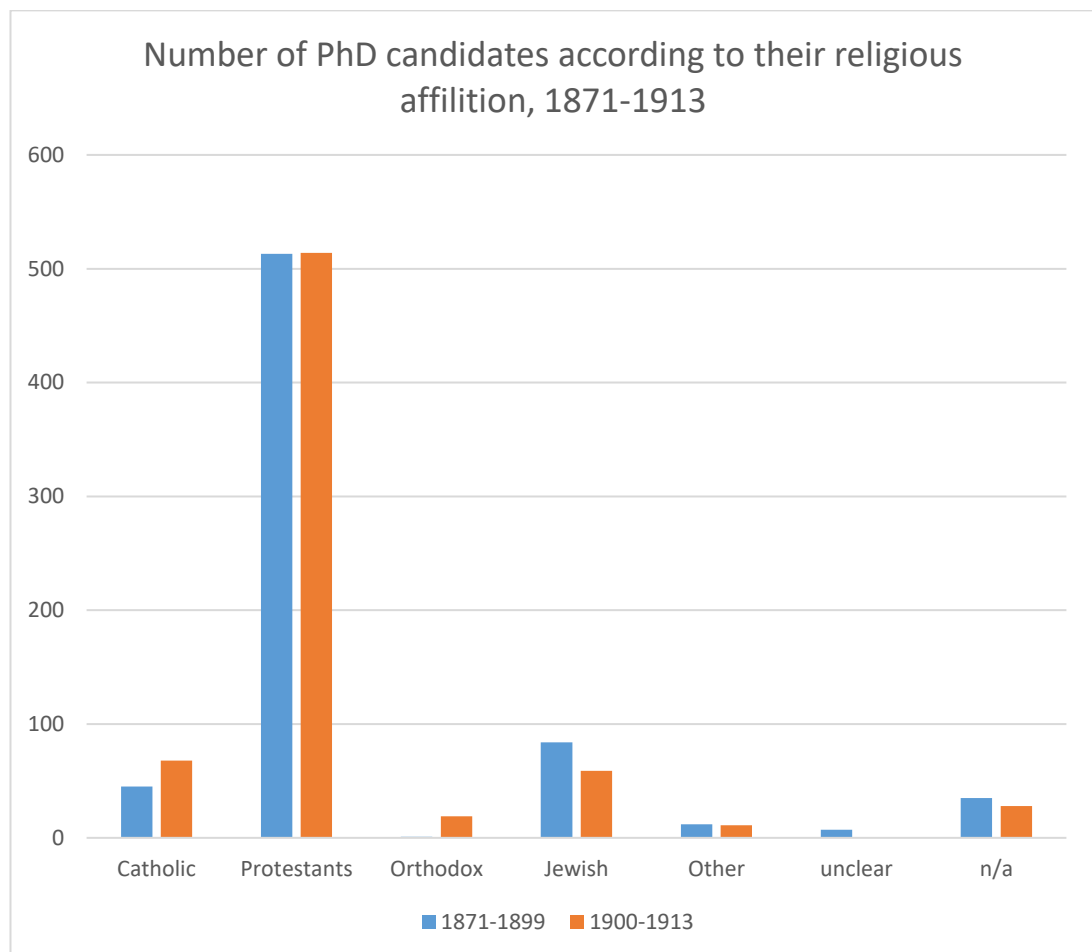
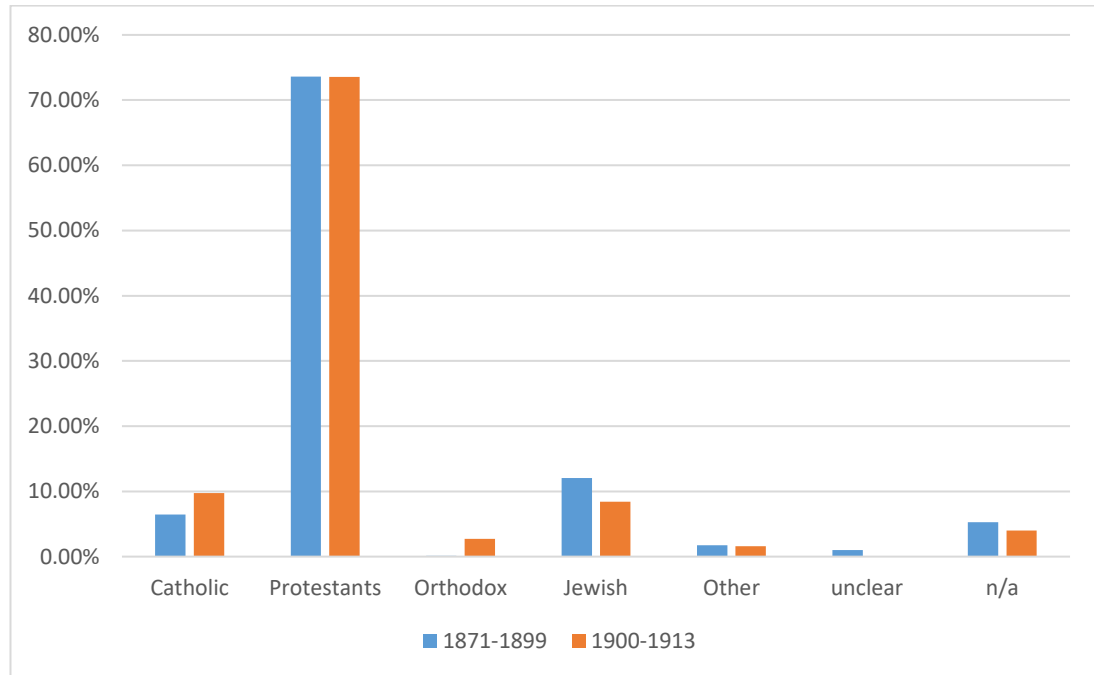


Figure 16 Number of PhD Candidates according to their religious affiliation, 1871-1913

<sup>391</sup> See Christopher Dowe, *Auch Bildungsbürger: Katholische Studierende und Akademiker im Kaiserreich* [Also members of the educated classes: Catholic students and academics in the Empire], *Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft* [Critical studies in history], vol 171 (Göttingen; Tübingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 304.



*Figure 17 Percentage of PhD Candidates according to their religious affiliation, 1871-1913*

#### 4.6.1 The Christians

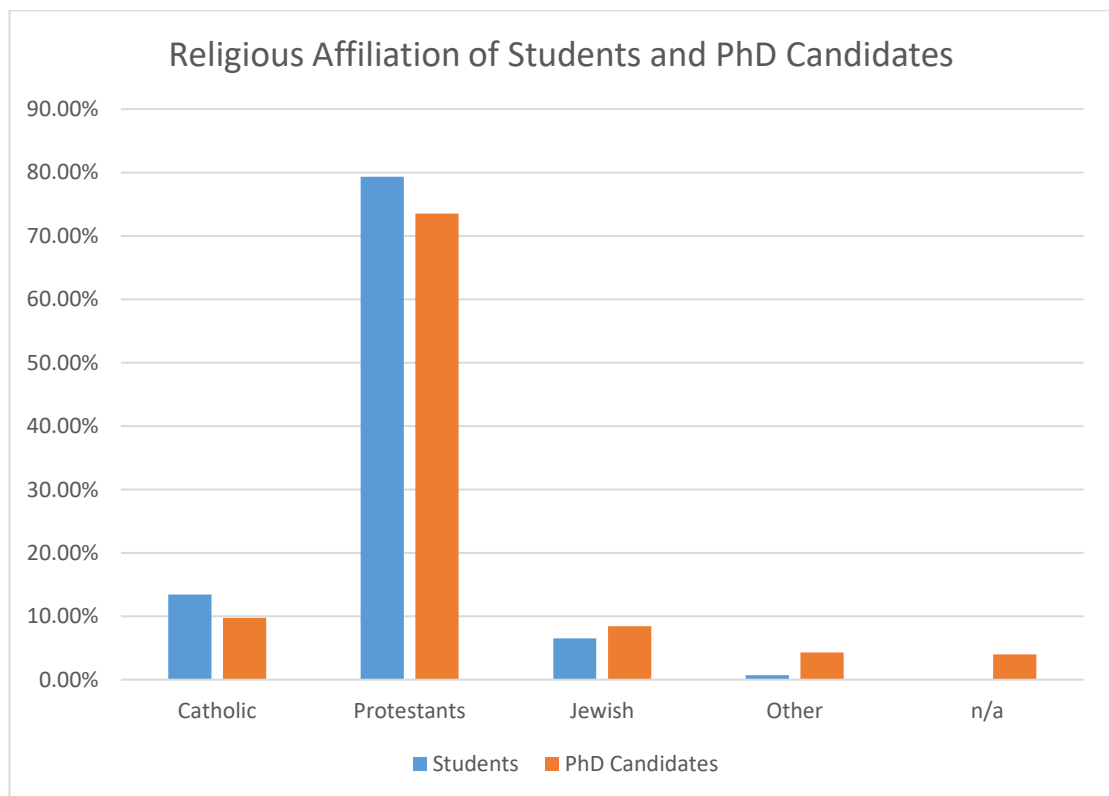
Christians were by far the largest group of PhD candidates at the University of Berlin. In the period before 1900, 80.4% of all PhD candidates were Christians and this percentage rose to 83.57% during the following period. One can assume that at least one percent of this rising number of Christian PhD candidates was caused by the fact that there were not any unclear cases in the period after 1900 while the number of PhD candidates not sharing their religious affiliation dropped by more than one percent.

The largest group of Christian PhD candidates were Protestants. Before 1900, 73.82% of all PhD candidates were Protestants, while their percentage dropped to 72.61% after 1900. Catholic PhD candidates were the second largest group of PhD candidates at the University of Berlin, with 6.44% before and 10.89% after 1900. Finally, only one candidate stated that he was Christian Orthodox during the first period until 1900. In the next period, their number rose to 20 candidates or 2.02%.

While the German Empire did not record information about the religious affiliation of its students, Prussia did in its own statistics. Due to this, it is possible to compare the religious affiliation of all students with PhD candidates with the caveat that the

numbers do not exist for every year.<sup>392</sup> During the summer term of 1911, for example, the University of Berlin recorded 2,562 Protestants, 424 Catholics, 226 Jews and 15 students with another religious affiliation in the Faculty of Philosophy. During the following semester, the records state that 2,790 Protestants, 483 Catholics, 214 Jews and 26 with another religious affiliation were studying in the Faculty of Philosophy.<sup>393</sup> This means that during these two terms, 13.43% of the students in the Faculty of Philosophy were Catholics, 79.32% were Protestants, 6.54% were Jewish and 0.71% qualified as “Others”.

Comparing these numbers with the PhD candidates in the period after 1900, one can see that there were by percentage more Catholic and Protestant students than PhD candidates compared to Jewish students. Even if the 4% of PhD candidates who did not share the information about their religious affiliation were distributed among the Catholic and Protestant PhD candidates, their percentage would still be lower.



*Figure 18 Percentage of PhD candidates (1900-1913) and students (1911/1912) according to their religious affiliation*

<sup>392</sup> In addition, the statistics only separated Prussians and “other Germans“. It is unclear how foreigners were counted or if they were not added at all.

<sup>393</sup> See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten*, 77.

Catholic PhD candidates were on average 26.64 years old during the first period and 27.57 in the period after 1900. Protestant PhD candidates, with an average age of 24.92 during the first and 26.42 during the second period, were always about a year younger than the Catholic PhD candidates. The reason for this difference is that the Catholics who pursued a career with the clergy usually studied Catholic Theology at a Catholic institution before they started their studies at the University of Berlin, although the University of Berlin had a Catholic Theological Faculty. The average age of these 25 candidates during the period after 1900 was 30.76 years. Friedrich Vogelsang, for example, was born in 1877 and started his studies at the Episcopal Philosophical-Theological Institution in Breslau. After studying for two semesters, he moved to Freiburg and Munich, where he studied Theology for one semester each. He changed his subject to Oriental Philology and moved to Berlin, where he started his studies in the autumn of 1900. He received his PhD from the University of Berlin in 1904.<sup>394</sup>

Out of these 25 candidates, 17 were ordained as priests or chaplains before they started their studies in Berlin. The average age of these 17 was at 31.53. Emanuel Nickel was of these candidates. He received his PhD in 1908 by the age of 37. He was born in 1871 in Zabrze, Silesia. Like Vogelsang, he studied in Breslau but was ordained as a priest in 1898 after studying for six semesters. He worked as a chaplain in Gleiwitz, Silesia, and as a cleric at the prison in Plötzensee, near Berlin, during which he started his studies at the University of Berlin.<sup>395</sup> If these 25 candidates are removed from the group of Catholic PhD candidates, the average age drops by one year from 27.59 to 26.58.

The only Protestant German PhD candidate who worked as a clergyman before joining the University of Berlin was Karl Engelhardt. He received his PhD in 1910 at the age of 36, while working as a pastor in Cologne. He was born in Hoffenheim, near Cologne, Rhine Province, in 1874. He studied in Heidelberg, Strassbourg and Berlin

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<sup>394</sup> See Friedrich Vogelsang, *Die Klagen des Bauers (aus Papyrus 3023 und 3025 der königlichen Museen zu Berlin)* [Laments of a farmer (from the papyrus 3032 and 3025 from the royal museum in Berlin)], 1904, 36.

<sup>395</sup> See Emanuel Nickel, *Die polnischen Mundart des Oberschlesischen Industriebezirks* [The Polish idiom in the Upper Silesia industrial area], 1908, 22.

from 1893 to 1898, after which he worked as a vicar and pastor until January 1910 in Ittingen.<sup>396</sup>

A comparison with Orthodox PhD candidates is difficult due to their small numbers. There was only one candidate who described himself as being Orthodox before 1900. This was Nicolaus Pichtos was born in Metzowon, Greece, in 1860. He received his PhD at the University of Berlin in 1894 at the age of 34.<sup>397</sup> During the following period, the average age of Orthodox candidates was with 28.40 higher than average. The most likely reason was the fact that all Orthodox PhD candidates were foreigners. Their pre-university education was likely to have been insufficient to start studying in Berlin by the age of 18. They had to start their studies at other institutions and move to Berlin or another German university as soon they met the requirement. Stancu Bradisteanu, for example, was born in 1881 in Bradesti, Romania. He started his studies at the University of Bucharest in 1901, where he received a degree in theology in 1906 and a degree in law in 1908. After that, he relocated to the German Empire, which he, according to his CV, saw as the place that agreed with his personality and culture. He received his PhD from the University of Berlin at the age of 31.<sup>398</sup>

The rising number of German Catholic PhD candidates could be connected to the end of the conflict between Protestants and Catholics after the foundation of the German Empire known as *Kulturkampf* as it was no longer a 'problem' for a Catholic to study a dominantly Protestant university.<sup>399</sup> This also affected the geographical background of the Catholic PhD candidates. In the period before 1900, 0.55% of all PhD candidates from Berlin were Catholic. This number rose to 2.78% during the following period.

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<sup>396</sup> He was not required to fulfill the Triennium because he had already studied for five years beforehand and was therefore able to work while finishing his thesis. See Karl Engelhardt, *Ein badisches Bauerndorf vor 50 Jahren und jetzt, Bevölkerung und Wirtschaftsleben* [A farmer's village in Baden, 50 years ago and now, population and economic life], 1910, 486.

<sup>397</sup> See Nicolaus M. Pichtos, *August Wilhelm v. Schlegels aesthetische Ansichten. Geschichtlich betrachtet* [August Wilhelm v. Schlegels aesthetic views, a historic perspective], 1894, 321.

<sup>398</sup> See Stancu Bradisteanu. *Die Beziehungen Russlands und Frankreichs zur Türkei in den Jahren 1806 und 1807* [Russia's and France's relationship to Turkey in 1806 and 1807], 1912, 520.

<sup>399</sup> See Jürgen Strötz, *Der Katholizismus im deutschen Kaiserreich 1871 bis 1918*, Studien zu Religionspädagogik und Pastoralgeschichte [The Catholicism in the German Empire 1871 to 1918, Studies about religious education and pastoral] (Hamburg: Kovač, 2005), 149-150.



One could argue that the rising number of Catholics in Berlin also reflects this, at least the growing percentage of Catholics in Berlin. 6.3% of the people living in Berlin were Catholics by 1871. Thirty years later, this number has risen to 10% and during the following years, it rose by another 1.7% to 11.7%. At the same time, the number of Protestants in Berlin dropped from 89% in 1871 to 82% in 1910 compared to 62.3% and 62.5% in the German Empire.<sup>400</sup> One could further argue that the drop in number of PhD candidates from Berlin who described themselves as Protestants from 83.15% in the period before 1900 to 81.79% was due to a larger diversification among Protestants as well as an increasing number of non-denominational PhD candidates. Orthodox PhD candidates with the overall development is still difficult. Until 1871, they were a group of their own within the statistics. This changed with the foundation of the German Empire, when they were included in the group of other Christian affiliations. The German Empire always counted less than 1% of its people as part of this group, which is about the same as during the period before 1900, and far less than during the following period when nearly 3% of the PhD candidates were Christian Orthodox.<sup>401</sup>

Out of the 66 foreign PhD candidates between 1871 and 1900, 44 were counted as Christians - six Catholics, 37 Protestants and one Orthodox. No nationality was dominant among the Catholic candidates. Two Catholic PhD candidates came from Russia, the remaining four Catholic PhD candidates came from Austria, Luxemburg, Rumania and Turkey. The situation is different regarding Protestant PhD candidates. Out of 37 Protestant foreign PhD candidates, 16 were born in the United States and nine in Russia. The rest were distributed among countries like Switzerland, with four, or Hungary and Austria with two each. During the second period, 96 foreign Christian PhD candidates were recorded. 25 of these were Catholic, 52 Protestant and 18 Orthodox. Regarding the Catholics, the Austrians were clearly the dominant group, with 12 out of 25 candidates born in Austria. This also means that more than 10% of all Catholic PhD candidates in the period after 1900 at the University of Berlin were born in Austria. The Protestants from the United States lost their dominant role. While they were still the largest group, with 15 candidates, they had only one more than the Russians. Unlike the Russian Protestant PhD candidates, of whom none mentions any religious education, four of the American Protestant PhD candidates were educated at religious institutions. Nearly a third of the American Protestant PhD

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<sup>400</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistische Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches*, 1880, 13, 1910, 9.

<sup>401</sup> See *ibid.*, 1880, 13, 1900, 7, 1910, 9.

candidates had a religious education before they started their studies at the University of Berlin but only one had a theological education. Edward Ayers was ordained as a Protestant priest in 1894 while studying "Sacred Theology" at Boston University.<sup>402</sup>

An unexpected discovery was made when looking at the lives and accomplishments of these candidates. The first is that the rising number of Orthodox candidates is not connected to the rising number of PhD candidates from the Russian Empire. Of the 29 PhD candidates born in Russia, 13 were Protestants, 11 were Jews, three did not disclose their religious affiliation and another one was Catholic. The largest group of Orthodox PhD candidates came from Romania. Nine of the nineteen Orthodox candidates were born in Romania, four were born in Bulgaria, three in Serbia and one each from Macedonia and Austria, and one without any information about his place of birth. The only Orthodox candidate from Russia was Alexander von Villkoff, whose father was an Orthodox priest. He was born in Chriponowo, Nowogorod, in 1872. He started his studies in Berlin in spring 1896 and received his PhD in 1905.<sup>403</sup>

#### 4.6.2 The Jews

Overall, 163 Jewish PhD candidates were counted, of which 84 were recorded in the period before and 79 in the period after 1900. Jewish candidates had the lowest average age during both periods with an average of 24.15 before and 25.68 after 1900. The importance of (professional) education for the Jewish community is also shown by the fact that, during the academic year of 1910/1911, there were more Jewish than Catholic students in the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Medicine whereas in the Faculty of Philosophy, the number of Jewish students was half the number of Catholics.<sup>404</sup> In 1861, 4% of the population in Berlin was Jewish.<sup>405</sup> Ten years later, the number had risen to 5%, and dropped to 4.3% in 1910.<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> See Edward E. Ayers, *Arbeiterversicherung und Armenpflege*, 1901, 363.

<sup>403</sup> See Alexander von Villkoff, *Die Lage der russischen Bauernwirtschaft* [The situation of the Russian farming economy], 1905, 408

<sup>404</sup> See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten mit Einschluss des Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg, der bischöflichen Klerikerseminare und der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Akademie für das militärische Bildungswesen zu Berlin für das Studienjahr zu Ostern 1911/1912*, 77.

<sup>405</sup> See Herrmann Schwage, *Die Resultate der Berliner Volkszählung vom 3. Dezember 1867* [The results of the census of Berlin of the 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1867] (s.n., Berlin, 1867), 30-31.

<sup>406</sup> See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistische Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches*, 1880, 13, 1900, 7, 1910, 9.

It is difficult to explain the lower number of Jewish PhD candidates during the second period. Jewish students achieved full equality regarding access to higher education in 1871.<sup>407</sup> On the other hand, there was pressure on Jewish researchers and scholars to change their religion as their career chances in academia were virtually non-existent.<sup>408</sup> Usually, this was an unofficial requirement to improve their career chances. The ordination of Max Traube, an art history professor at the University of Berlin, was delayed because he refused to change his religion. Out of eleven scholars who were ordained by 1906 by German universities, and who were originally Jewish, seven had changed their religious affiliation in the 1880s. This change occurred during their teenage years. A change did not necessarily mean that they were no longer discriminated against. On the other hand, the Jewish emancipatory movement, which grew stronger during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, acted as a counter movement.<sup>409</sup>

The lower percentage of Jewish PhD candidates in the period after 1900, could mean that the emancipatory movement was either not that successful or came too late to affect the number of Jewish PhD candidates. If a candidate who was born Jewish changed his religious affiliation, he was most likely to have done so before starting his studies and he would not have mentioned this in his CV. If the Jewish emancipatory movement during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century had had a reconcilable effect, it would have been seen in the years before 1914 with a rise in the percentage of Jewish PhD candidates compared to the years before. However, there is no such effect. The highest percentage was achieved in 1909 with 10.71%. The year before, the lowest percentage was recorded with only 4.26%. These results seem to be too random to justify any statement regarding the success of the movement. It might be worth including the Jewish PhD candidates from the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Medicine to get a better picture of development.

Regarding the German Empire, the Jews came from various regions and provinces. The largest group came from Berlin: 12.97% of the PhD candidates from Berlin before and 10.22% after 1900 were Jewish. However, the number of Jewish PhD candidates from the Prussian provinces was, by percentage and numbers, higher before 1900 than after. Out of the 84 Jewish PhD candidates in the period before 1900, 77 were

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<sup>407</sup> See Marita Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*, 116-118.

<sup>408</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, "A slow farewell to Humboldt? Stages in the History of German universities, 1810-1945" in *German universities, past and future: Crisis or renewal?*, Mitchell G. Ash, ed. (Providence (RI): Berghain Books, 1997), 15-16.

<sup>409</sup> See *ibid.*

born in Prussia. In the period after 1900, the number of PhD candidates dropped to 51. Meanwhile, the number Jewish PhD candidates from other of other German states and provinces rose from only three candidates in the period before 1900 to eleven in the period after.

The number of non-German Jewish PhD candidates rose from three in the period before 1900, to 17 in the period after. Two of the candidates before 1900 were from Austria. One was Osias Thon, who received his PhD in 1895, was born in Lviv, Galicia, in 1870.<sup>410</sup>The other was David Neumark, born in 1866, in Sczcerzec, which is, like Lviv, also a part of Galicia, and who received his PhD in 1896.<sup>411</sup> Both were ordained as rabbis in 1897.<sup>412</sup> The other non-German Jewish candidate, who also received his PhD in 1896, was Louis Katzenstein from Baltimore.<sup>413</sup> During the following period, the largest number of foreign Jewish PhD candidates came from Russia, with twelve of the 17 candidates. Two candidates came from Austria and one each from the Netherlands, Hungary and Sweden. Out of the twelve Jewish PhD candidates from Russia, only two mention in their CV a connection to their religion. One is Berka Gurewitsch, who received his PhD in 1901, stated that he had published several books in New Hebrew.<sup>414</sup>An interesting case is Abraham Neufeld. He received his PhD in 1903 and was a member of the Zionistic Action Committee. He published papers about Palestine, Syria and Zionism.<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>410</sup> See Osias Thon, *Die Grundprinzipien der Kantischen Moralphilosophie* [The basic principles of the Kantian moral philosophy], 1895, 328.

<sup>411</sup> See David Neumark, *Die Freiheitslehre bei Kant und Schopenhauer* [The doctrine of liberty of Kant and Schopenhauer], 1896, 334.

<sup>412</sup> Osias Thon became involved in the Zionist movement and remained in Galicia where he died in 1936. David Neumark was appointed by Kaufmann Kohler as professor of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in 1907. Kaufmann Kohler, who was born in Fürth, Germany, studied in Berlin in 1867 and received a PhD from the University of Erlangen in 1868. See Jewish Daily Bulletin, *Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, Emeritus of Hebrew Union College, Dies*, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1926.

<sup>413</sup> See Louis Katzenstein, *Die Lohnfrage unter dem englischen Submissionswesen*, 1896, 333.

<sup>414</sup> See Berka Gurewitsch, *Die Entwicklung der menschlichen Bedürfnisse und die sociale Gliederung der Gesellschaft* [The development of human desires and social segmentation of society], 1901, 367.

<sup>415</sup> See Abraham Neufeld, *Die führenden Nationalexportländer* [The leading exporting nations], 1903, 386.

A 'subgroup' of PhD candidates were those who studied at a Jewish Seminary before receiving their PhD. Like Catholic and Protestant PhD candidates, especially those who were ordained, they were at a religious institution that prepared them as rabbis or religious teachers. Four candidates mentioned that they had studied at the Jewish Seminary in Berlin before or while they were studying at the University of Berlin. It is not impossible, however, that there were other Jewish candidates who had studied at a Jewish Seminary but did not mention it due to the possible negative effects on their career. Osias Thon<sup>416</sup> and David Neumark<sup>417</sup> are two examples as neither of them mention that they had studied at the Jewish Seminary but worked as rabbis later. Out of the four PhD candidates who mentioned that they studied at a Jewish Seminary, only Emil Levy mentions that he received a diploma as a rabbi. Born in 1869 in Dambach, Rhine Province, he started his studies in Berlin in 1897. He received his diploma as a rabbi in 1903. Two years later, he received his PhD from the University of Berlin.<sup>418</sup> Meanwhile, Armin Blau was educated as a rabbi at the Rabbinical Seminary in Hildesheim under the supervision of his uncle, David Tzvi Hoffmann, to whom he dedicated his PhD thesis, before he started his studies at the University of Berlin.<sup>419</sup> The other two candidates are Fritz Leopold Steinthal and Max Schlössinger. Steinthal, born in 1889 in Berlin, studied at the Jewish Seminary Berlin and received his PhD in 1911. Schlössinger, who received his PhD in 1902, was born in 1877 in Heidelberg. He started his studies at the University of Berlin in 1898, studied at the same time at the Jewish Seminary<sup>420</sup> and was ordained as a rabbi in 1903.<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>416</sup> See Die Neue Welt, *Osias Thon gestorben* [Osias Thon dies], 17<sup>th</sup> November 1936, 1.

<sup>417</sup> David Neumark was educated as a rabbi before he started his career as a scholar first at the University of Lviv and later at the University of Berlin. He attended the Jewish Seminary in Berlin while finishing his thesis. See Andreas Gotzmann, "Neumark, David", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* [New German Biography], vol. 19., Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften [Historic commission of the Bavarian academy of Science], ed. (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1999), 164.

<sup>418</sup> See Emil Levy, *Über die theophoren Personennamen der alten Ägypter zur Zeit des neuen Reiches (Dyn. XCIII – XX)* [About theophoric first names in Old Egypt during the time of the new Empire (Dyn. XCIII-XX)], 1905, 398.

<sup>419</sup> See Armin Blau: *James Thomson's „Seasons“*. *Eine Genetische Stiluntersuchung*, 1910, 479.

<sup>420</sup> See Max Schlössinger, *Ibn Kaisân's Commentar zur Mo'allaqa des 'Amr ibn Kultûm* [Ibn Kaisân's comment on the Mo'allaqa of 'Amr ibn Kultûm], 1902, 369.

<sup>421</sup> Herman Rosenthal and Frederick T. Haneman, "Schlössinger, Max," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Isidor Singer, ed., vol. 11 (New York (NY): Funk and Wagnalls, 1905), 104.

### 4.6.3 Other Religious Affiliations

The group of PhD candidates mentioning another religious affiliation is the second smallest group with eleven PhD candidates in the period before and thirteen in the period after 1900. The average age of the candidates before 1900 is 28.67, which is four years higher than the overall average, but it drops to 26.20 years after 1900.

The Christians among the PhD candidates whose religious affiliation was qualified as other are the majority in this group. The largest group in the period before 1900 were the Greek-Catholic PhD candidates with four PhD candidates. All of them came from Eastern European countries. Three candidates stated they had no religious affiliation, two of these were born in Germany, in Berlin and the Grand-Duchy of Hessen, and one, Alfred Gudeman, in the United States of America. The four remaining candidates all had a different affiliation, one Anglican, one Mennonite, one Buddhist and one PhD candidate, Albert Mayer-Reinach, stated that he was following “an old belief”. Although his parents were Jewish, he seems to have preferred not to disclose this information by using the term “an old belief” instead.<sup>422</sup> He was born in 1876 in Mannheim and received his PhD in 1899.<sup>423</sup>

During the following period, the PhD candidates without a religious affiliation were the largest group of PhD candidates within this group. There was only one Greek-Catholic and two Unitarian PhD candidates. There does not seem to have been a connection between the two Unitarian PhD candidates as they received their PhDs in different years, 1907 and 1909, and were from the United States on the one hand and from the Province of Schleswig Holstein on the other hand. There was one Anglican, one Mennonite and one Shintoist. Davan Manekji, who received his PhD in 1904 and who was born in 1876 in Mumbai, India, stated that he was a Parsi and a “follower of Zarathustra”. Although the title of his thesis is in German, the thesis itself is in English.<sup>424</sup> Finally, there is the case of Benajah Carroll, who was the only candidate

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<sup>422</sup> See Inken Meents: *Albert Mayer-Reinach*, accessed 14<sup>th</sup> October 2017, [http://www.lexm.uni-](http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_3604?XSL.lexmlayout.SESSION=lexmperson_all)

[hamburg.de/object/lexm\\_lexmperson\\_3604?XSL.lexmlayout.SESSION=lexmperson\\_all](http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_3604?XSL.lexmlayout.SESSION=lexmperson_all)

<sup>423</sup> See Albert Carl Mayer-Reinach, *Heinrich Graun als Opernkomponist* [Heinrich Graun as an opera composer], 1899, 346.

<sup>424</sup> Manekji Davargot received a Bachelor of Arts while studying in Mumbai at Elphinstone College. Elphinstone College was a part of the University of Mumbai, which was founded following the example of the University of London but was an independent institution. See Manekji Davar, *Die Pahlavi-Version von Yasna IX* [The Die Pahlavi version of Yasna IX], 1904, 391.

of this group that had a religious education before he received his PhD.<sup>425</sup> He was born in 1873 in Waco, Texas, and received his PhD in 1904. He started his studies at the State University of Texas, where he received a Bachelor of Law in 1884. He was ordained as a Baptist preacher the same year. He was a captain of the cavalry during the war against Spain in 1898. After that, he started studying at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, from which he obtained a Master's degree in 1900 and a Doctor of Theology in 1901. After a semester at the University of Chicago, he moved to Berlin in 1902.<sup>426</sup>

#### 4.6 Social Background

Marita Baumgarten's classification system was used as a framework for this study regarding the social background of the PhD candidates. However, it was necessary to amend it to suit the needs of this study as her study focuses solely on the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, the categorisation system of her study is too detailed, while it lacks an explanation of her criteria. Her system does not seem to include the geographical perspective or the salary but relies solely on the social reputation of the employment or work. This can be problematic by its nature because local differences, changes in social standing over time, and increasing salaries are not necessarily directly reflected within the social reputation.

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the middle classes became more and more diverse regarding their sub-groups and interests. There are many factors, but it is worth mentioning three main developments that affected the categorisation system of this study:

- Industrialization after 1871 increased not only the number of people who viewed themselves as part of the middle class but also its diversification. An employee could be working at a small or large factory, at a small grocery store that was part of a chain, or in one of the early department stores. This could affect his reputation, salary and career chances. The same applies to artisans. While there were still

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<sup>425</sup> After he finished his PhD, he did not return to work as preacher but worked as, among other things, a historian and as the head of the department of history and political science at Baylor University. See Benajah H. Carroll, *Political History of Europe. From 1815 to 1848* (Waco (TX): Baylor University Press, 1906).

<sup>426</sup> See Benajah Carroll, *Die Annexion von Texas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Monroe-Doktrin* [The annexation of Texas. A study about the history of the Monroe doctrine], 1904, 389.

independent artisans, especially in smaller populated regions, they could also be working as part of a larger company.<sup>427</sup>

- Access to education was a key factor in this development. The reason was specialisation. The tasks of an office clerk became increasingly diverse. The generally educated clerk was simply not able to fulfil the new tasks. At the same time, the number of administrative employees grew. Automation increased the administrative work required while time separating the office clerk from the proletariat.<sup>428</sup> Office employees welcomed this separation. They saw themselves as part of the (upper) middle class and placed themselves above the proletariat. They were loyal to the state and their superiors but at the same time demanded protection especially from the lower classes.<sup>429</sup>
- Although German society diversified, and the different groups of society became more permeable, it remained primarily a class-orientated society. Additionally, progressing from being part of the proletariat to being part of the upper middle class remained unlikely.<sup>430</sup> Reasons were the financial and social requirements, education, social background and overall reputation, which were nearly impossible to overcome within just one generation. The universities played a key role in this development. They created a state-recognised award and title system, which was based on the principles of the middle class, including punctuality, integrity and “male values”.<sup>431</sup> On the one hand, they gave the lower middle classes the chance to improve their standing, especially regarding positions within state institutions. On the other hand, they were also a barrier as more positions only became available to former students and people with PhD degrees.<sup>432</sup>

Due to these developments, a PhD candidate simply had no interest in stating that his parents were from a low social standing as it could harm his own social reputation.<sup>433</sup> He had, on the other hand, a genuine interest in hiding this information or remaining as vague as possible, if he was from a lower class, or exaggerating to

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<sup>427</sup> Siehe Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918: Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist* [German History 1866-1918: world of work and civic spirit], vol. 3, (München: C. H. Beck, 1993, c1990), 580.

<sup>428</sup> See *ibid.*, 374.

<sup>429</sup> See *ibid.*, 375-378.

<sup>430</sup> See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 712.

<sup>431</sup> See Frank Wagner, *Universität im öffentlichen Raum*, 379.

<sup>432</sup> See Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918*, 580.

<sup>433</sup> See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 717.



improve his own social standing. An example of this is Friedrich Paulsen, who was later ordained as a professor at the University of Berlin. He was born in 1846 and received his PhD in 1871 at the age of 25. In his CV, Paulsen does not mention the employment of his father, who was a peasant. While Paulsen could simply have 'forgotten' to mention it or decided not to add it because there was not a Latin word that would describe the employment of his father correctly,<sup>434</sup> it is more likely that he decided not to mention it as it could have undermined his reputation.<sup>435</sup>

Another example to illustrate this problem is the term *Kaufmann*. A *Kaufmann* could be a dealer, a businessman or a merchant. Marita Baumgarten categorises them as being part of the upper middle class due to their will to separate themselves from the lower classes by using a dress and social code even though they were less independent than most members of the lower classes, such as artisans or farmers. Meanwhile, the other upper middle classes tried to separate these tradesmen from the lower classes but not by assimilating them, instead treating them as separate class between them and the lower classes.<sup>436</sup> The problem is that a *Kaufmann* might have been just an employee without any unique skills or roles, or a specially trained employee within a large company or institution. On the other hand, employees of the state, postal service and railway, unlike the trade employees, usually added their status, which makes it is easier to class them into the lower or upper middle class.

#### 4.6.1 The Upper Class

The upper class consisted primarily of state-funded gentry, and factory owners, independent gentlemen and scholars. There were two contradictory developments in the German Empire one must be aware of. The state stabilised its structure after the unification of 1871 by integrating the wealthy and the influential businessmen. However, the relationship between the businessmen and the gentry remained ambivalent as both tried to remain independent by establishing or enforcing their own codes.<sup>437</sup> Ennoblement was three to five times higher in the British Empire compared

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<sup>434</sup> His father, Paul Frederick Paulsen, is described in German as being a *Kleinbauer*, see Friedrich Paulsen, *Symbolae As Systemata Philosophiae Moralis Historicae Et Criticae*, 1871, 245.

<sup>435</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>436</sup> See Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866 – 1918*, 377.

<sup>437</sup> See David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1870-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 278-279.

to the German Empire. Some, like Emil Kirdorf or August Thyssen, even declined to be ennobled and preferred being part of the “money nobility”.<sup>438</sup>

Out of the 964 candidates during the second period, 82 were classified as being part of the upper class, while during the first period it was 29 out of the 699. The ratio between the state-employed upper class and the self-employed was 1:2 during the period after 1900 and 1:1.15 during the period before 1900. This is not an unexpected result, as the gentry did not necessarily see the benefit of acquiring a degree from a university due to the privileges attached to them by law.

In Prussia, for example, the gentry had its special representation through the Prussian House of Lords. Although it did not have any powers regarding domestic and foreign policy, it was still influential through its veto power. However, the gentry was experiencing economic problems towards the end of the century. This allowed the economically successful middle class to arrange marriages between themselves and the gentry, or to acquire their bankrupt estates, especially in the eastern parts of the German Empire. While this did not always grant them a title of nobility, it increased their social standing and proofed their economic success.<sup>439</sup>

The average age was 27 years for the upper class. Those from the self-employed were one-year younger than the average, the gentry one year older. Most of the upper class were Protestants. During the second period, nearly 70% were Protestant, while 9.76% were Jewish and another 8.54% were Catholic. There is no unexpected overly dominant geographical region regarding the geographical background of the upper class PhD candidates.

It is difficult to assess whether the aristocratic PhD candidates were proud of their heritage or if they tried to ‘blend in’. In the period before 1900, two candidates mentioned their aristocratic ancestry by adding their aristocratic title to the front pages of their theses and by mentioning their noble ancestry within their CV. Two other PhD candidates mentioned their noble ancestry on the title page of their thesis but not in their CVs. Other PhD candidates did not mention their nobility at all. Heinrich von Stein, who received his PhD in 1877, was an aristocrat by heritage.<sup>440</sup> His father, Heinrich Rudolf Freiherr von Stein zu Nord- und Ostheim, for example, was a Prussian

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<sup>438</sup> See Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866 – 1918*, 392.

<sup>439</sup> See David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1870-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 278.

<sup>440</sup> See Heinrich von Stein, *Über Wahrnehmung*, 1877, 249.

lord lieutenant.<sup>441</sup> During the following period, only two candidates of the upper class had a nobility-military background. Hermann von Caemmerer's father, Rudolf, was ennobled in 1896 while a captain in the Prussian military. Hermann received his PhD five years later in 1901 by the age of 22.<sup>442</sup> Another candidate was Leopold von Wiese und Kaiserswaldau who received his PhD in 1902.<sup>443</sup> His father, Benno, was also a Prussian major but died before Leopold grew up. Leopold attended the cadet schools but left to be eligible to study in Berlin. He later became a well-known sociologist and economist.<sup>444</sup>

Meanwhile, most of the group of self-employed were plant or business owners. The fathers of PhD candidates were owners of furniture or paper factories, breweries or hotels. Siegmund Satz's father, whose first name was also Siegmund, for example, became a well-known hotelier in his hometown, Flensburg, in 1875.<sup>445</sup> The father of Hermann Schmidt was a physician as well as the owner of a brick factory. Schmidt, who received his PhD in 1913 at the age of 26, is also an example of the few PhD candidates who acquired a PhD in Law as well as Humanities.<sup>446</sup> The other group of self-employed consists of those who were able to live from their savings and investments, also known as independent gentlemen. Otto Jeidels' grandfather, for example, was a banker and his father inherited enough money to become a private

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<sup>441</sup> See Jakob Schmidt, "Stein, Freiherr von," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 54, Historischen Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von Dunder & Humblot, 1875-1912), 54.

<sup>442</sup> See Hermann von Caemmerer, *Das Regensburger Religionsgespräch im Jahre 1546* [The colloquy of Regensburg in 1546], 1901, 367.

<sup>443</sup> See Leopold von Wiese und Kaiserswaldau, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der Rohzinkfabriation* [Studies about the history of the economic development of raw zinc fabrication], 1902, 375.

<sup>444</sup> See Leopold von Wiese, *Kadettenjahre* [cadet's years] (Ebenhausen bei München: Langewiesche-Brandt, 1978).

<sup>445</sup> See Siegmund Satz, *Die Politik der deutschen Staaten vom Herbst 1805 bis zum Herbst 1806 im Lichte der gleichzeitigen deutschen Publizistik* [Policy of the German states from autumn 1805 to autumn 1806 with focus on the German publicists], 1908, 454.

<sup>446</sup> See Hermann Schmidt, *Das Eisenbahnwesen in der asiatischen Türkei* [The railways in the Asian parts of Turkey], 1913, 541.

art collector.<sup>447</sup> Although Otto Jeidels studied in Bonn and Cologne before he acquired his PhD in 1905, he was only 23 years of age when he received his PhD.<sup>448</sup>

None of the fathers of the Jewish PhD candidates from the upper class were employed by the state. Max Speter's father, for example, was an ethyl alcohol factory owner. Max started studying chemistry in Budapest, Hanover and Munich, after which he received a diploma as an engineer in 1904. He worked as a research assistant at the German Museum in Munich among other employments until he started his studies in Berlin in 1906. He worked as a chemical research assistant in Berlin but finished his PhD in the Humanities four years later in 1910.<sup>449</sup> Regarding Catholic PhD candidates it was the other way around, as the majority were part of the gentry or financed by the state. Hans Karl Freiherr von Zessner, for example, was the son of a squire in Dobříčany, Bohemia. He started his studies in Prague, where he acquired a PhD in Law in 1909. He moved to Berlin, where he studied mostly Economics and received his PhD in 1912.<sup>450</sup> The largest group of the upper class, the Protestant PhD candidates, were predominantly self-employed. An interesting case that shows all the difficulties of the classification system is Ernst Gabriel Jenny. He was born in Mentone, France, and was a Swiss citizen. His father owned a manor and was vice-consul of Switzerland in Odessa. His father died in 1873 in Zurich.<sup>451</sup> Ernst attended

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<sup>447</sup> See Bundesarchiv, *Jeidels to Geschäftsinhaber der BHG, 9. Dezember 1938* [Jeidels to Company Owner of the BHG, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1938], (duplicate), BArch R 8127 (Berliner Handelsgesellschaft Records, Bundesarchiv: Berlin-Lichterfelde), 16251; Fürstenberg, *Erinnerungen*, 174.

<sup>448</sup> Otto Jeidels came from a Jewish family but stated in his CV that he was a Protestant. See Otto Jeidels, *Das Verhältnis der deutschen Grossbanken zur Industrie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Eisenindustrie* [The relationship of the German high street bank and industry with a special focus on the iron industry], 1905, 399.

<sup>449</sup> As a chemical engineer, he combined his previously acquired knowledge and his history studies in Berlin for his thesis, which was a historical analysis of Lavoisier and his predecessors. See Max Speter, *Lavoisier und seine Vorläufer* [Lavoisier and his predecessors], 1910, 477.

<sup>450</sup> See Hans Karl Freiherr von Zessner, *Städtisch-industrielle Konzentration der Bevölkerung und Abwanderung vom Lande in Böhmen in der Zeit von 1880 – 1900* [Urban-industrial concentration of population and exodus from the country of Bohemia between 1880 and 1900], 1912, 521.

<sup>451</sup> Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, "Aus den Verhandlungen des schweiz. Bundesrathes" [From the negotiations of the Swiss Federal Council], accessed 14<sup>th</sup> October 2017, <http://www.amtsdruckschriften.bar.admin.ch/viewOrigDoc.do?id=10008058>

the *Gymnasium* in Zurich, after which he moved to Odessa, where he attended the local business school until 1891. He studied at the agricultural high school in Hohenheim until 1894 as he was responsible for taking care of the family businesses. He continued his studies in Berlin in 1896 for seven semesters, after which he focused his studies on Economics for the winter term as he seems to have had to reside at his family estate during the summer. He received his PhD in 1913 at the age of 41. His case shows the difficulty of the categorisation system. Switzerland had no gentry, but his father was classified as being part of the 'gentry' due to his title, while his social standing was based on his economic success.<sup>452</sup>

#### 4.6.2 The Middle Class

The middle class was by far the largest group. The two sub-groups, the upper and lower middle class, count together for more than 90% of all PhD candidates. The middle class had a genuine interest in acquiring a degree from a university. It gave them the opportunity to distinguish themselves from the Proletariat, not only through their financial capabilities but also by gaining a title acquired through individual effort. The latter distinguished them from the lower gentry as well, which had their social standing not by their own success but by inheritance rather than work.<sup>453</sup>

Before 1900, 46.82% of the PhD candidates were part of the upper and 21.12% were part of the lower middle class. During the following period, 58.12% of PhD candidates whose fathers were part of the upper middle class and 31.49% whose fathers were part of the lower middle class due the lower number of PhD candidates from the upper class whose percentage dropped from 27.42% before 1900 to 9.87% after 1900. However, it is important to be aware of the employment situation of a PhD candidate's father, whether state employed, self-employed or employed by a company.

The number PhD candidates whose fathers were state employees and the number of PhD candidates whose fathers were part of the private sector, upper and lower middle classes combined, about the same size during both periods. In the period before 1900, 54.68% of the PhD candidates' fathers were state employees, while during the

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<sup>452</sup> Ernst Gabriel Jenny was also one of the oldest PhD candidates at 41 years of age. See Ernst Gabriel Jenny, *Der Teilbau nebst der Monographie eines Teilbaugrossbetriebs in Russland aus der Zeit von 1891 – 1910* [The partial construction including a monography about a partial construction large scale company in Russia between 1891 and 1910], 1913, 538.

<sup>453</sup> See Jürgen Kocka, *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert* [Bourgeois and bourgeois culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 43.

following period this number decreased by 5.34% to 51.34%. Meanwhile, the number of those PhD with a private sector background rose from 45.32% to 48.66%. As there are no indications that either group had an interest in not disclosing this information, it is reasonable to say that the advantage of a state-awarded degree in higher education was recognised by both groups equally.

In the upper middle class, PhD candidates without a state-employed father were most of the private sector is being separated between those fathers being self-employed and businessmen. In the period after 1900, 267 or 55.28% of all PhD candidates of the upper middle class had father who was classified as either being self-employed or as a being businessman. The larger of the two groups were the businessmen, with 203 PhD candidates, compared to the group of self-employed, with only 64. At the same time, 216 PhD candidates were part of the group of state employees. By percentage, this means 44.72% of the PhD candidates of the upper middle class had a father who was employed by the state, while 42.03% were businessmen, and 6.64% of the fathers were self-employed.

The lower middle class, and this is one of the problems of Marita Baumgarten's system, was separated into state employees and those being self-employed. This means that all employees of the private sector are part of the upper middle class. The majority of the lower middle class PhD candidates had fathers who were state employees, with 60.25% before an 63.40% after 1900, while 39.76% before and 36.60% after 1900 of the lower middle class PhD candidates had fathers who were self-employed. One reason for this difference and shift towards state-employed father is, besides the mentioned categorization challenge, that the German state had a much stronger role in the economy as, mail or railway services were primarily run by the state. Additionally, being employed by the state meant economical security and a standing in society.

Comparing the average age among the middle class, there is no significant difference between the two periods with 25 before and 26 after 1900. In the upper middle class, candidates whose fathers were state employees, businessmen or self-employed were, with 24 before and 26 years of age after 1900, about the same age. In the lower middle class, the differences between PhD candidates whose fathers were state employees or self-employed was more significant. PhD candidates whose fathers were state employees were 24 years of age before and 25 years of age after 1900, while those whose fathers were self-employed were 24 years of age and 28 years of age after 1900. The reason for this difference could be the fact that self-employed of

the lower middle class had a more inconsistent income, which might have forced PhD candidates from such a social background to contribute financially more to their studies compared to those whose fathers were employed by the state.

There are a few interesting discoveries when comparing the religious affiliation in the upper and lower middle class. The percentage of Protestants in the period after 1900 is about the same with 353 or 73.08% in the upper and 197 or 74.34% in the lower middle class, while in the period before that there is a difference, with 77.72% in the upper and 65.06% in the lower middle class. Meanwhile, the percentage of Catholic and Jewish PhD candidates shows a more differentiated picture. Before 1900, 8.7% of the upper middle class PhD candidates were Jewish and 5.4% were Catholic. After 1900, these numbers changed to 10.56% and 7.25% respectively. In the lower middle class, these numbers change drastically. From 10.46% to 2.26% regarding Jewish to 6.02% to 17.74% regarding Catholic PhD candidates.

During the period before 1900, most Jewish PhD candidates were part of the lower middle class with a ratio between the lower and the upper middle class of 7 to 2. In the following period, this changed as now the ratio between the lower and the upper middle class was now nearly 1 to 10. These results can be interpreted that either Jews were more likely to climb the social ladder in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century or that especially lower middle class Jews were kept from pursuing a PhD due growing anti-Semitism and bleak career chances in German academia.<sup>454</sup>

Most of the Jewish PhD candidates came from business-related family backgrounds independent of whether they were part of the upper or lower middle class. In the period after 1900, forty were classified as merchants. The only retailer was the father of Otto Scherk who received his PhD in 1912. His father was a small publisher in Berlin.<sup>455</sup> Only ten Jewish candidates, six in the upper and four in the lower middle class, mention that their father was employed by the state. The fathers of Erna Meyer<sup>456</sup> and Georg Rawitscher<sup>457</sup> were the only one who worked directly for the state

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<sup>454</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *German universities, past and future: Crisis or renewal?*, 15-16.

<sup>455</sup> See Otto Scherk, *Otto Über den französischen Akzent* [About the French accent], 1912, 518.

<sup>456</sup> See Erna Meyer, *Der Haushalt eines höheren Beamten in den Jahren 1880 – 1906 untersucht an Hand von Wirtschaftsrechnungen* [The household of higher public officers between 1880 and 1906 based upon their accounts], 1913, 541.

<sup>457</sup> See Georg Rawitscher, *Die Landarbeiterfrage in Deutsch-Schlesien* [The rural laborer question in German-Silesia], 1911, 497.

and not in academia or as teachers, and both worked in field of Law. There is no other dominant social group within the remaining Jewish PhD candidates. Their fathers were pharmacists,<sup>458</sup> lawyers<sup>459</sup> or artists.<sup>460</sup>

During the period before 1900, the social backgrounds of the Jewish PhD candidates were much more diverse as wholesale merchants were not as dominant as after 1900. This could indicate a shift in the economic situation due to the rise of the business sector, as well as support for the overall empowerment of the at least upper middle class Jews in the German Empire towards the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Only six Jewish PhD candidates were categorised as members of this group before 1900 compared to the forty afterwards. An example from this group is Heinrich Loewe who received his PhD in 1894<sup>461</sup> and whose father was a wholesale merchant in the Province of Saxony.<sup>462</sup>

The middle class Catholic PhD candidates had much more diverse social backgrounds compared to the Jewish and Protestant PhD candidates, with nearly 63% being self-employed or businessmen, and over 37% state employees in the period after 1900. Separating the upper and lower middle class, these numbers change to 65.71% and 35.29% for the Upper and 59.57% and 40.43% for the lower middle class. In the period before 1900, this was 53% self-employed or businessmen and 47% state employees. The same development with a much bigger effect can be shown regarding the Protestant PhD candidates. In the upper middle class, there were nearly as many state employees with 50.14% as there were self-employed and businessmen with 49.86%. Compared to the Jewish candidates, it can be said that Catholic as well as Protestant PhD candidates of the lower middle classes relied more on the state. This was, after all, ideal for the state as it stabilised the system, despite its structural inequalities and the conflicts between the Protestants and Catholics

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<sup>458</sup> See Wladimir Idelson, *Beiträge zur Frage der Besteuerung der Versicherung, insbesondere in Deutschland* [Regarding the question about taxation of insurance, especially regarding Germany], 1905, 403x.

<sup>459</sup> See Judith Geisel Judith, „Tasso“ und sein Gefolge [„Tasso“ and his entourage], 1911, 491.

<sup>460</sup> See Erich Abraham, *Nürnberger Malerei der zweiten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts* [Nurmeberg paintings during the second half of the XV<sup>th</sup> century], 1912, 517.

<sup>461</sup> See Heinrich Loewe, *Richard von San Germano und die ältere Redaktion seiner Chronik* [Richard of San Germano and the older edition of his chronicle], 1894, 322.

<sup>462</sup> See Otto z. Stolberg-Weningerode, “Heinrich Loewe,” in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 15, 1987, 75.



following the foundation of the German Empire and the *Kulturkampf* ("cultural clash").<sup>463</sup>

There are a few discoveries worth mentioning. The first is the fact that among the state-employed Catholic upper middle class, the fathers with an academic background are the largest group. An example of this is Joseph Killing. He received his PhD in 1908. His father was William Killing, a famous mathematician and professor at the University of Munster.<sup>464</sup> One could argue that this indicates that Catholics appreciated the benefits of a PhD more than Protestants. However, it is important to bear in mind that Protestant preachers, unlike Catholics, were able to marry and create a family which means that at least from this perspective no Catholic PhD student could have had a Catholic priest as a father. This is also an explanation why the most common state-employed Protestant profession of the upper middle class was to be employed by the church as a preacher or another clergy-related position. An example of this is Rudolf Görnhardt, who received his PhD in 1910 and whose father was a protestant preacher.<sup>465</sup> Additionally, all industrials were Protestant. The father of Waldemar Zimmermann, who received his PhD in 1905, for example, was a facility manager and later director of a machine factory.<sup>466</sup>

The largest among the middle PhD candidates were those whose fathers were wholesale merchants. The problem is, however, that this could be caused by the categorization system which combined all employed merchants with the same job description into the same group independent of their salary, position with the company and place of residence. Additionally, the separation between wholesale merchants and tradesmen is vague and a wholesale merchant had a higher social standing, PhD candidates may have been tempted to describe the job of their fathers as a wholesale merchant even if he was tradesman. An example demonstrating this is the PhD candidate Max Sauerlandt. He received his PhD in 1903 by the age of 23. He was

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<sup>463</sup> See David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1870-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 278-289.

<sup>464</sup> See Joseph Killing, *Kirchenmusikalische Schätze der Bibliothek des Abbate Fortunato Santini* [Church music treasures of the library of Abbate Fortunato Santini], 1908, 450.

<sup>465</sup> See Rudolf Görnhardt, *Die Lage der grundbesitzenden Tagelöhner in Nordwest- und Ostdeutschland mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Provinzen Schlesien und Posen* [The situation of the property owning daily workers in Northwest and East Germany with a special focus on the provinces of Silesia and Posen], 1910, 481.

<sup>466</sup> See Waldemar Zimmermann, *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Angestellten im preussischen Staatsbetrieb* [The social situation of the state employees], 1902, 375.

born in Berlin but after his father's death, he moved to Berlin, where he went to primary and high school.<sup>467</sup> He did not disclose the information about his father's early death and only described him as a wholesale merchant, although he was a wood trader.<sup>468</sup>

It is safe to say that the occupation of a PhD candidate's father influenced the decision of a student to pursue a PhD as the group PhD candidates whose fathers were teachers was the second largest group of the middle class. This is independent of whether the father was an academic teacher, a teacher at a high school, or at another non-academic institution. This applies to candidates like Hermann Lübke,<sup>469</sup> whose father was a non-academic teacher of the lower middle class,<sup>470</sup> Friedrich Scholz, whose father was a high school teacher,<sup>471</sup> or Hans Julius Droysen whose father, Johann Gustav Droysen, was a history professor at the University of Berlin.<sup>472</sup> The more closely the employment of the father was related to education, the more likely it was that a student pursued a PhD during his studies.<sup>473</sup>

#### 4.7 Conclusion

There was no revolution but rather an evolution among the PhD candidates at the University of Berlin. The average age of PhD candidates rose slowly but steadily and PhD candidates at the University of Berlin remained primarily Protestant. The lower

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<sup>467</sup> See Andreas Hüneke, "Sauerlandt, Friedrich August Max," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 22, 2005, 462-463.

<sup>468</sup> See Max Sauerlandt *Über die Bildwerke des Giovanni Pisano* [About the pictures of Giovanni Pisano], 1903, 387.

<sup>469</sup> See Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschungs [Library for Research in History of Education], *Lübke, Hermann: Personalblatt A für Direktoren, wissenschaftliche Lehrer und Kandidaten des höheren Lehramtes* [Lübke, Hermann: Data Sheet A for Principals, science teachers and applicants for the upper teaching posts], 145641.

<sup>470</sup> See Hermann Lübke, *The AunTERS at the Tern. Wathelan*, 1883, 261.

<sup>471</sup> See Friedrich Scholz, *Geschichte der Deutschen Schriftsprache in Augsburg bis zum Jahre 1347. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der städtischen Kanzlei* [History of the German written language in Augsburg until the year of 1347. With a special of the urban administration], 1895, 330.

<sup>472</sup> See Johannes Droysen, *De Demophanti Patroclidis Tisameni Populiscitis Quae Inserta Sung Adocidis Orationi*, 1873, 247.

<sup>473</sup> See Silke Möller, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und "Burschenherrlichkeit": Studentische Sozialisation im deutschen Kaiserreich, 1871-1914* [Between science and "Burschenherrlichkeit": student socialisation in the German Empire, 1871-1914], Pallas Athene vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), 171-177.

class was still not present, either because it did not recognise the benefit of a PhD degree or was excluded by social barriers. The percentage of foreign PhD candidates grew, but the large majority of PhD candidates was born in the German Empire.

According to the statistics, the prototypical PhD candidate at the University of Berlin up until 1900 was about 25 years old, Protestant, from Prussia, with a high chance of being born in Berlin, and with a father who belonged to the upper middle class. During the second period, up until 1913, the prototypical PhD candidate remained the same, although the percentages changed slightly towards a more diverse community of PhD candidates. He was still male, despite the official admittance of women in 1908, and aged, on average, 26.55 years old. He was Protestant, although the percentage of Protestant PhD candidates had dropped. Likewise, as regards the geographical background the stereotypical PhD candidate was still from Prussia and probably born in Berlin, although the percentage of PhD candidates from other states of the German Empire, and especially those born abroad, rose. Finally, the prototypical PhD candidate was still part of the upper middle class, but the likelihood that his father was employed by the state or self-employed had increased significantly compared to the period prior to 1900. It seems that the already close connection between the University of Berlin and the state increased towards the turn of the century and beyond.<sup>474</sup>

While both the PhD theses accepted in the Humanities and in Sciences rose during both periods, it seems that PhD candidates in the Sciences benefited the most from the increasing resources available at the Faculty of Philosophy. This is not surprising as most newly established institutions within the Faculty of Philosophy in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century were related to the Sciences. For instance, the "Physikalisches Institut" [Physical Institute] was founded in 1878.<sup>475</sup> This institutional transformation seems to have allowed PhD candidates in this field to converge around these newly established institutions within the Faculty of Philosophy.

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<sup>474</sup> See Alan Touraine, *The academic system in American society* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1979), 34-35.

<sup>475</sup> See Jochen Brüning, "Von Humboldt zu Helmholtz: Zur Disziplinbildung in den Naturwissenschaften am Beispiel der Physik" [From Humboldt to Helmholtz: About the foundation of disciplines shown by Physics Department], in *Geschichte der Universität Unter den Linden, 1810-2010, Genese der Disziplinen. Die Konstitution der Universität* [History of the university under the lime trees, 1810-2010, Genesis of the disciplines. The Foundation of the university] vol 4., Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 395-424, 419.

Additionally, the PhD candidates seem to have been affected by the economic developments of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Following the Hans-Ulrich Wehler's categorisation of periods of economic prosperity and depression, the number of PhD candidates who received a degree during a period of prosperity was 86 but only 26 during a period of depression.<sup>476</sup> However, PhD candidates in the Sciences were more affected by this economic development as their numbers were more volatile compared to PhD candidates in the Humanities, most likely due to the required funding and the fact that PhD candidates in the Humanities had more employment opportunities in the state compared to PhD candidates in the Sciences.

The rising average age of PhD candidates cannot be explained by any changes regarding the admission or general PhD procedure at the University of Berlin.<sup>477</sup> The only explanation is that it resulted from the growing number of foreign-born PhD candidates, because if they are excluded the difference between the two periods drops to just half a year. If there were any changes in the admission policy at the University of Berlin which are not reflected in the constitution of the university or the Faculty of Philosophy, it must have affected foreign-born PhD candidates more strongly than the German ones.

The rise and fall of PhD candidates at Berlin from the United States mirrors the results of Anja Werner's study *The transatlantic world of higher education: While the number of American students at German universities grew between 1865 and 1898, it fell during the following years. So did the number of PhD candidates at the University of Berlin.*<sup>478</sup> With the professionalisation and growth of the higher education system in the United States, as well as the adaptation and moulding of the German PhD degree into the American higher education system in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the benefits and career opportunities arising from acquiring a PhD degree from a

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<sup>476</sup> See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Von der "Deutschen Doppelrevolution" bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges 1849 – 1914* [German social history: from the German double revolution until the beginning of the First World War 1849-1914], (München: Beck, 2008), 547.

<sup>477</sup> This lack of any reforms can best be explained by the existence of a professorial oligarchy in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century at German universities. See Joseph Ben-David, *The scientist's role in society: A comparative study with a new introduction* (Chicago (IL): University of Chicago press, 1984), 130.

<sup>478</sup> See Anja Werner, *The transatlantic world of higher education: Americans at German universities, 1776-1914*, 22.

German university no longer seemed to have superseded the required investment.<sup>479</sup> Even though the connection of Columbia to Germany, especially in comparison to England and France, remained strong until the 1920s,<sup>480</sup> the exchange program between German and American universities seems to have had no effect on the number of non-American PhD candidates at the University of Berlin who had studied at Columbia University or at another American university, even though the University of Berlin was the one with the most professors involved in this program. It seems that the exchange program only took place between professors and did not extend to upcoming researchers.<sup>481</sup> Another reason why the exchange program did not result in an increasing number of PhD candidates from the United States at the University of Berlin might be fact that the German Empire primarily promoted its achievements in science, which was “rejected with intense dislike” by American philosophers.<sup>482</sup> Additionally, the German academics seemed to have been not really interested in an exchange with the United States that would have required them to leave Germany even if they were offered a professorship.<sup>483</sup>

While the University of Berlin was the leading university for study and research at that time, many German PhD candidates went abroad to study, improve their language skills and to pursue their research or to work. The high number of German PhD candidates studying or researching abroad, but not acquiring a degree, shows that the excellence of the University of Berlin might have encouraged, rather than stopped, PhD candidates to go abroad, especially to France and Great Britain, but to return to finish their PhD degree in Berlin. Interestingly, the start of the reform period at the University of London, which, according to Keith Vernon, began in the 1880s and later

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<sup>479</sup> See Anja Werner, *The transatlantic world of higher education: Americans at German universities, 1776-1914*, 241.

<sup>480</sup> “Of Columbia’s one thousand officers of instruction in 1915, perhaps one hundred had studied in Germany, far more than had studied in either France or England.” Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 245.

<sup>481</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 43-67.

<sup>482</sup> See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago (IL): University of Chicago press, 1970), 320-321.

<sup>483</sup> The only noteworthy German academic who accepted a professorship at an American university until 1930 was Herman von Holst who joined the University of Chicago in 1890. See Jörg Nagler, “A Mediator Between two Historical Worlds. Hermann Edward von Holst and the University of Chicago,” in *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917*, eds. Henry Geitz et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 257-274.

involved all English universities, including Oxford and Cambridge, had no effect on the number of PhD candidates at the University of Berlin who studied or acquired a degree in the United Kingdom.<sup>484</sup> On the other hand, the comparably low number of British PhD candidates in Berlin undermines Renate Simpson's argument that "frequently British students would simply follow the example of their teachers, of whom an ever growing number had themselves studied at German universities" in order to pursue more specialized studies.<sup>485</sup> At least among the PhD in the Humanities at the University of Berlin, there was no influx of British students in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

While the number of PhD candidates from the United States dropped, the overall (still growing) number of foreign-born PhD candidates at the University of Berlin shows that the institution had not lost its attractiveness at least for students from Europe. One must not forget that as soon as a foreigner gained access to the German higher education system, he was able to switch between any university in the German Empire as well as to the universities in Switzerland and Austria-Hungary.<sup>486</sup> Interestingly, while the university and the German Empire mostly promoted its science research,<sup>487</sup> the number of foreign-born PhD candidates in the Humanities grew too. It seems that there was a "spill-over" effect of the Empire's science research promotion into the Humanities.<sup>488</sup> Unfortunately, and as has already been discovered by Anja Werner, the University of Berlin, in line with most other German universities, did not record when a student left, which means that it is not possible, without cross-referencing various matriculation records, to compare the number of PhD candidates that left and arrived at the University of Berlin.<sup>489</sup>

All in all, it can be said that the changes regarding the geographical background of PhD candidates before and after 1900 reflect the increasing professionalism and

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<sup>484</sup> See Keith Vernon, *Universities and the state in England, 1850-1939* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 276.

<sup>485</sup> See Renate Simpson, *How the PhD came to Britain: A century of struggle for postgraduate education* (Guildford: Society for Research into Higher Education, 1983), 16.

<sup>486</sup> Stuart Wallace, *War and the image of Germany, British academic, 1914-1918* (Edinburgh: J. Donald Publishers, 1988), 5.

<sup>487</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 43-67.

<sup>488</sup> See Gerhard A. Ritter, *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 5-16.

<sup>489</sup> See Anja Werner, *The transatlantic world of higher education: Americans at German universities, 1776-1914*, 51.

success of the American higher education system.<sup>490</sup> Additionally, the fact that most of the German PhD candidates who went abroad went to France or Great Britain but not to the United States shows that least until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century an exchange of experiences and practices among PhD candidates between the countries was not only still uncommon but also designed for misinterpretation of one another's challenges, working procedures and methodologies.<sup>491</sup>

Jewish students were more likely to pursue a dissertation compared to Christian students which shows the importance of education for the Jewish community. The percentage of Jews among PhD candidates was higher than among students in general. On the other hand, the number and percentage of Jewish PhD candidates among the entire group dropped from the first to the second period of time. It is unlikely that this was caused by any falling importance of education within the Jewish community, but it was rather due to the pressure of society on Jewish scholars to change their religious affiliation if they wanted to pursue a career at a university. Although all legal discrimination of Jews on the German Empire were suspended in 1869,<sup>492</sup> they were, according to Rüdiger vom Bruch, still discriminated against and had no chance to get appointed as professors at universities. This might have discouraged some Jews from pursuing a PhD at the University of Berlin, as it did not improve their career opportunities. It would be instructive to compare these results with other German universities to see if they experienced the same development or if there were universities in the German Empire that attracted more Jewish PhD candidates. Interestingly, the number of Catholic PhD candidates, who also suffered from discrimination at Protestant education institutions, increased.<sup>493</sup> This at least indicates that they expected better career chances with a PhD degree than without, even at a dominantly Protestant university like Berlin.

The rising number and percentage of Catholic PhD candidates must be seen against the backdrop of the end of the *Kulturkampf* (culture struggle) in the 1880s as well as the foundation of the German Empire and hence the 'inclusion' of the dominantly

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<sup>490</sup>See Joseph Ben David, *Centers of learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States*, Repr. (London, New Brunswick (NJ): Transaction Publishers, 1977), 25.

<sup>491</sup> See Gabriele Lingelbach, "Intercultural Transfer and Comparative History: The Benefits and Limits of Two Approaches", in *Traversea*, 1 (2011), 46-59, 51.

<sup>492</sup>See Reut Yael Paz, *A gateway between a distanz God and a cruel world, The contribution of Jewish German-speaking scholars to International Law* (Leiden, Moston (MA): Nijhof, 2013), 95.

<sup>493</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *German universities, past and future: Crisis or renewal?*, 15-16.

Catholic southern German states into the newly founded state. The most intense phase of the *Kulturkampf* in the German Empire was in the 1870s. Although the University of Berlin did not exclude Catholic or students of any other religion, it is likely that some Catholics did not want to pursue their studies at the University of Berlin because it was dominantly Protestant. Although the *Kulturkampf* ended as early as 1886/1887,<sup>494</sup> it still took nearly a generation to significantly increase the number of Catholic PhD candidates at the University of Berlin. The most likely reason is that it not only required an end of the *Kulturkampf* on the political level but also a change mindset of the upcoming Catholic academics to go to Berlin to acquire their PhD. This was, after all, not only the biggest Protestant university in the German Empire.

Interestingly, the fact that “the German universities were more closely connected with the state than with the ruling class”<sup>495</sup> as they were financed, funded and supervised by the state and meant to train the future leaders of the state and its institutions only applies to the PhD candidates from the lower but not the upper middle class, where more PhD candidates had fathers who were businessmen or self-employed than fathers who were employed by the state. This shows the “precarious situation” of the German universities regarding their role within society: On the one hand, they required academic freedom to pursue research and teaching, as promoted by Humboldt when the University of Berlin was founded. This spirit was mostly represented by the upper middle class PhD candidates. On the other hand, the “military-aristocratic ruling class” expected that the universities to train future state employees, as represented by the lower middle class, and in a way that would not undermine the position of those in power.<sup>496</sup> However,, the diversity of the social background of the PhD candidates at the University of Berlin supports the idea that, contrary to the aims of the ruling elite, the German system did “not produce[d] a unified ‘professional class’ [like that of England’s]” that was open to everyone capable of the required brainwork.<sup>497</sup> The PhD

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<sup>494</sup> See Karl Erich Born, “Preussen im deutschen Kaiserreich 1871-1918, Führungsmacht des Reiches und Aufgehen im Kaiserreich” [Prussia in the German Empire 1871-1918, Leading power of the Empire and merging with the Empire], in *Handbuch der preussischen Geschichte: Vom Kaiserreich zum 20. Jahrhundert* [Handbook of Prussian History, From the Empire to the 20<sup>th</sup> century], vol. 3, Otto Büsch, Wolfgang Neugebauer, eds. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), 15-148, 104.

<sup>495</sup> See Alan Touraine, *The academic system in American society*, 35.

<sup>496</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *The scientist's role in society: A comparative study with a new introduction* (Chicago (IL): University of Chicago press, 1984), 118.

<sup>497</sup> See Joseph Ben David, *Centers of learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States*, 52.



program of the University of Berlin did not attract the offspring of any specific social class, but rather was a 'melting pot' solely for the middle class who saw the benefit of acquiring a PhD degree. Additionally, the growth of the middle classes after 1900 shows that this group in particular recognised the importance of higher education and at the same time used it to separate themselves from the upper and lower classes.

Looking at the professional groups but not the class, the PhD candidates are not as diverse as the middle class in general. In fact, those PhD candidates who came from a household where a prior sense of learning was present seem to have been disproportionately attracted to pursue a PhD, no matter if they were part of the upper or lower middle classes. Especially PhD candidates whose fathers were teachers, non-academic as well as academic, or part of the (Protestant and Jewish) clergy were over-proportionally present among the middle-class students during both periods. This means that, although the PhD was attractive to both the upper as well as lower middle class, it was more attractive to students who were primed to pursue education and research through their childhood experience. There are two reasons for this. One is the fact that this study only compares PhD candidates in the Humanities but excludes PhD candidates in science as well as from the other faculties at the University of Berlin such as law or theology. Adding these candidates might change the results, indicated by the growing number of PhD candidates in science. Second students obviously chose their PhD topic in line with their father's profession. While PhD candidates whose fathers were teachers were 'primed' to pursue PhD in the Humanities, the question remains if PhD candidates whose fathers were lawyers be 'primed' to pursue a PhD in law. The same applies to PhD candidates whose fathers were bankers, traders or craftsmen and if they were 'primed' to pursue a PhD in science.<sup>498</sup>

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<sup>498</sup> After all, the Faculties of Philosophy at German universities excluded any kind of professional training, insisting that it such training had no role to play at a university, until the 1960s. However, it supported the establishment of professional training at technical universities such as the Technical University Berlin. See Joseph Ben David, *Centers of learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States* 48.

## 5. Columbia University

### 5.1 Introduction

While Columbia University was older than the University of Berlin, it was neither as large or influential as Berlin until 1913.<sup>499</sup> The fact that it was a private university affects the sources available, as was no legal obligation to store all documents. Unlike Berlin, where the state published yearly reports about the number of students at each of its institutions, the reports published by Columbia University were created by the institution itself and released by its Board of Trustees. As a result, they only contain information the university deemed important enough to be published and were used by presidents and deans of Columbia's various faculties to promote their policies and suggestions.<sup>500</sup> Although the reports reflected the focus of Columbia's respective president, they usually included basic data about the students, such as their geographical background, the colleges they visited before joining Columbia or the average age of the students at the Columbia's various faculties.

Another important fact was the separation of Columbia College and Columbia's Graduate School in 1895. While the structure and idea of the college based upon the British system, the graduate school was inspired by the German system. This meant that its PhD was ultimately copied from the German system but, and this is important, adapted to fit into the curriculum and concept of Columbia.

There are two challenges that must be addressed before comparing the PhD candidates:

1. Columbia collected less comprehensive information about its students than Berlin. Although Columbia retains, for example, its chapel to this day, the religious background of students was of no concern regarding their admission

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<sup>499</sup> Columbia saw itself not only in competition with the other American universities but also in competition with Berlin. See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia: A history of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754-2004* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 2003), 228-230.

<sup>500</sup> The importance of the reports in enabling the president to share his views about the development of the university is further illustrated by the fact that there was no report in 1888 due to Barnard's death.

to graduate or post-graduate studies, and the same applied to their social background.<sup>501</sup>

2. The archival situation is, compared to Berlin, quite difficult. The student records of Columbia, including those of PhD candidates, are no longer available. This means that, in most cases, the only information provided by Columbia is each candidate's CV.<sup>502</sup> Additionally; it is unclear whether any regulations with regards to CVs ever existed. It is likely that any possible regulation regarding attaching the candidate's CV to his thesis resulted from the influence of Burgess and his aim of reforming Columbia according to the German system.

It is important to note that the challenges outlined above affect each chapter differently. In some cases, the use of additional sources, such as *US Census Records*, compensates for the missing data, either completely or at least partially.

Unlike Berlin, Columbia separated the Sciences and Humanities from the beginning through its system of various faculties, like the School of Mines or the School of Political Science. As the reports and students' records are unavailable and as PhD degrees were awarded by the university and not the faculties, the separation between PhD candidates in the Humanities and Sciences was made as in the case of Berlin: according to a student's supervisor(s) and the topic of his thesis. The primary source for collecting and categorising theses accepted by Columbia until 1913 consists of two lists. The first is the *List of Theses Submitted by Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University 1872 to 1910*. This list was published in July 1910 and contained not only the name of each PhD candidate but also the title of his thesis and, in some cases, additional information like the number of pages or

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<sup>501</sup> As a private university, Columbia relied on the fees of its students, unlike Berlin. One could argue that, while Berlin recorded the social and religious background of its students, Columbia separated its students through its fees and based on its reputation as a former Anglican institution.

<sup>502</sup> The theses of Columbia's PhD candidates were sometimes published later as a book or part of a journal but not necessarily by Columbia. The thesis of Alexander Clarence Flick of 1901, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution*, was published by Columbia University Press as part of the Studies in History, Economics and Public Law in 1901. That of Mario Emilio Cosenza of 1905, *Official positions after the time of Constantine*, on the other hand, was published by New Era Printing, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. These publications did not usually include the CV of the author.

publisher.<sup>503</sup> The other is an undated list by Columbia's archive, which arranged the PhD candidates according to their department, family name and year of graduation. The list starts in 1900 and continues until the 1930s and was used to cover the remaining years until 1913. Unfortunately, it does not contain any additional information, like the title of the thesis, and only includes non-science PhDs, separated by their field of research. The fact that the year when this list was created is unknown makes it more difficult to say if all theses in the Humanities accepted by Columbia until 1913 were added or if some, who were already missing, dropped out.<sup>504</sup>

The main problem is that unlike Berlin, where the collection, storage and maintenance of the files and theses of PhD candidates was an integral part of the university library's activities, an equivalent Columbian collection did not exist. "Although sporadic attempts had been made over the years to form a Columbiana collection, the matter had only partial attention of any person and materials remained scattered" and, until 1922, Columbia had no curator.<sup>505</sup> Jane R. Siegel, the current rare books librarian of the Special Collection and Rare Books and Manuscript Library, stated that the records were confusing regarding procedure and development. According to the records in today's archive, the bachelor's and master's essays were transferred to the archive in late 1946. However, it remains unclear whether the 'census' of the collection of the same year includes the PhD theses, as only the 'census' of 1952 contained a very detailed list of information about newly-added PhD theses under the title 'Columbiana'.<sup>506</sup>

Due to the possibility of missing theses and the fact that Columbia had no other records about its students, it is even more important to include additional sources. For famous people, like Columbia's later president, Nicolas Murray Butler, who received his PhD in 1884 but whose thesis, *A Study in the History of Logical Doctrine*, is lost,<sup>507</sup>

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<sup>503</sup> See Columbia University, *List of Theses Submitted by Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University: 1872-1910* (New York (NY): Columbia University Bulletins of Information, 1910).

<sup>504</sup> This list is stored by the Rare Books and Manuscript Collection.

<sup>505</sup> See Winifred B. Linderman, *History of Columbia University Library, 1876-1926* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1959), 492-493.

<sup>506</sup> These records are stored in the office of the Rare Books and Manuscript Library. They are available upon special request as they are unlisted and usually not required for research purposes.

<sup>507</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 195. According to the second entry, the title was *An Outline of History of Logical Doctrine* and Butler defended the thesis in spring 1883.

finding additional information proved a comparably easy task. However, in less famous cases, when only the name and the year of graduation is known, finding additional information proved quite a challenge. An example of this is David Rose who, according to the second undated list, received his PhD in 1912. As Columbia was unable to provide any additional information or even his thesis, and as other sources, like the *US Census Records*, did not provide any reliable information, it proved impossible to find any further information. However, in some cases, the thesis tended to be found in other libraries or collections, at least if the name of the thesis was known.<sup>508</sup> Another example is Yu-Yue Tsu. Columbia stored his master's essay of 1910 but not his PhD thesis of 1912. The former, however, did not contain his CV. In this particular case, an obituary published by the *New York Times* on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1986 was found that established the basis for further research.<sup>509</sup> This shows that by combining different records and documents it was possible to fill most of the gaps, especially regarding the social and geographical background.

## 5.2 Numbers

According to this research, 500 PhDs were awarded by Columbia in the field of Humanities up until 1913. One hundred and eleven of these were awarded before 1900, and 389 in the ensuing period until 1913. In the period prior to 1900, 16 theses were unavailable at the Columbia University archive. This number drops to 11 in the following period. Unfortunately, out of the 27 lost theses, 13 were lost in the period before 1890. This means that more than half of the 25 theses that were accepted in the field of Humanities prior to 1890 were unavailable. Additionally, the theses that

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ibid. This does however contradict the entry in the list of theses until 1910, which states that the title was *A Study of the History of Logical Doctrine*. Additionally, Butler received his PhD in 1884 according to this, which would be a year after he defended it. See Columbia University, *List of Theses Submitted by Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University*, 3.

<sup>508</sup> An interesting case of this is the thesis of Abraham Yohannan, who received his PhD in 1902. While Columbia archived his thesis, it did not, for reasons unknown, contain his CV. However, it was found, including the author's CV, in the University of California library. See Abraham Yohannan: *A Modern Syria-English Dictionary, Part 1* (Columbia University (NY): New York City, 1900), UCLA Library, PJ5805.Y75m.

<sup>509</sup> See AP, *Andrew Tsu of China, Anglican Bishop, 100 years old, dies*, *The New York Times*, 15<sup>th</sup> April 1986, accessed 11<sup>th</sup> November 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/04/15/obituaries/andrew-tsu-of-china-anglican-bishop-100.htm>

date back before 1890 had no CV attached, which indicates that there were regulations regarding the content of the thesis, although they are no longer available.

However, there are exceptions before and after 1890. The only exception before 1890 is the thesis of George Black. He received his PhD in 1889 and added CV to his thesis.<sup>510</sup> An example of an exception after 1890 is William Schaper, who acquired his PhD in 1901. His thesis, *Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina*, was awarded the Justin Winsor Prize of the American Historical Association in the previous year. Although he wrote the preface to his thesis while being a visiting scholar at the University of Berlin, which implies that he must have been aware of the CV requirement in Berlin, he did not add one to his PhD thesis.<sup>511</sup>

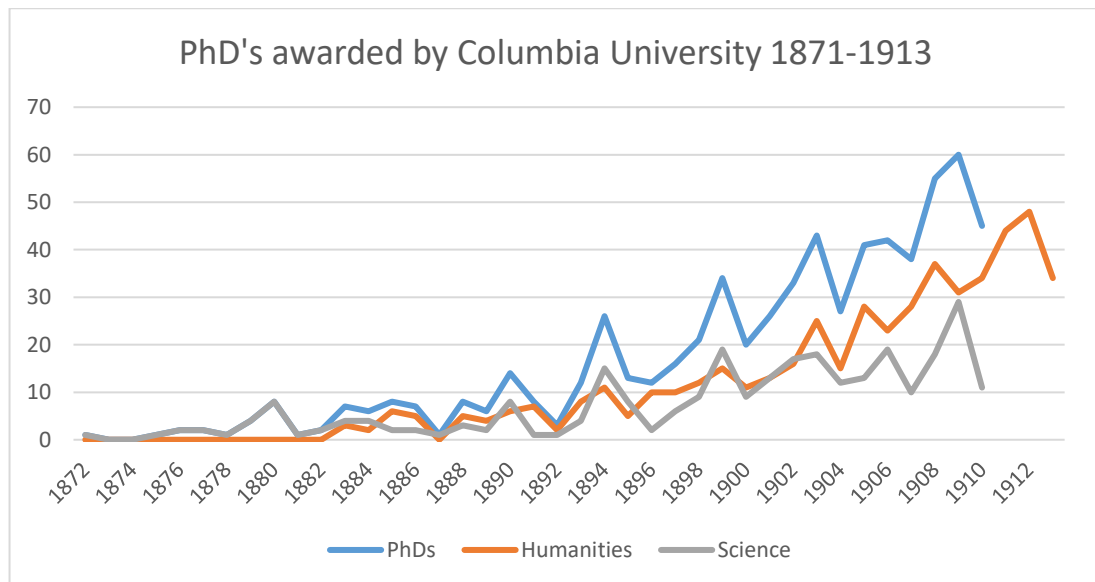


Figure 19 Number of PhDs awarded by Columbia University 1871-1913<sup>512</sup>

A comparison of the overall PhDs awarded by Columbia shows that until 1910, out of the 654 PhDs awarded by Columbia, 372 were in the field of Humanities and 282 in the field of Science. Despite gaps in the data, it seems that the number of PhDs awarded by Columbia grew overall. The number of PhDs awarded in the field of Humanities grew quite steadily, while the number in the field of Science remained far more volatile. The most likely reason was that Science related PhD theses were

<sup>510</sup> See George Black, *History of municipal ownership of land on Manhattan Island, to the beginning of sales by the commissioners of the sinking fund in 1844*, 1889, CWO B56.

<sup>511</sup> See William A. Schaper, *Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina*, 1901, CWO Sch1.

<sup>512</sup> The number of PhDs awarded by Columbia in the period 1911 to 1913 was unavailable as the list provided by Columbia only contained PhDs in the Humanities.

project related and that the rise and fall in their numbers indicated the start of new research projects. The first PhD was awarded in the field of Science in 1872 to Charles Wells Marsh for his thesis entitled *Geology of Water Supplies and Water Analysis*.<sup>513</sup> It took the Humanities eleven years to award their first PhDs in 1883, when three PhDs were awarded.<sup>514</sup> However, the number of PhDs awarded in the Humanities, right from the start, equalled that of those awarded in the field of science. In 1895-96, the number of PhDs awarded in the Humanities slowly began to supersede those awarded in the field of Science. Only in 1899 and 1902 were more PhDs awarded in science than in the Humanities. It is therefore safe to say that the focus of the research at Columbia shifted towards the Humanities by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, which is different to Berlin, where exactly the opposite phenomenon occurred.

Comparing the number of PhDs awarded with the number of students at Columbia is slightly more complicated due to the structure of the institution. The separation between undergraduate and graduate students created two independent student bodies.<sup>515</sup> The Columbia reports separated the students by year, which is something that the statistics about Berlin never did. Unlike Berlin, where a student could directly pursue the highest degree and in most cases even change institution and/or faculty without problem, a student at Columbia was compelled to apply for every degree and/or change of faculty/institution. The foundation of new faculties in the period from 1871 to 1913 creates another challenge.<sup>516</sup> While some of them exist even today,

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<sup>513</sup> Unfortunately, this thesis is also one of those missing from Columbia's archive.

<sup>514</sup> The first three PhDs were awarded to Nathan Bijur, Felix Herzog and Stephen William.

<sup>515</sup> To make a fundamental comparison of the attractiveness of the PhD, it would be required to include the admission rate of Columbia. While Columbia usually reported an increase in the number of applications, it failed to provide any data besides a mere statement in its reports.

<sup>516</sup> The separation of the Schools was less strict than one might assume. The School of Political Science, for example, reported in 1888 that "[i]t is somewhat difficult in this School to give exact numbers of the whole or of the separate classes, as most of the students are members of the Law School, and members of different classes sometimes attend the same lectures". See Columbia College, *Annual Report of the Acting President of Columbia College for the Year 1888-1889 Made to the Board of Trustees: June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1889* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1889), 7.

others, like the School of Library, only existed for two years.<sup>517</sup> Berlin established new fields of research as well, especially regarding economics and psychology, but they were all part of the Faculty of Philosophy.

The changing degree structure at Columbia makes the comparison even more difficult. In 1884, for example, Columbia awarded three kinds of bachelor degrees. The School of Political Science and the School of Mines awarded a Bachelor of Philosophy while the School of Arts was the only institution to award a Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts. The School of Law awarded the third kind of bachelor's degree, the Bachelor of Law.<sup>518</sup> Two years later, the School of Political Science awarded a Bachelor of Philosophy and Bachelor of Arts.<sup>519</sup> In 1887, the School of Philosophy awarded Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Philosophy, Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.<sup>520</sup> With the foundation of Columbia College and the separation of undergraduate and graduate studies, the structure changed again and enforced the separation of undergraduate and graduate students. While the college was now the sole institution awarding bachelor's degrees in the field of Humanities, the former Schools now focused on master and PhD students.<sup>521</sup>

On the other hand, a comparison of the number of students and the number of PhDs awarded allows one to analyse the relationship between the PhD candidates and the various groups of students. Keeping the restrictions and differences in mind, the comparison further shows the ratio between research and teaching at Columbia. It is reasonable to divide the data on Columbia at the point when Columbia College and the Graduate School were established. This also makes it possible to focus on the more research-orientated master students in the years after 1896 and to compare the master's and PhD degrees awarded. In the end, two comparisons can be made: the

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<sup>517</sup> The School moved to Albany in 1889 and became part of the New York State Library School. See Francis L. Miksa, "The Columbia School of Library Economy, 1887-1888," *Libraries & Culture* 23, no. 3 (1988), 249-280.

<sup>518</sup> See Columbia College, *Annual Report of the President of Columbia College for the Year 1886-1887 Made to the Board of Trustees: May 2, 1887* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1887), 11.

<sup>519</sup> See *ibid.*, 14.

<sup>520</sup> See Columbia University, *Annual Report of the Acting President of Columbia College for the Year 1888-1889 Made to the Board of Trustees* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1889), 9.

<sup>521</sup> See Columbia College, *Fifth Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1894* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1894), 32-33.



overall number of students at Columbia compared to the PhD degrees awarded on the one hand, and of the number of master's and PhD degrees on the other hand.

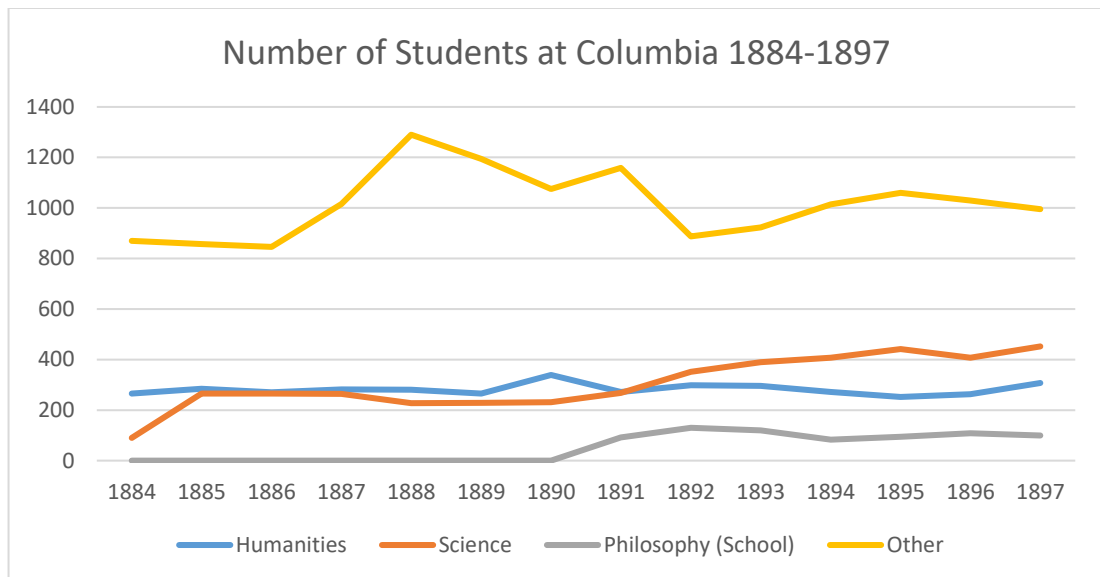


Figure 20 Number of students at Columbia 1884-1897

To analyse the student numbers until the 1896s, the student body was separated into three groups. Science students consisted of those from the School of Mines, later renamed the School of Applied Science, including the students of the School of Graduate Instruction who were affiliated to the School of Mines, and the School of Pure Science. Humanities students consisted of those from the School of Arts, the School of Political Science, the School of Library Economy, and the School of Graduate Instruction, the latter of whom being affiliated to the School of Arts. 'Others' consisted of students at the School of Law and the School of Medicine.<sup>522</sup> Finally, students at the School of Philosophy were placed in a separate group, as they were able to attend courses offered by all of the other Schools. Although this was possible for all students, the School of Philosophy was particularly designed to serve as a 'Meta-School'.<sup>523</sup> Comparing these numbers with the number of PhDs awarded, one can see that the number of students in the fields of Humanities and Science

<sup>522</sup> The fall in the number of students in this group between 1891 and 1892 was due to a change in the School of Law, because of which students were no longer able to study and work in law offices due to the intensified course schedule. One could say that the course was upgraded from 'part-time' to 'full-time'. See Columbia College, *Third Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1892* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1892), 29.

<sup>523</sup> See Columbia College, *Fifth Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1894*, 114-115

developed equally. This is surprising as the newly-founded Schools primarily focused on topics related to the Humanities. After all, the only non-Humanities School was the School of Pure Science, which was founded in 1892. This means that although Columbia extended its institutions focusing on the Humanities, there was no increase in the percentage of students in this field of research compared to those in the field of Science.

Another important development was the foundation of the School of Philosophy and the end of double registration. Before the foundation of the School of Philosophy, students could register with more than one school. However, they were not separated in the statistics. Students could have been counted twice or even more, depending on the number of Schools at which they were registered. The foundation of the School of Philosophy and the end of double registration mostly affected the School of Political Science, whose student number dropped from 164 in 1893 to 28 by 1894.<sup>524</sup>

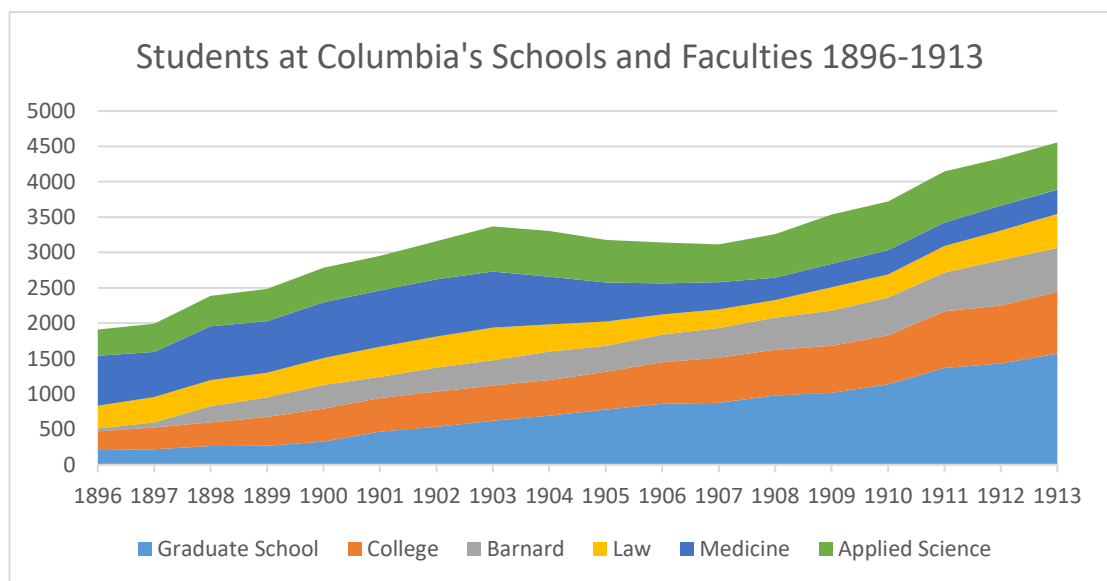


Figure 21 Students at Columbia's schools and faculties 1896-1913<sup>525</sup>

<sup>524</sup> See Columbia College, *Third Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1892*, 23.

<sup>525</sup> This chart does not include the later-founded Schools of Architecture, Music, and Journalism, as their numbers remained small until 1913. Students attending the "Evening Technical and Extension Teaching" classes and the affiliated College of Pharmacy and Teachers College tended to be professionals who were pursuing a 'part-time' course, which is why they were not added. Students attending the Summer Sessions were excluded as they were not there to acquire a degree and due to the substantial number of double registrations. Columbia followed this procedure in its own statistics. See Columbia University, *Annual*

During the restructuring process, that began in 1896, the student body at Columbia changed. The newly-created Graduate School consisted of the School of Philosophy, School of Pure Science and School of Political Science. Initially, these three Schools needed to establish their working procedures regarding how to admit and register students, and how and which degrees they wished to award. This process is also reflected in Columbia's reports on the restructuring period, as a student was counted as part of the Graduate School as well as part of the School of both his major and Minor subject. However, this led, again, to frequent double registrations, which is probably why this procedure was abandoned in 1901.<sup>526</sup> Following this initialisation period, the Graduate School became the largest of all the institutions at Columbia. While the number of students at Columbia's other institutions remained volatile, the number of registered students at the Graduate School never fell. In 1896, 208 students were registered at one or several of the three institutions of the Graduate School. Only six years later, this number had nearly doubled, rising to 535. Only the School of Applied Science, formerly known as the School of Mines, and the School of Medicine had more students at that time. However, only two years later, the Graduate School had also superseded these two Schools too. In 1909, there were more than 1000 students registered at the Graduate School and, by 1913, 1570 students were studying at the Graduate School.

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*Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1913* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1913), 214.

<sup>526</sup> During the presidency of Low, the Schools released the number of Master's degrees awarded, including the names of the candidates and the name of the essays. In the last year of Low's presidency (1900-1901), this procedure however stopped.

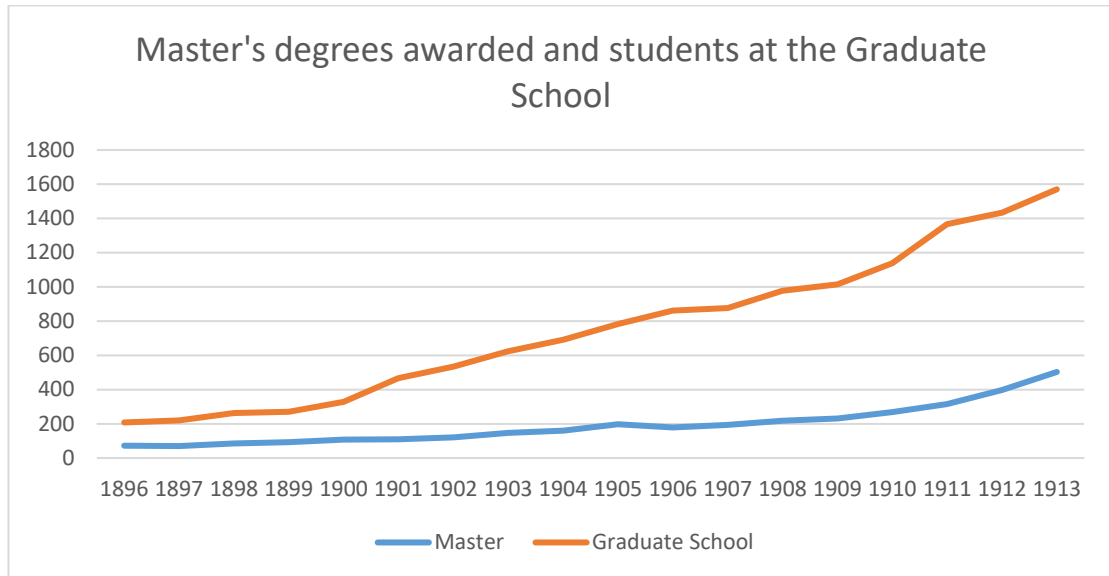


Figure 22 Master's degrees awarded by and number of students at Columbia's Graduate School, 1896-1913

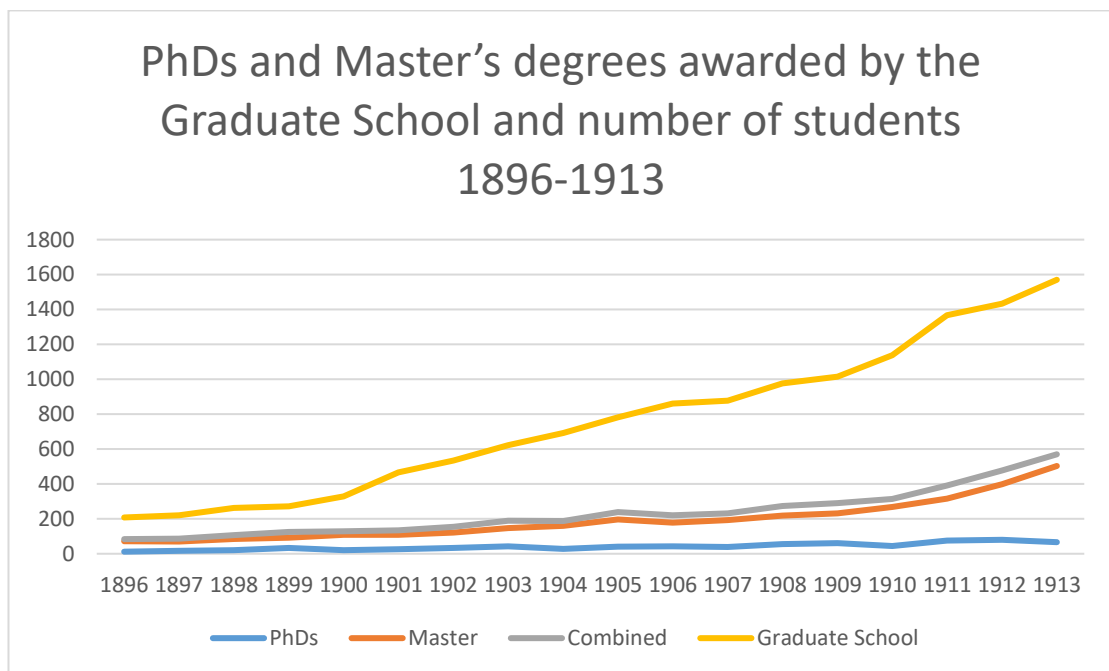


Figure 23 PhDs and master's degrees awarded by the Graduate School and number of students, 1896-1913

In 1901, there were more students studying at the Graduate School than at Columbia College or Barnard College. By 1913, the number of Graduate School students superseded the number of students at the two colleges combined. This means that even if the Graduate School admitted every student of its colleges, there would still have had to be students from other colleges present.

The growth of the Graduate School transformed Columbia from a teaching-orientated institution into one where research was an integral. This is reflected in the reports, as lists of published research papers or ongoing research projects became a vital component, designed to convince the Board of Trustees of the success of each of the Graduate School's schools. The rising number of graduate students also led to an increasing number of master's degrees awarded. However, not every student studying at the Graduate School finished his studies. In fact, the number of students compared to the number of master's degrees awarded is surprisingly low. Until about 1900, only every third student finished his studies and received a degree.<sup>527</sup>

The vision of Burgess, which brought him to Columbia, to create a selective German-style university that superseded the other American universities in terms of unity of teaching and research was achieved shortly before the ties between the Columbia and Berlin were broken off due to the outbreak of the First World. However, as in Berlin, the teaching element of the Graduate School grew disproportionately compared to research. In 1900, one out of every five degrees awarded by Columbia's Graduate School was a PhD. By 1913, this ratio had changed to one in eight.<sup>528</sup>

### 5.3 Age

When analysing the average age of the PhD candidates at Columbia, one must remember that Columbia's admission age changed over time. Furthermore, the university was not part of a state organised education system, which allowed students to pursue a clear path of studies until their final graduation. Interruptions in a student's CV to acquire additional qualifications are therefore common.

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<sup>527</sup> This ratio assumes that a Master's student required two years to finish his studies and a PhD candidate required four years.

<sup>528</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 160-162.

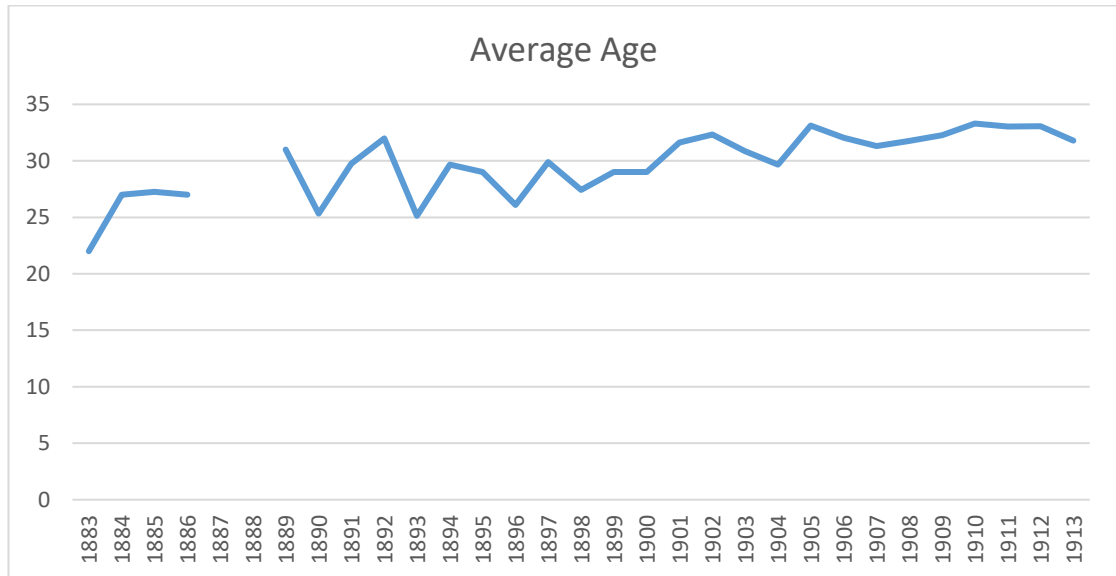


Figure 24 Average age of PhD candidates at Columbia, 1896-1913<sup>529</sup>

The average age of PhD candidates increases constantly. Until 1900, the average age was 27.73 years. The oldest candidate was Wilhelm Eckhoff, who received his PhD in 1894 at the age of 41.<sup>530</sup> Two other candidates were 40 when they finished their PhD degree. One was John Crowell, who received his PhD in 1897,<sup>531</sup> and the other was Georg Olcott, who received his PhD two years later.<sup>532</sup> Meanwhile, the two youngest candidates were 21 years old when they were awarded their PhD. One was Nathan Bijour, who received his PhD in 1883 and was also one of the first three PhD candidates in Humanities,<sup>533</sup> and the other was William Washington, who received his PhD in 1898.<sup>534</sup>

After 1900, the average age rose to 31.80 years. This means that the average age was only about two years less than the average age today.<sup>535</sup> The oldest candidate

<sup>529</sup> The gap in the data for the academic year of 1887-1888 is due to fact that there were no PhD candidates in these years or no data about the age were available.

<sup>530</sup> See Wilhelm Eckhoff, *Kant's inaugural dissertation of 1770*, 1894, CXO Ec5.

<sup>531</sup> See John Corwell, *The logical process of social development; a theoretical foundation for educational policy from the standpoint of sociology*, 1898, CWO C886.

<sup>532</sup> See George Olcott, *Studies on the word formation of the Latin inscriptions, substantives and adjectives, with special reference to the Latin Sermo Vulgaris*, 1898, CXO OL1.

<sup>533</sup> See Nathan Bijur, *History of the charter of New York City, 1642-1857*, 1883, CWO B48.

<sup>534</sup> See William Washington, *The formal and material elements of Kant's Ethics*, 1898, CXO W27.

<sup>535</sup> In 2003, the average age of a PhD candidate in the US in the field of Humanities was 33 years old at the time of graduation. See Thomas Hoffer and Vincent Welch, JR., *Time to*

was Charley Keyes, who received his PhD in 1911, at the age of 53. He was born in 1858 and received his bachelor's degree in 1879 from St. John's College, after which, among other things, he worked as a teacher and superintendent. He studied as a graduate student at the University of California from 1892 to 1896, at Clark University from 1897 to 1899 and at the Teachers College of Columbia University from 1910 to 1911. However, he does not mention if he acquired a degree from any of these institutions.<sup>536</sup> The five youngest candidates were 23 years of age when they received their PhD.<sup>537</sup>

Due to the different system, the students' average age on admission was of interest for Columbia. Unlike Berlin, where most students joined immediately after obtaining their *Abitur*, which meant that they were about the same age, there was no such structure in the US at that time. Analysing the structure of its student body regarding their age was therefore required for Columbia to know how the said body changed and developed.

In 1884, the average age of a student at the School of Arts, was 17.38 years. The youngest student was 15, and the oldest 21.<sup>538</sup> In 1895, the year before the Graduate School and College were separated, the average age was 17.5 while the youngest and oldest student were both a year older than was the case in 1884.<sup>539</sup> The reforms of 1896 had no effect on the students' age on admission.<sup>540</sup> However, two things are important. The first is that, although Columbia had a minimum admission age, its average admission age was far higher. The intention in introducing a minimum admission age was therefore not necessarily to increase the average age of the student body but simply to draw a line regarding the lowest possible age one could start his studies. The other thing is the comparison with Berlin. At first sight, one might say that the age of admission at Columbia and Berlin was the same, even though the

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*Degree of U.S. Research Doctorate Recipients*, accessed 11<sup>th</sup> October 2017, <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/infbrief/nsf06312>.

<sup>536</sup> See Charles Keyes, *Progress through the grades of city schools; a study of acceleration and arrest*, 1911, CXO K523.

<sup>537</sup> Those were Bernard Franzen-Swedelin, Julius Bewer, Benjamin Robinson, Nathan Stern and Francis Chapin.

<sup>538</sup> See Columbia College, *Annual Report of the President of Columbia College made to the Board of Trustees, May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1885* (New York (NY): Columbia College, 1885), 11.

<sup>539</sup> See Columbia College, *Fifth Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1894*, 49.

<sup>540</sup> See *ibid.*, 69.

systems were different. This is, however, not the case, since the School of Philosophy and later the Graduate School admitted students with a *testimonium maturitatis*, which is essentially the German *Abitur*. As this degree was usually awarded by the age of 18, it means that a German student could start his master's and even PhD studies at Columbia at the age of 18 while an American candidate first had to obtain a bachelor's degree, which he usually acquired after attending college for three or four years. This means that he was about three to four years older when starting his master's or PhD degree than his German counterpart.<sup>541</sup>

This is also reflected by the average age of the PhD candidates at Columbia born in the German Empire. In the period after 1900, the average age of these German candidates was 30.44 years. This, however, includes Robert Lau, who was 49 years old and therefore far above the average. He did not attend high school in Germany and moved to the US in 1878 at the age of 20. From 1894 to 1900, he studied at Columbia College and the University of Pennsylvania. Only a year later, he graduated from Columbia's Graduate School with a master's degree.<sup>542</sup> If his case is excluded from the data, the average age drops to 28.13 years. The youngest German candidate at Columbia was Julius Bewer, who received his PhD in 1900, at the age of 23. He obtained his *Abitur* in Germany and went to New York to study at the Union Theological Seminary, from which he obtained a Bachelor of Divinity in 1898. He taught at the said institution while continuing his studies at Columbia.<sup>543</sup>

## 5.4 Geographical Background

Columbia saw itself as part of New York City, especially after the reform of 1896, when it changed its name to Columbia University in the City of New York. However, to compete with other emerging institutions in the northeast of the US, Columbia was compelled to recruit the brightest students not just from New York City but also from the whole country and even abroad. Data about the geographical background of students was added to the yearly reports of Columbia's president for the first time in

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<sup>541</sup> In 1895 and 1896, the School of Arts, now part of the Graduate School, admitted six students with a *testimonium maturitatis* each year. See Columbia College, *Fifth Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 1, 1894*, 109, and See Columbia University, *Seventh Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1896* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1896), 144.

<sup>542</sup> See Robert Julius Lau, *Old Babylonian temple records*, 1905, CXO L36.

<sup>543</sup> See Julius Bewer, *History of the New Testament canon in the Syrian church*, 1900, CXO B46.



1886.<sup>544</sup> However, as in the case of age, not each yearly report contained such data.<sup>545</sup>

#### **5.4.1 Candidates from the US<sup>546</sup>**

Most of the PhD candidates were American. In the period up until 1900, 74.36% of the PhD candidates whose place of birth was noted were born in the US. During the following period, the percentage of American PhD candidates increased to 82.95% of the total. One could argue that the rise of American PhD candidates at Columbia and the fall of American PhD candidates in Berlin after 1900 are connected. The more the American institutions improved, the more likely it was for an American scholar to acquire his PhD in his home country rather than abroad.

Most American PhD candidates were born in one of the states of the North Atlantic Division. In the period up until 1900, 65.52% of the American PhD candidates whose place of birth is recorded were born in a state within this division. During the following period, this percentage dropped by nearly 20% to 46.64%. The percentage of PhD candidates from Manhattan and Brooklyn dropped too. In the period before 1900, 39.66% of the American PhD candidates were born in the state of New York, 25.86% were born in Manhattan and 6.9% in Brooklyn. An example of the attractiveness of Columbia for the students of New York was William Bondy. He was born in 1868 in Manhattan and received his bachelor's, master's and PhD degrees from Columbia.<sup>547</sup> After 1900, the percentage of American PhD candidates born in the state of New York dropped by nearly 13%, to 26.88%. The percentage of PhD candidates born in Manhattan dropped to only 8.30%, less than a third compared with the period before, while the percentage of PhD candidates born in Brooklyn dropped to 3.56%. The policy of Columbia to increase its recruitment radius beyond New York affected every state in the North Atlantic Division. The percentage of American PhD candidates born in the state of New Jersey, for example, dropped from 5.17% to 3.56%.

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<sup>544</sup> See Columbia College, *Annual Report of the President of Columbia College Made to the Board of Trustees, May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1886*, 12.

<sup>545</sup> Data provided about the students at the School of Arts were included until 1896.

<sup>546</sup> The following comparison between the various states and divisions does not include the individual growth of the US population. Being an immigration country, the percentage of immigrants would be required, especially if they went to schools in their country of origin, and what kind of school they visited.

<sup>547</sup> See William Bondy, *Separation of Governemental Powers*, 1893, CWO B64.

The North Central Division benefitted the most from Columbia's efforts to attract more students from further afar. Up until 1900, 25.86% of the students were born in one of the states of this region. During the following period, the percentage rose by nearly 10% to 35.57%. The percentage of students from the South Atlantic Division, nearly tripled, from 3.45% to 9.88%, while the South-Central Division grew by only 0.5%, from 3.45% to 3.95%.

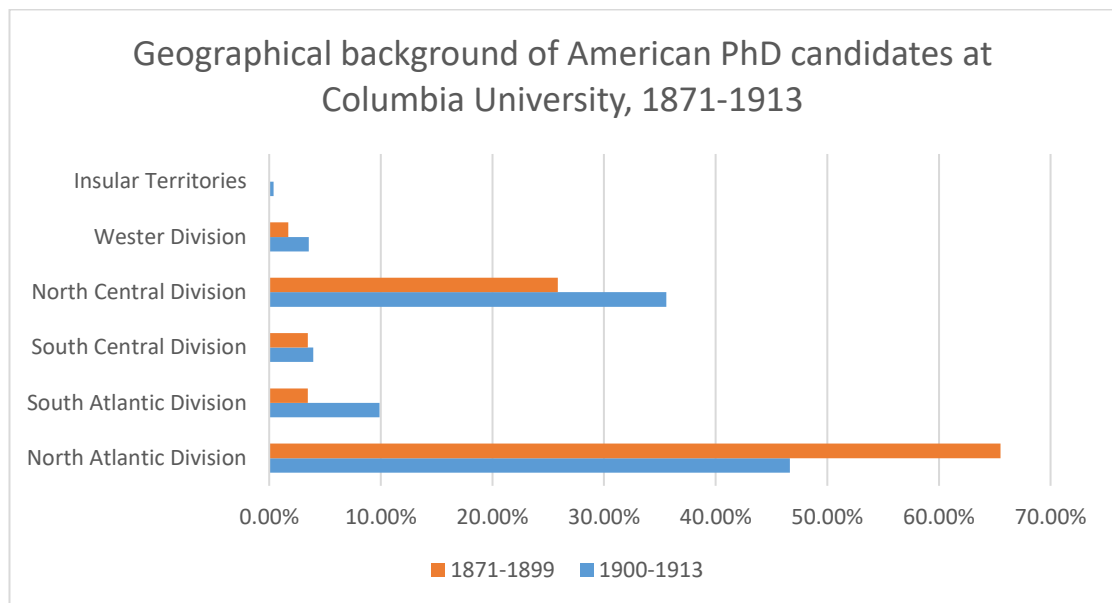
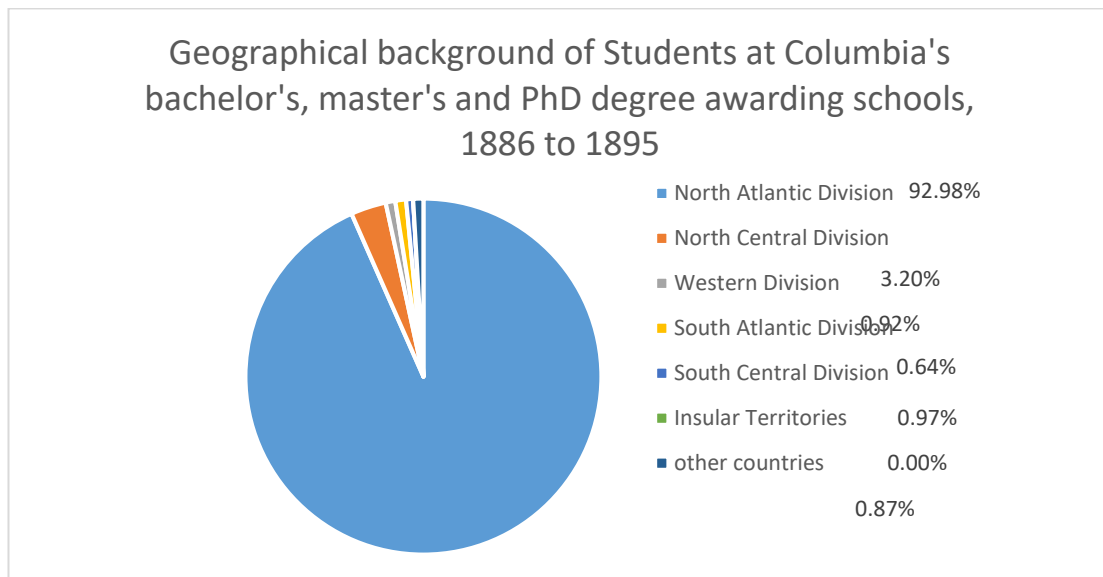


Figure 25 Geographical background of American PhD candidates at Columbia University, 1871-1913

The percentage of American PhD candidates from the Western Territories grew from 1.72% to 3.56%. Meanwhile, there was no PhD candidate from the American Insular Territories until 1900 and only one after 1900. This was Holmes Beckwith. He was born in 1884 on the Hawaiian Islands. He left Hawaii as a child and attended grammar school in Montclair, New Jersey, and high school in Los Angeles. He studied at the University of California, from which he acquired a Bachelor of Letters and a Master of Letters in 1908 and 1909 respectively. He received his PhD in 1913 for his thesis *German industrial education and its lessons for the US*, for which he studied in Germany in 1911. Like many other PhD candidates at Columbia, who were working in colleges as tutors or lecturers, he worked as an instructor in economics at Dartmouth college.<sup>548</sup>

<sup>548</sup> See Beckwith Holmes, *German industrial education and its lessons*, 1913, CWO B384.



*Figure 26 Geographical background of students at Columbia's bachelor's, master's and PhD awarding schools, 1886 to 1895<sup>549</sup>*

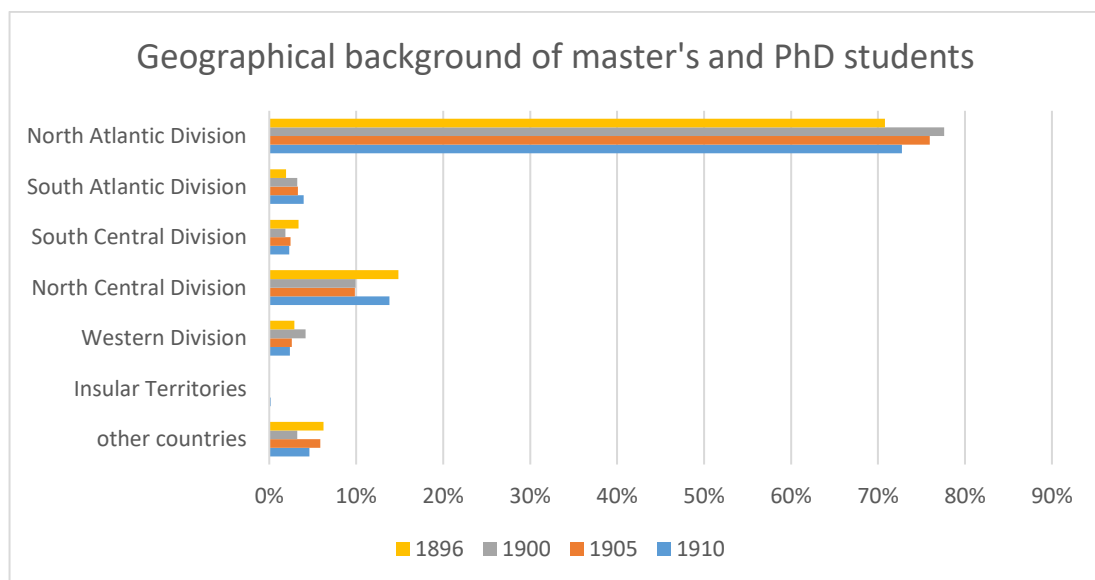
In 1886, 96% of the students at Columbia's Bachelor's, Master's and PhD awarding Schools were born in one of the states of the North Atlantic Division. Ten years later, this percentage dropped by 3%, to 93%. While the percentage of all the other divisions grew, the percentage of students from the North Central Division grew the most. In 1886, only 0.15% of the students were born in this division while, by 1895, this percentage has grown to 3.13%.

One could argue that the drop of just 3% of students from the North Atlantic Division is not really a sign of a more diverse student body. However, it is important to separate the percentage of students from the State of New York, Manhattan and Brooklyn before making such an assumption. In 1886, 82% of the students were born in the State of New York, 53% were born in Manhattan and 15% in Brooklyn. Ten years later, the percentage of students from the State of New York had dropped by 13%, to 69%, while 47% were born in Manhattan and 10% in Brooklyn. This indicates that the efforts of Columbia to attract more students beyond New York City seems to have been successful before the separation of Columbia College and the Graduate School and at least included more students from its neighbouring states. Overall, 76% of the

<sup>549</sup> The data include the information provided by Columbia's report about the School of Arts, School of Mines, School of Political Science, School of Pure Science and School of Philosophy. There was no report in 1888 and the report of 1893 was unavailable. The School of Mines only reported the number of students in 1892 but not their place of birth.

students from 1886 to 1895 were born in the State of New York, 45% in New York City and 12% in Brooklyn.

Due to the reforms of 1896, it was now possible to separate the bachelor's from the master's students and PhD candidates. In 1896, 71% of the students at the School of Political Science, School of Pure Science and the School of Philosophy, now part of Columbia's Graduate School, were born in the Northern Division. It is unlikely that this drop of 22% for students from this division happened within a year due to the reforms. It is more likely that the master's students were always more diverse regarding their geographical background than the bachelor's students. This is supported by the fact that the percentage of students from the Northern Atlantic Division rises to 86% if the college students are included.



*Figure 27 Geographical background of master's and PhD students, 1896, 1900, 1905 and 1910*

Although the percentage of master's students and PhD candidates from the North Atlantic Division grew again after the reforms of 1896, it never exceeded 80%. All regions of the US benefited equally from the growing number of students at Columbia. Meanwhile, the PhD candidates became far more diverse regarding their geographical background. Being able to attract promising PhD candidates from further afield not only helped Columbia to improve its reputation as an outstanding teaching and research institution, but further meant that its reputation was already strong enough outside Columbia's regular area of recruitment. Due to the wide differences among the divisions regarding the numbers and percentages of PhD candidates, a comparison of the average age is not feasible for every division and

state. The focus was therefore on comparing the two divisions with the largest number of PhD candidates, the North Atlantic and Northern Division, and the two largest states, New York and New Jersey, as well as the two main parts of today's New York City: Manhattan and Brooklyn.

It is safe to say that it was an advantage to be born in Manhattan. The average age up until 1900 was 25.17 years and 29.95 during the following period. A PhD candidate born in Manhattan was therefore two years younger than the average. The results of the comparison of the remaining regions, states and divisions are more ambiguous. The average age of a PhD candidate from Brooklyn prior to 1900 was 30.25 years, while during the following period it was 30.33. This means that PhD candidates from Brooklyn were, up until 1900, older than the average, the reverse was the case after 1900. For all PhD candidates from the State of New York combined, the average age up until 1900 was 27.14 years and, after 1900, it was 31.78 years, which means that, during both periods, the PhD candidates from this state lay within the average age. Meanwhile, the average age of PhD candidates from the State of New Jersey was 25 years before and 31.38 years after 1900.

One might assume that the average age of the PhD candidates from the North Atlantic Division would be below the average before 1900. However, for all PhD candidates from this division combined, their average age was 30.21 years before and 34.65 years after 1900. The PhD candidates from the North Central Division were, on average, 26.04 years old before 1900 and 33.37 years after. The conclusion from these results is that the efforts of Columbia to extend its recruitment range beyond the City of New York were successful but those living in neighbouring or closely-connected states benefited from the proximity by being able to finish at an earlier age compared to PhD candidates from further afar.<sup>550</sup>

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<sup>550</sup> Additional data from neighbouring universities like Yale or Harvard would further support this conclusion by comparing their recruitment area and age on graduation.

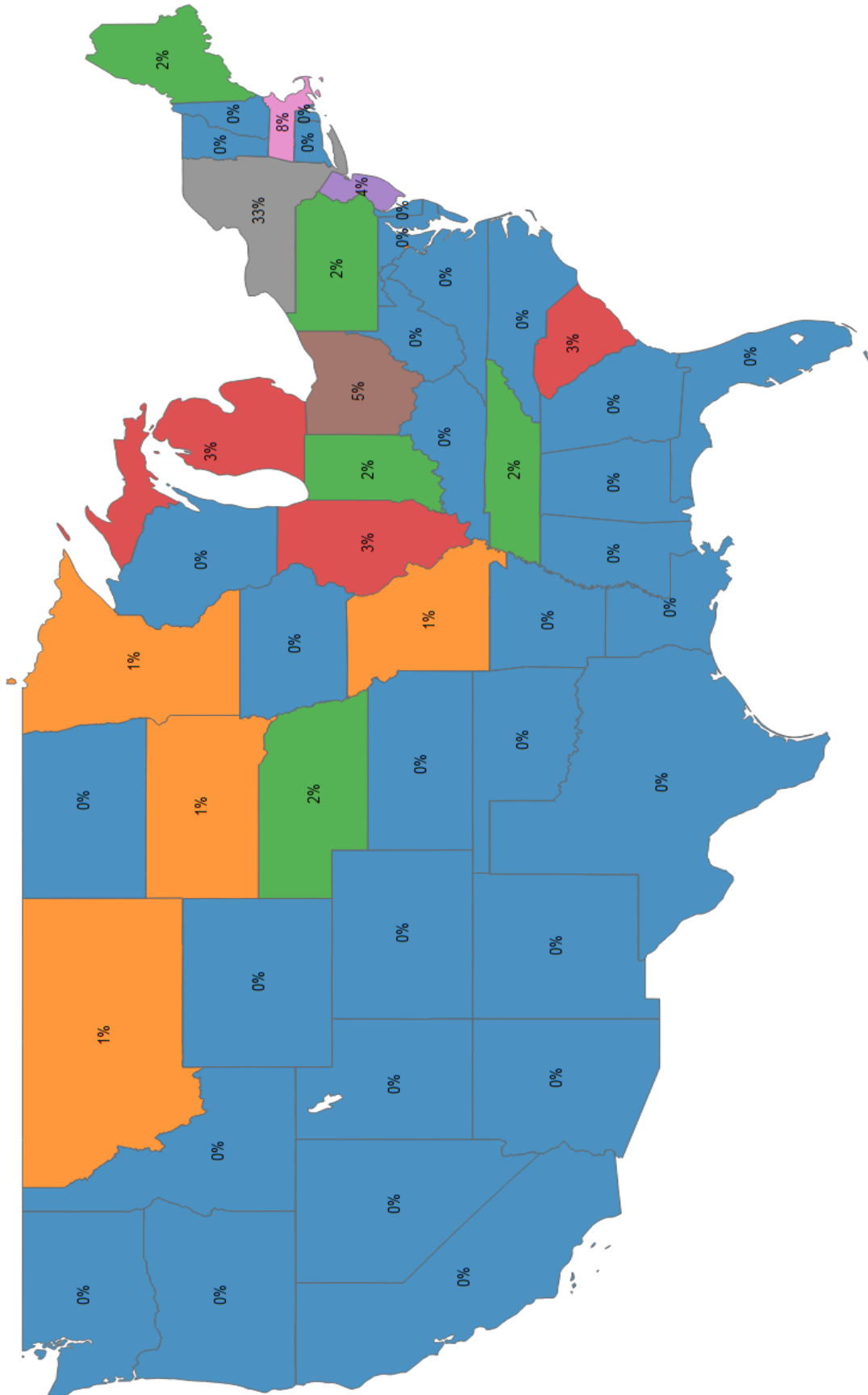


Figure 28 Geographical background of American PhD candidates at Columbia University, 1871-1899

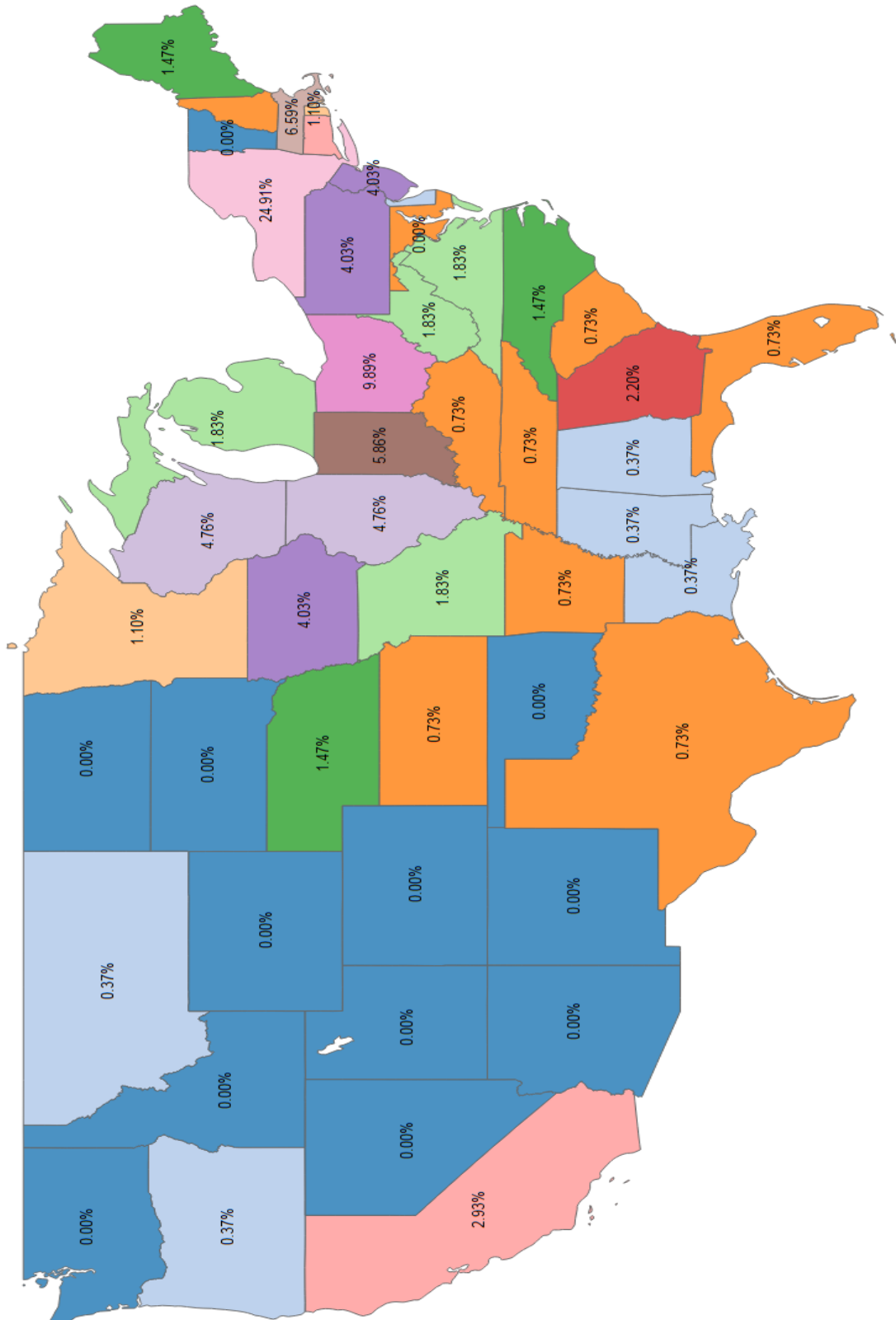


Figure 29 Geographical background of American PhD candidates at Columbia University, 1900-1913<sup>551</sup>

<sup>551</sup> Hawaii, with a percentage of 0.37% is not shown in the map.

### 5.4.2 Non-American Candidates

Up until 1900, 32.22% of the PhD candidates at Columbia were born outside the US. During the following period, this percentage fell to 20.55% of the PhD candidates. As the United States of America continued to attract migrants, it is even more important to analyse the education history of the foreign PhD candidates; simply because a student was born abroad does not mean that he also obtained his education there.

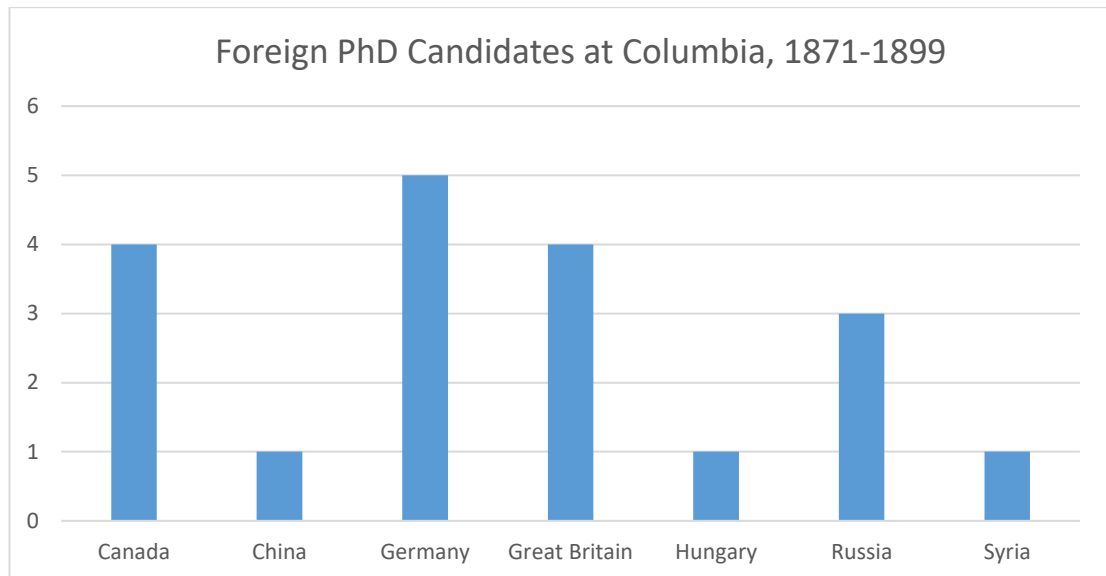


Figure 30 Foreign PhD candidates at Columbia, 1871-1899

During the period up until 1900, the largest group of foreign born PhD candidates was born in the German Empire, followed, in descending order, by Great Britain, Canada, and Russia. One candidate was born in China, one in Hungary and another one Syria. The first Canadian PhD candidate was Arthur Beatty, who was born in 1869 in Kikton, Ontario. He obtained his primary education in Canada and attended the University of Toronto and later Cornell University before joining Columbia University in 1895. In 1897, he was awarded his PhD degree by Columbia.<sup>552</sup> The University of Toronto seems to have provided a good preparation for subsequent study at Columbia University, as two other PhD candidates from Canada, William Tamblin and John Angus MacVennel, both of whom obtained their PhD in 1898, attended this institution. John Angus MacVennel attended, like Arthur Beatty, Cornell University,<sup>553</sup> while William Tamblin studied at the American School in Rome before joining Columbia University in 1897.<sup>554</sup> On the other hand, James Walter Crook is an example of a PhD

<sup>552</sup> See Arthur Beatty, *Browning's verse-form*, 1897, CXO B38.

<sup>553</sup> See William Tamblin, *The establishment of Roman power in Britain*, 1898, CXO T15.

<sup>554</sup> See John Angus MacVennel, *Hegel's doctrine of the will*, 1898, CXO M25.



candidate who was born abroad but received his primary education in the US. He was born in 1859 in Ontario, being the fourth PhD candidate at Columbia from Canada until 1900. He attended high school in Michigan, followed by Oberlin College, from which he graduated in 1891. After working as a teacher, he moved to Berlin where he studied Economics at the University of Berlin. On returning to the US, he was granted a scholarship by Columbia University, and awarded a PhD in 1898.<sup>555</sup>

Of the six remaining foreign-born PhD candidates at Columbia before 1899, five attended at least grammar school in their country of birth. Ludwig Bernstein obtained his *testimonum maturitatis* at a German Gymnasium in Mitau, Russia, in 1890. Three years later, he started his studies at Columbia University and obtained first his master's degree in 1894 and later his PhD degree in 1897.<sup>556</sup> Isaac Aaronovich was born in 1860 in Russia and graduated from the University of St. Petersburg in 1887. In 1890, he was forced to leave his homeland as a political refugee<sup>557</sup> and started studying at Columbia University. Three years later he acquired his PhD.<sup>558</sup> Morrey Lacey Clement, on the other hand, was born in China in 1865. His parents moved to the US in 1872, which means that he did not receive his primary education in China. After receiving a bachelor's degree in 1887 and a master's degree in 1890 from Wesleyan University, he worked as a teacher before joining Columbia University in 1896 and received his and received his PhD in 1899.<sup>559</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> See James Walter Crook, *German wage theories*, 1898, CWO C882.

<sup>556</sup> See Ludwig Bernstein, *The order of words in Old Norse prose, with occasional references to the other Germanic dialects*, 1897, CXO B452.

<sup>557</sup> See Rosenthal Herman and Frederick T. Haneman, "Hourwich, Issac Aaronovich," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Isidor Singer, ed., vol. 6 (New York (NY): Funk and Wagnalls, 1904), 484.

<sup>558</sup> See Isaac Aaronovich Hourwich, *Economics of the Russian Village*, 1893, CWO H81.

<sup>559</sup> See Clement Morrey Lacey Sites, *Centralized administration of liquor laws in the American commonwealth*, 1899, CWO Si8.

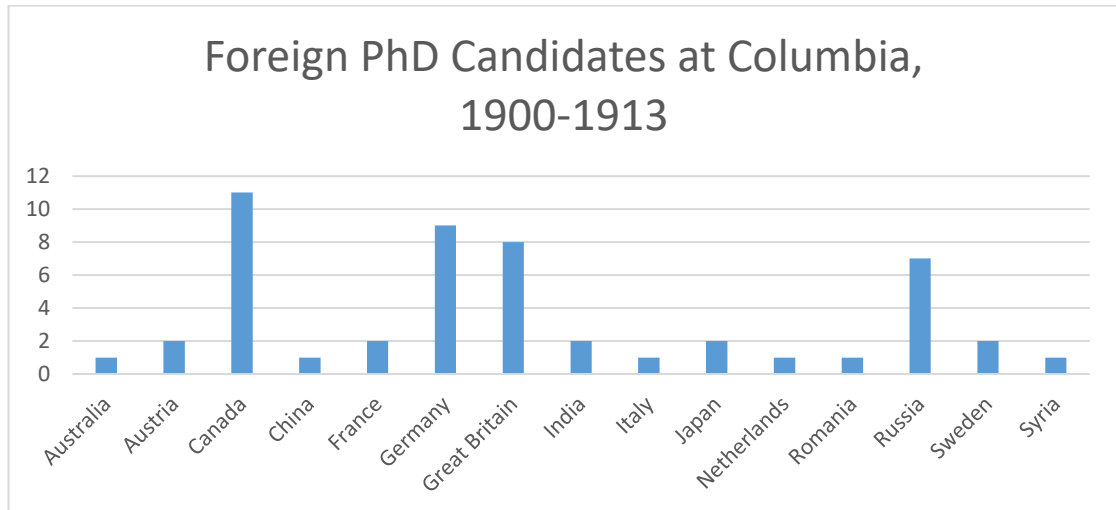


Figure 31 Foreign PhD Candidates at Columbia, 1900-1913

The growing number of PhD candidates also led to greater diversity among the foreign PhD candidates. PhD candidates born in 15 different countries were awarded a PhD between 1900 and 1913. PhD candidates from Canada, the German Empire, Great Britain and Russia were still the four largest groups. Eleven PhD candidates were born in Canada, nine in Germany, eight in Great Britain and seven in Russia.

Out of the eleven PhD candidates from Canada, only Mary Gertrude Cushing had not been educated in Canada.<sup>560</sup> All the other Canadian PhD candidates graduated from a Canadian college or university before starting their studies at Columbia. Six graduated from the University of Toronto.<sup>561</sup> Only two Canadian PhD candidates did not directly attend Columbia University after graduating from Toronto. One was Wilhelm Alfred Braun, born in 1873 in Ontario. He started his studies at the University of Toronto in 1891. After graduating and working as a tutor, he received a German fellowship at the University of Chicago in 1897. In 1900, he started working at Barnard College and graduated from Columbia University in 1903.<sup>562</sup> Luther Herbert Alexander was born in Toronto in 1863 and received his bachelor's as well as master's degree from the University of Toronto. Afterwards, he worked as a teacher in Ontario and studied in Leipzig from 1892 to 1893. In 1903, he joined Columbia University, received his PhD in 1911.<sup>563</sup>

<sup>560</sup> See Mary Gertrude Cushing, *Pierre Le Tourneur*, 1909, CXO C958.

<sup>561</sup> See Alexander Myers, *The Old Testament in the Sunday-school*, 1912, CXO M99.

<sup>562</sup> See Wilhelm Alfred Braun, *Types of weltenschmerz in German poetry*, 1903, CXO B732.

<sup>563</sup> See Luther Herbert Alexander, *Participial substantives of the ata type in the Romance languages, with special references to French*, 1911, CXO A127.

Of the remaining foreign-born 17 PhD candidates, excluding those from Germany and Great Britain, only one received his primary education in the US. Sidney Zandstra was born in 1883 in Meedhuizen, The Netherlands, but visited a public school of Chicago. In 1903, he graduated from Hoe College, Michigan and later visited the Princeton Theological Seminary, which awarded him a Bachelor of Divinity in 1907. Afterwards, he joined Columbia University and received his PhD in 1909.<sup>564</sup> Others visited various schools and colleges. Alfred Dennis, for example, was born in 1874 in Syria to American parents, visited the grammar school in Kaiserswerth in the German Empire and was later educated by a private tutor in New Jersey. In 1892, he joined Princeton and received a bachelor's degree in 1896. He received his PhD from Columbia in 1901, after working for a year as an assistant at Harvard University.<sup>565</sup> Another case was Isaac Leon Kandel. He was born in 1881 to English parents in Rumania. He attended the public elementary school in Manchester and later the Victoria University of Manchester, from which he received a teacher's diploma in 1906. After working at the Royal Academical Institute of Belfast and visiting the Jena Summer School in 1907, he joined Columbia University in 1908 and was awarded a PhD in 1910.<sup>566</sup> Percival Richard Cole is the only PhD candidate in this group who had a connection to the University of London. He was born in 1879 in New South Wales and attended Sydney High School as well as the University of Sydney. In December of 1905, he was awarded a post-graduate diploma by the University of London. Only two months later, he joined Columbia University and received his PhD in 1907.<sup>567</sup>

Excluding the non-German and British PhD candidates, these results show that most foreign PhD candidates had received their primary education in their country of origin rather than at Columbia or another institution in the US. This means that while the reputation of Columbia was already attracting foreign students without any pre-existing connection to the US, Columbia's international reputation for outstanding research and teaching began to develop in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and that the reforms of 1896 were the tipping point.

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<sup>564</sup> See Sidney Zandstra, *The witness of the Vulgate, Peshitta and Septuagint to the text of Zephaniah*, 1909, CXO Y17

<sup>565</sup> See Alfred Dennis, *Eastern problems at the close of the eighteenth century*, 1901, CWO D42.

<sup>566</sup> See Isaac Leon Kandel, *The training of elementary school teachers in Germany*, 1910, CXO K134.

<sup>567</sup> See Percival Richard Cole, *Herbart and Froebel: an attempt at synthesis*, 1907, CXO C672.

#### 5.4.2.1 The Germans

Up until 1900, five PhD candidates at Columbia were born in Germany. During the following period, this number rose to nine. This means that there were overall 14 PhD candidates born in Germany until 1913 at Columbia. Up until 1900, none of the German PhD candidates seemed to have migrated to the US before finishing their primary education in the German Empire. During the following period, five out of the nine German PhD candidates migrated to the US before finishing their primary or secondary education in the German Empire.

Of these, the oldest candidate, Alfred Stoeckius,<sup>568</sup> was 16 and the youngest, Edward Sapir,<sup>569</sup> was six when they arrived in the US. Edward Sapir graduated from Horace Mann and De Witt Clinton High School, joined Columbia College in 1901 and afterwards Columbia's Graduate School. Alfred Stoeckius arrived in the US in 1891, started studying two years later at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia and, in 1895, at the University of Philadelphia. He continued his studies at Columbia University and received first a master's degree in 1900 and later a PhD degree in 1903.<sup>570</sup> Rudolf Tombo, another one of this group, who received his PhD in 1901, had a very diverse CV. He attended New York City public schools and later the College of the City of New York, from which he acquired a Bachelor of Science degree in 1895. After working as a translator and correspondent for a German chemical company, he joined Columbia University in 1897. He studied for two semesters in Leipzig in 1899 and 1900 and conducted research at the British Museum.<sup>571</sup> Arthur Remy attended the *Gymnasium* in Germany but did not acquire any qualifications there, as he had arrived in the US by the age of eleven. In 1890, he graduated from the College of the City of New York and started working as a teacher at the same institution. He started his studies at Columbia in 1896, acquired a master's degree in 1897 and a PhD degree in 1901.<sup>572</sup> Robert Julius Lau graduated from a German *Bürgerschule* but this did not qualify him to study at a German university. He arrived in the US in 1878 and,

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<sup>568</sup> See Edward Sapir, *The Takelma language of southwestern Oregon*, 1909, CXO Sa6.

<sup>569</sup> See Alfred Stoeckius, *Naturalism in the recent German drama, with special reference to Gerhart Hauptmann*, 1903, CXO St6.

<sup>570</sup> Alfred Stoeckius does not mention when he moved to Columbia nor does he mention if he received a Bachelor's degree from the University of Philadelphia.

<sup>571</sup> See Rudolf Tombo, *Ossian in Germany; bibliography, general survey. Ossian's influence upon Klopstock and the bards*, 1901, CXO T59.

<sup>572</sup> See Arthur Remy, *The influence of India and Persia on the poetry of Germany*, 1901, 830.9 R28.

after being prepared by private teachers, started studying at the Central Pennsylvania College. After interrupting his studies to join the ministry, he acquired a bachelor's degree in 1900. He joined Columbia University and was awarded a Master's degree in 1901 and a PhD degree in 1905.<sup>573</sup>

Only one PhD candidate born in Germany studied at a German university before he joined Columbia. Samuel Molenaer acquired his *testimonium maturitatis* in Germany and then went on to study at the University of Wittenberg. He graduated in 1891 and joined Columbia, from which he acquired his PhD degree in 1899.<sup>574</sup> All the other German PhD candidates acquired their *testimonium maturitatus* or equivalent degree from a German Gymnasium and moved to the US afterwards, like Julius August Bewer. He left Germany a week after he graduated from the *Gymnasium* in 1895 and started studying at the Union Theological Seminary in New York as well as at Columbia University. He received a Bachelor of Divinity from the Union Theological Seminary in 1898 and later a PhD from Columbia in 1900.<sup>575</sup> Wilhelm Eckhoff, on the other hand, first worked as a teacher in New York, New Jersey and Nicaragua before joining the University of the City of New York, from which he acquired a PhD in Pedagogy in 1901. Afterwards, he joined Columbia and received a PhD in 1904.<sup>576</sup>

#### 5.4.2.2 The British Candidates

Up until 1913, twelve PhD candidates who had been born in Great Britain received a PhD degree from Columbia; four before and eight after 1900. Unlike the German PhD candidates who moved to the US, none of the British PhD candidates uses the term 'migrate'. Of the 12 candidates, six mentioned that they attended school in Great Britain before arriving in the US.

The times they spent in the British school system were very different. Two attended primary school in Great Britain and received their secondary education in the US. John Archibald Fairlie was born in 1872 in Scotland and attended his local public schools before moving to Jacksonville, Florida. He graduated from Duval High School in 1887 and joined Harvard College in 1891. Four years later, he received his

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<sup>573</sup> See Robert Julius Lau, *Old Babylonian temple records*, 1905, CXO L36.

<sup>574</sup> See Samuel Molenaer, *Le livres du gouvernement des rois: a XIIIth century French version of Egidio Colonna's treatise De regimine principum*, 1899, CXO M734.

<sup>575</sup> See Julius August Bewer, *The history of the New Testament canon in the Syrian church*, 1900, CXO B46.

<sup>576</sup> See Wilhelm Eckhoff, *Kant's Inaugural Dissertation of 1770*, 1894, CXO Ec5.

bachelor's degree and, a year later, his master's degree. The following year, he joined Columbia and was awarded a PhD in 1898.<sup>577</sup> The other candidate, Edwin Gifford Lamb, was born in 1878 in London where he attended private schools. He lived for three years in Northwestern Canada without attending school and moved to California, where he completed the college preparatory course at the University of the Pacific. In 1904, he graduated from the Leland Stanford Junior University and joined the Union Theological Seminary as well as Columbia University. Six years later, in 1910, he received his PhD from Columbia.<sup>578</sup>

Three candidates not only completed their primary education in Great Britain but also began their studies there as well. Two of them, Gertrude Mary Hirst<sup>579</sup> and Mary Whitley,<sup>580</sup> attended Cambridge before moving to the US. The third, Peter Sandiford, studied at the University of Manchester, from which he acquired a Bachelor of Science in 1904. He joined the same institution after graduating and attended the summer school of the University of Jena in 1906. In 1908, he joined the Teachers College of Columbia University and acquired a master's degree in 1909. A year later, he was awarded a PhD degree.<sup>581</sup> The only British PhD candidate who finished her primary education in Great Britain but not to attend a college there was Caroline Ruutz-Rees, who had moved to the US by the age of 18.<sup>582</sup>

Two candidates, William Henry Fury and Lucia Catherine Graeme Grieve,<sup>583</sup> mentioned that they had attended primary or at least secondary school in Great Britain. William Henry Fry, for example was born in Bristol in 1875. He did not mention any details about his arrival in the US but noted that he had attended public school in Brooklyn, which indicates that he was still quite young. He joined Columbia in 1893, received his bachelor's degree in 1897 and his master's degree in 1898. From 1900 to 1903, he travelled and studied at the University of Leipzig and the University of Greifswald. On his return to the US, he worked as a teacher, joined Columbia

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<sup>577</sup> See John Archibald Fairlie, *The centralization of administration in New York state*, 1898, CWO F16.

<sup>578</sup> He is further the only candidate who mentions that he acquired American citizenship. See Edwin Gifford Lamb, *The social work of the Salvation army*, 1910, CWO L165.

<sup>579</sup> See Gertrude Mary Hirst, *The cults of Olbia*, 1902, CXO H61.

<sup>580</sup> See Mary Theodory Whitley, *An empirical study of certain tests for individual differences*, 1911, CXO W594.

<sup>581</sup> See Peter Sandiford, *The training of teachers in England and Wales*, 1910, CXO Sa53.

<sup>582</sup> See Caroline Ruutz-Rees, *Charles de Sainte-Marthe (1512-1555)*, 1910, CXO R946.

<sup>583</sup> See Lucia Catherine Graeme Grieve, *Death and burial in Attic tragedy*, 1898, CXO G87.

University as a PhD candidate and received his PhD degree in 1908.<sup>584</sup> The remaining cases are difficult to classify, as they do not tend to mention their primary education. Thomas Jesse Jones, for example, was born in 1873 in Llanfachraeth, Wales. He fails to supply any details about his primary education, but he attended Washington and Lee University as well as Marietta College, from which he graduated in 1897. He joined Columbia University as well as the Union Theological Seminary, and was awarded a master's degree in 1899. In 1904, he was received a PhD from Columbia.<sup>585</sup>

## 5.5 Religion

Columbia did not require its students to disclose their religion or religious affiliation in their CV. No PhD candidate at Columbia mentioned his religion as prominently as did the PhD candidates at Berlin. Additionally, the reports of Columbia University do not include any statistics about the religious affiliation of Columbia's student body. The same applies to the *US Census Records* which, unlike those of the German Empire, do not contain any information about the religious affiliations of individuals<sup>586</sup> and, to this day, there are no state-maintained records that contain information about a person's religion. Although Columbia had a chapel, a candidate's religion, even more than his social background, was regarded as a private matter, which must not affect his reputation as a PhD candidate.

This poses a problem when attempting to analyse the religious background of the PhD candidates at Columbia. Without any central records available, one is forced to rely on individual records to clarify the religion of a candidate, such as those outlining the career of a candidate's father, newspaper records or biographies. As a result, the religious background of 93 PhD candidates after 1900, who constituted a quarter of the total, was verified by reliable sources. A clear majority or 80.03% of these 93 PhD candidates were Christians. Seventeen PhD candidates were Jewish while only one, Manekji Dhalla, was not part of the Abrahamic religions. He was born in 1875 in Surat, India, and began his studies in Bombay. In 1905, he joined Columbia and

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<sup>584</sup> See William Henry Fry, *New Hampshire as a royal province*, 1908, CWO F94.

<sup>585</sup> See Thomas Jesse Jones, *The sociology of a New York City block*, 1904, CWO J71.

<sup>586</sup> A recent study released by the Pew Research about the American religious landscape contained data on just 35,000 individuals all over the United States. See Gregory Smith et. al. *America's Changing Religious Landscape: Christians decline sharply as share of population; unaffiliated and other faiths continue to grow* (s.n.: Pew Research Center, 2015).

acquired first a master's degree in 1907 and, a year later, a PhD degree.<sup>587</sup> His father was a priest but also had to work as a weaver to create a sufficient income for his family.<sup>588</sup>

An important source for the religion of a candidate were publications of or about PhD candidates in religious-affiliated newspapers. An example for this is Thompson Holland. He was born in 1873 in Randolph County, North Carolina, and graduated from the University of Carolina in 1895. After working as a principal, he started studying at Columbia in 1899 and received his PhD in 1906 while working as an instructor at the College of the City of New York. In January 1900, he published an article in the *Presbyterian Quarterly*.<sup>589</sup> However, many of these cases are mere indications and most often not as clear as in the case of Holland.

These differences meant that changes had to be made to the categorisation system. Instead of solely focusing on the religious affiliation of a PhD candidate, it was necessary to introduce a second categorisation system, which separated the PhD candidates according to how the information was acquired. This is of especial interest as Columbia had, unlike the University of Berlin, no Faculty of Theology.<sup>590</sup>

- The first category contains PhD candidates whose information was acquired through their fathers' employment as preachers, ministers, rabbis or other religious-related positions.
- The second category contains PhD candidates who studied at a seminary. This includes not only the Union Theological Seminary, which was affiliated to Columbia, but also other seminaries like the Drew Theological Seminary.

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<sup>587</sup> See Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, *The Nyaishes; or Zoroastrian litanies, Avestan text with the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Persian and Gujarati versions*, 1908, CXO D53,

<sup>588</sup> See Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, *Dastur Dhalla, the saga of a soul: an autobiography of Shams-ul-ulama Dastur Dr. Maneckji Nusserwanji Dhalla, high priest of the Parsis of Pakistan, Karachi*, translated by Gool & Behram Sohrab H. J. Rustomji (Karachi: Dastur Dr. Dhalla Memorial Institute, 1975), 3.

<sup>589</sup> See Thompson Holland, *From the cotton field to the cotton mill; a study of the industrial transition in North Carolina*, 1906, CWO T37.

<sup>590</sup> Union Theological Seminary became officially affiliated and the de-facto Faculty of Theology of Columbia in 1928. See Robert T. Handy, *A history of Union Theological Seminary in New York* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1987), 167-168.



- Finally, the third category includes all PhD candidates whose information was acquired through other sources, like census records from other countries, newspaper records, biographies, employment lists, etc.

This categorisation is not flawless. Although seminaries, including the Union Theological Seminary, focused on Christians, they usually did not restrict admission of students of other religions. Further, a PhD candidate who was studying at a seminary, like Union Theological Seminary, was generally more interested in the Protestant form of Christianity than was the average PhD candidate. The other problem is that the fact that even if father of a PhD candidate was a preacher it does not necessarily mean that his son shared the same belief, although it does indicate that religion played a pivotal role during the childhood of a PhD candidate. All these restrictions put aside, the focus on reliable data made it possible, especially due to the above-mentioned separation, to get an insight into the religious background of the PhD candidates at Columbia.

### 5.5.1 The Christians

The average age of a Christian PhD candidate was 32.69 years after 1900 compared to 25.2 years before 1900. Out of the 87 Christian candidates, 12 received their PhD before and 75 after 1900. Three of the 12 candidates before 1900 were born abroad. Two were born in the United Kingdom and one, Clement Sites, who received his PhD in 1899, in China. Of the 75 Christian PhD candidates after 1900, 13 were born abroad. Most of the American-born PhD candidates from both periods came from the North Atlantic Division. Twenty-seven PhD candidates were born in this division, and 14 in the North Central Division.

Twenty-nine had a father who was engaged in the church and 31 visited a seminary before or while studying at Columbia. The information about the religious background of the remaining 27 Christian candidates was acquired through other sources. Most of the candidates whose fathers were engaged in the church were born in the US. The only two exceptions were Dennis Alfred, who was born in Syria to American parents,<sup>591</sup> and Wilhelm Braun, who was born in Ontario, Canada.<sup>592</sup> Only one candidate, whose father was minister, also visited a seminary. Fletcher Swift was born

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<sup>591</sup> See Alfred Dennis, *Eastern problems at the close of the eighteenth century*, 1901, CWO D42.

<sup>592</sup> See Wilhelm Braun, *Types of weltanschauung in German poetry*, 1903, CXO B732.

in 1876 in New York City, and his father was an Anglican minister.<sup>593</sup> After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1898, he joined the Union Theological Seminary and later Columbia, receiving his PhD in 1905.<sup>594</sup> He acquired a Bachelor of Divinity from Union Theological Seminary, and not at the General Theological Seminary, as one would expect of the son of an Anglican minister, immediately before joining Columbia.

Christian PhD candidates who studied at a seminary prior to or while studying at Columbia were on average 34.69 years of age when they received their PhD. They were older than the average because they had usually acquired an additional degree either before or while they were studying at Columbia. Eighteen candidates studied at the Union Theological Seminary, which indicates the strong connection between Columbia and the seminary that already before its official affiliation. Only one candidate, Floyd Appleton, born in 1871 in New York City, studied at the General Theological Seminary, the Episcopal counterpart. He studied first at the College of the City of New York and later at Columbia, from which he graduated in 1893 with a bachelor's degree. He pursued a career in the church by joining the General Theological Seminary and graduated in 1896, after which he was first a chaplain at the City Prison of New York and later worked at Grace Church in Plainfield, New Jersey, being ordained a priest by the bishop of New Jersey in 1898. He travelled to London and Bonn and received his PhD in 1906 while being a member of the episcopal diocese of Long Island.<sup>595</sup> Three candidates studied at Drew Theological Seminary while other seminaries visited by PhD candidates included Berkeley, Princeton, Yale and Chicago Theological Seminary.

Seven candidates, whose religious affiliation was acquired through the seminary they visited, were born in the State of New York, three of whom were born in New York City. The remaining Christian candidates born in the US came from the Northern Division, except for Holmes Beckwith, who was born in the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>596</sup> Seven candidates were born abroad, of whom six candidates studied at other colleges,

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<sup>593</sup> See United States Federal Census, *Adrian, Lenawee, Michigan, Family History*, 1880, 0078.

<sup>594</sup> See Fletcher Swift, *A history of public permanent common school funds in the United States, 1795-1905*, 1905, CXO Sw55.

<sup>595</sup> See Floyd Appleton, *Church philanthropy in New York; a study of the philanthropic institutions of the Protestant Episcopal church in the city of New York*, 1906, CWO Ap5.

<sup>596</sup> See Holmes Beckwith, *German industrial education and its lessons*, 1913, CWO B384.

universities and/or seminaries in the US before joining Columbia.<sup>597</sup> Sidney Zandrstra, for example, was born in The Netherlands in 1883 but received his primary education in Chicago. After receiving a bachelor's degree from Hope College, Michigan, in 1903, he joined Princeton Theological Seminary and received a Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1907, while working as a Scholar of the Presbyterian Church. He joined Columbia in 1907 and received his PhD in 1909.<sup>598</sup>

The Christian PhD candidates, whose information was acquired through other sources, were, on average 30.01 years old. The geographical background of these 23 candidates is far more diverse compared to the other two categories. This is most likely related to the diversity of the sources. Only three were born in the State of New York and only one, Jacob Hartmann, was born in New York City. He mentions in his CV that he was born to "American, Lutheran parents" in 1881. He was a tutor at the College of the City of New York and professor at the Imperial High Commercial School in Kobe, Japan. He received his PhD from Columbia in 1912 while being a lecturer at the College of the City of New York.<sup>599</sup> Five of the 23 PhD candidates were born outside the US. One was born in the German Empire, one in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and three in Canada. Benjamin Simpson, for example was born in Drumbo, 1877, Canada, and received his in 1912,<sup>600</sup> three years after he got married.<sup>601</sup>

### 5.5.2 The Jews

The percentage of Jewish PhD candidates for both periods combined was 23.21%. It is important to note that the careers of Jews are far better documented compared to those of the members of other religions through sources like the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, first published in 1971, the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, published in 1906, and *The Jews of Capitol Hill: A Compendium of Jewish Congressional Members*, published in

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<sup>597</sup>The only exception was Julius Bewer. See Julius Bewer, *The history of the New Testament canon in the Syrian church*, 1900, CXO B46.

<sup>598</sup> See Sidney Zandrstra, *The witness of the Vulgate, Peshitta and Septuagint to the text of Zephaniah*, 1909, CXO Y17.

<sup>599</sup> Although he states his parents were American, he attended the Freie Deutsche Schule in New York City but was forced to change to the public school as the other school closed in 1893. He travelled to Russia and Germany after his appointment as professor in Japan ended before joining Columbia in the summer of 1908. See Jacob Hartmann, *The Gǫngu-Hrǫlfssaga, a study in Old Norse philology*, 1912, CXO H25.

<sup>600</sup> See Benjamin Simpson, *Correlations of mental abilities*, 1912, CXO Si58.

<sup>601</sup> See Archives of Ontario, *Ontario, Canada, Marriages, 1801-1928*, Series: MS932; Reel: 144.

2010. Although not every Jewish PhD candidate is featured in these encyclopaedias and studies, there was a high chance that a family member or relative of a Jewish PhD candidate was added due to their accomplishments, especially as the encyclopaedias focused not only on religious scholars but on all members of the Jewish community.

Of the 17 Jewish candidates after 1900, six were born abroad, while of the nine Jewish candidates before 1900, four were born outside the United States.<sup>602</sup> Of the 16 American Jewish PhD candidates, eight were born in the State of New York. Meyer Jacobstein, for example, was born in 1880 in New York City and studied at Columbia College from 1902 to 1904. The same year, he entered Columbia's Graduate School, receiving a master's degree in 1905 and a PhD degree in 1907.<sup>603</sup> The only two American-born Jewish PhD candidates who were not born in one of the Eastern American states were Martin Meyer,<sup>604</sup> who was born in 1879 in San Francisco, where his father worked as a rabbi,<sup>605</sup> and Victor Rosewater, who was born in 1871 in Omaha, Nebraska,<sup>606</sup> where his father had founded newspaper.<sup>607</sup>

Of the ten foreign-born Jewish PhD candidates, seven were born in Russia and one each in Romania, Hungary, and Germany. The candidate from Germany, Max Radin, left his home country as a child and was educated in New York City.<sup>608</sup> He studied at the City College of New York and later took up law at Columbia, from which he received a bachelor's degree in 1902. After working as a lawyer and teacher, he continued his studies at Columbia and received his PhD in 1907.<sup>609</sup> Of the four Russian Jewish PhD candidates after 1900, two received their primary education in

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<sup>602</sup> It was not possible to confirm the place of birth of Stephan Wise.

<sup>603</sup> See Kurt F. Stone, *The Jews of Capitol Hill: A compendium of Jewish congressional members* (Lanham (MD): Scarecrow Press, 2011), 123-125.

<sup>604</sup> See Jacobstein Meyer, *The tobacco industry in the United States*, 1907, CWO J15.

<sup>605</sup> See National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), *NARA Series: Passport Applications, January 2, 1906 - March 31, 1925*, Roll #: 551; Volume #: Roll 0551 - Certificates: 26000-26249, 12<sup>th</sup> Jul 1918-15<sup>th</sup> Jul 1918.

<sup>606</sup> See Victor Rosewater, *Special assessments; a study in municipal finance*, 1893, CWO R72.

<sup>607</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>608</sup> See Ward W. Briggs, "Radin, Max," in *Biographical dictionary of North American classicists*, Ward W. Briggs, ed. (Westport (CT): Greenwood Press, 1994), 514-515.

<sup>609</sup> See Max Radin, *The legislation of the Greeks and Romans on corporations*, 1907, CXO R11.

the US. William Leiserson as well as Abram Lispky left their homeland while still a child. The other two candidates left Russia at the age of 15, in the case of Charles Elson, and 18, in the case of Israel Davidson. While Charles Elson was educated by private teachers before arriving in the US,<sup>610</sup> Israel Davidson was educated in “Talmud and Rabbinic Literature” by his uncle, a Rabbi, following the early death of his parents.<sup>611</sup>

Four Jewish PhD candidates studied at a Jewish seminary during or before their studies at Columbia. The afore-mentioned Martin Meyer studied at the Hebrew Union College and graduated in 1901. Joseph Gorfinkle, who was born in Boston in 1890, is also one of the rare cases who also mentions not only his father but also his employment, as well as his mother in his thesis.<sup>612</sup> He studied for three years at the Hebrew Union College but does not mention if he acquired a degree. Gorfinkle is the only Jewish PhD candidate who mentions that he was employed as a preacher. In 1908, the year before he acquired his PhD from Columbia, he was “called to the pulpit of Sinai Temple”, New York.<sup>613</sup> Israel Davidson worked as an instructor at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America but, unlike Joseph Gorfinkle, does not mention any engagements as a preacher or similar employment.<sup>614</sup> Finally, Joseph Hertz, who was born in Rebrin, Hungary, in 1872, and migrated to the US by the age of twelve, was a student at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City. He acquired a rabbinical degree in 1894, the same year he acquired his PhD degree from Columbia.<sup>615</sup>

## 5.6 Social Background<sup>616</sup>

As in the case of religion, a few adjustments of the categorisation system were required. The first is due to the higher average age of PhD candidates at Columbia

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<sup>610</sup> See Charles Elson, *Wieland and Shaftesbury*, 1913, CXO E17.

<sup>611</sup> See Israel Davidson, *Innocence regained; seventeenth century reinterpretations of the Fall of man*, 1902, CXO D28.

<sup>612</sup> See United States Federal Census, *Boston, Massachusetts, Suffolt*, 1910, 1077.

<sup>613</sup> See Joseph Gorfinkle, *The eight chapters of Maimonides on ethics (Shemonah perakim), a psychological and ethical treatise*, 1907, CXO G67.

<sup>614</sup> See Israel Davidson, *Parody in Jewish literature*, 1902, CXO D28.

<sup>615</sup> See Joseph Hertz, *The ethical system of James Martineau*, 1894, CXO H44.

<sup>616</sup> While Columbia did not record the social background of its students, it established an own committee in 1894 that supported and kept track students who wished or needed to work while studying. Interestingly, it took ten years until the committee got its chapter in Columbia's yearly report. See Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer to the*

compared to Berlin, which meant that PhD candidates at Columbia might have had already relevant working experience. This means that he may have been less dependent on the financial and social status of his family than a PhD candidate in Berlin. Harrison Ross Steeves, for example, obtained his bachelor's and master's degree as well his PhD degree before acquiring his PhD degree in 1913, but started working as an assistant and lecturer at Columbia right after he acquired his master's degree in 1904.<sup>617</sup>

It is likely that these differences, the higher average age and the early careers of the PhD candidates, were the reasons why many candidates did not add any information about their social background to their CV. Simply put, they already had a career and it was no longer required for them to prove their capability by referencing their social background. This is even more likely because even in the US a PhD candidate, whose father was part of a lower social class than his aspiring son, would not have shared his social background as it would not have benefited him.

Another important adjustment was required due to the differences between the education systems, which, at the same, also shows the challenges of categorising data and why context is so important. Most higher education institutions, universities as well as colleges, in the US during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century were private institutions. The fathers of PhD candidates, who worked at such an institution, were, unlike in the German Empire, not state employees and, as a result, were counted as being businessmen. Additionally, the relationship between the bachelor's degree and the German *Abitur* is important too. As the later was equivalent to the bachelor's degree, college teachers were counted as German *Gymnasium* teachers.

Due to these change, academics and colleges teachers are being classified as being businessmen. This might seem odd as one might not expect them to amass wealth. However, it is important to remember that the definition of businessmen not only includes wealth but also acquiring reputation through success in one's career, competition within the group but also the ability to join this social group through one's success as well as to drop out if one is not successful enough. Combining this with the differences between the German Empire and the United States regarding higher education, it makes sense, in the case of Columbia, to add academics and colleges

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*Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1904* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1904).

<sup>617</sup> See Harrison Steeves, *Learned societies and English literary scholarship in Great Britain and the United States*, 1913, CXO St32.

teachers to the group of businessmen. In the German Empire, academics and teachers were not only employed and therefore protected by the state, the degree they acquired to be an academic or teacher was also conferred by it. In the US, most academics and college teachers were employed by private institutions and the reputation of the quality of the degrees they acquired was not protected by the state. Although they were not competing for monetary gain as much as other members of the group of businessmen did, they were competing for employment and positions at the most prestigious colleges and universities.

As the clear majority of PhD candidates did not share the social status of their father, the most important source was the *US Census Records* for the social background of the PhD candidates at Columbia. One of the very few exceptions was John Pickett Turner, who received his PhD in 1910. He stated within his CV he was “the son of Reverend Allen Turner”.<sup>618</sup> Regarding the *US Census Records*, it is important to remember that, unlike the CVs of the PhD candidates at the University of Berlin as well as the teachers’ records of the German Empire, it was not the PhD candidates themselves but an independent person who wrote the entry.

There are also linguistic challenges regarding the classification system. The most important one is the definition of ‘labourer’. None of the German candidates used this term to describe the employment situation of his father, preferring to use more descriptive terms like *Zimmermann* [carpenter]<sup>619</sup> or *Schriftsetzer* [typesetter].<sup>620</sup> The problem is that such terms fail to indicate whether the father was employed, had his own small business or worked independently.<sup>621</sup> The *US Census Records* used for the PhD candidates at Columbia, on the other hand, do use the term ‘labourer’, which indicates employment but not what kind of.<sup>622</sup> Due to this, the new subcategory ‘working class of the lower middle class’ was created for PhD candidates at Columbia,

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<sup>618</sup> John Pickett Turner, *Idealistic beginnings in England*, 1910, CXO T855.

<sup>619</sup> See Ludwig Meinecke, *Michael Altenburg (1584-1640)*, 1903, 385.

<sup>620</sup> See Emil Dickhoff, *Das zweigliedrige Wort-Asyndeton in der älteren deutschen Sprache* [The bipartite word-asyndeton in the older German language], 1905, 404.

<sup>621</sup> The only exception was James Douglas Drummond who received his PhD in 1905 and whose father was a fabric worker. However, Drummond was not born in the German Empire but in Bradford, Great Britain, in 1875. See James Douglas Drummond, *Studien zur Kriegsgeschichte Englands im 12. Jahrhundert* [Studies about England’s history of war in the 12<sup>th</sup> century], 1905, 404.

<sup>622</sup> By 1910, the census records began to note whether a person was employed or self-employed.

whose father was employed and to separate these candidates from those whose fathers were self-employed craftsmen.

The same problem affected the classification of preachers and farmers. The *US Census Records* uses terms like 'clergyman' and 'minister' which do not necessarily indicate the professional level, or 'farmer' for people active in the agricultural sector, but without any indication about the income. The German PhD candidates used, on the other hand, terms that made it possible to separate small-scale farmers from those who owned large tracts of land as well to distinguish between the various levels of clergymen, preachers and ministers. As mentioned, the various churches in the US were not organised or directly controlled by the state, as was the case in Germany. They were independent organisations and, while some of them formed part of a larger network or association, like the Presbyterian Church in the US founded in 1861, others remained independent. As the records do not distinguish between those who were part of a smaller or larger church, nor between those of lower or higher ranking, they were all combined in the same group and defined as being part of the group of self-employed of the upper middle class.

### **5.6.1 The Upper Class**

When analysing the upper class at Columbia, two significant differences from Berlin must be kept in mind. The first difference is that there was no gentry in the US. The second difference is that separating the small farmers from the big land owners, who in the German Empire were often part of the gentry, was mostly impossible for the candidates at Columbia due to the lack of information. As a result, farmers were, if no information was found that would have indicated a higher income, defined as belonging to the lower middle class.

Ten PhD candidates at Columbia were categorised as being part of the upper class, one of whom received his PhD before 1900. This means that, prior to 1900, 1.89% of the PhD candidates at Columbia were part of the upper class. During the following period, this number rose to 3.90%.<sup>623</sup> The growth of PhD candidates from the upper class is unsurprising as the reputation of the PhD degree grew during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century even among the upper class. One reason was the increasing number of American students at universities in the German Empire who returned after

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<sup>623</sup> Interestingly, female PhD candidates form the majority of the upper class during the period from 1900 until 1913. Of the nine PhD candidates in this category, five were women.



completing their PhD. Another was the increasing requirements for staff members at higher education institutions like Columbia.

The average age of PhD candidates from the upper class was 31.11 years, which was similar to the average age of all PhD candidates. Being born into a wealthy and influential family did not seem to have been beneficial regarding the time required to get a PhD at Columbia. On the other hand, no candidate was over forty years old. The oldest candidate, Frederick Davenport, whose father had retired and who was living off his own income at the time of Frederick's graduation,<sup>624</sup> was born in 1866 in Massachusetts and was 39 when he received his PhD in 1905.<sup>625</sup> The youngest candidate was Lindley Miller Keasbey, who was born in 1867 in Newark, New Jersey. He received his PhD from Columbia in 1890 at the age of 23. His father, Anthony Quinton Keasbey, was state attorney of New Jersey.<sup>626</sup>

Only two PhD candidates from the upper class were not born in the North Atlantic Division. One was Warner Brown, who was born in 1882 in Greensboro, Georgia, and graduated in 1908 at the age of 26.<sup>627</sup> His father, Jacob Conklin Brown, was first a farmer<sup>628</sup> and later a cotton factory owner in California.<sup>629</sup> The other was Charles Merriam, who was born in Hopkinton, Iowa in 1876 and received his PhD in 1900.<sup>630</sup> His father, Charles E. Merriam, owned a dry goods store, was post master, and president of the school board of his hometown.<sup>631</sup> Merriam is further the only PhD candidate in this group who went abroad before completing his PhD. He studied in Paris and at the University of Berlin in 1899 while simultaneously finishing his

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<sup>624</sup> See United States Federal Census, *State of New York, New York City, Manhattan Ward*, 1910, 0272.

<sup>625</sup> See Frank M. Teti, *Profile of a Progressive: The Life of Frederick Morgan Davenport*. (Syracuse (NY): Syracuse University, 1966).

<sup>626</sup> See Lindley Keasbey, *Diplomatic History of Nicaragua Canal*, 1890, CKO K21.

<sup>627</sup> See Warner Brown, *Time in English verse rhythm; an empirical study of typical verses by the graphic method*, 1908, CXO B812.

<sup>628</sup> See United States Federal Census, *Georgia, Greene, Greensboro*, 1880, 0441.

<sup>629</sup> See *ibid.*, *California, Alameda, Berkley Ward 2*, 1900, 0396.

<sup>630</sup> See Charles Merriam, *History of the theory of sovereignty since Rousseau*, 1900, CWO M55.

<sup>631</sup> See John F. Merry, *History of Delaware County, Iowa, and its people* (Chicago (IL): The S.J. Clarke. Publishing Company, 1914), 519.

thesis.<sup>632</sup> Of the remaining eight candidates, four were born in the State of New York, three in Massachusetts, and one, the afore-mentioned Anthony Quinton Keasbey, in New Jersey. Of the four candidates from New York, two (Savilla Elkus, whose father was a clothing manufacturer,<sup>633</sup> and Bertha Putnam, whose father was an author and publisher)<sup>634</sup> were born in New York City.

Of the ten candidates of the upper class, three had a pre-PhD career as teachers at colleges or high schools. Frederick Davenport, for example, worked as a professor in sociology and law at Hamilton College from 1904 to 1905. As he received his PhD in 1905, it is likely that he had finished his thesis by 1904 and was employed by Hamilton College while his PhD was still being processed by Columbia's administration.<sup>635</sup> Warner Brown worked as an assistant at Columbia's Psychological Laboratory from 1904 to 1906, as an assistant in Philosophy from 1906 to 1907 and finally as an assistant in Psychology from 1907 to 1908. Although he does not indicate any teaching responsibilities, he was certainly in contact with master's students at Columbia.<sup>636</sup>

### 5.6.2 The Middle Class

It is unsurprising that the middle class was by far the largest group. Until 1900, 98.15% of the PhD candidates belonged to of this class. During the following period, this number dropped by only 1.35% to 96.70%.

Up until 1900, getting a PhD at Columbia seems to have been an attractive and affordable opportunity for members of both the upper and lower middle class, as there was an equal number of candidates from each. Until 1900, the average age of the PhD candidates from the upper middle class was 27.96 years and for the lower middle class 28.69 years. Twenty-seven PhD candidates or 50.94% of the middle class were part of the upper while 26 or 49.04% of the part of lower middle class. During the

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<sup>632</sup> See Patrick D. Reagan, *Designing a new America: The origins of New Deal planning, 1890-1943*, Political development of the American nation (Amherst (MA): University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 57.

<sup>633</sup> United States Federal Census, *State of New York, New York City, New York*, 1880, 0373.

<sup>634</sup> See Margaret Hasting and Elisabeth G. Kimball, "Two Distinguished Medievalists - Nellie Neilson and Bertha Putnam," *The Journal of British Studies* 18, no. 2 (1979).

<sup>635</sup> See Frederick Morgan Davenport, *Primitive traits in religious revivals: a study in mental and social evolution*, 1905, CWO D27.

<sup>636</sup> See Warner Brown, *Time in English verse rhythm; an empirical study of typical verses by the graphic method*, 1908, CXO B812.

following period, ninety-eight PhD candidates or 44.14% of the middle class PhD candidates were now part of the upper middle class, while the number of lower middle class PhD candidates rose to 119 or 55.68%. At the same time, the average age of the upper middle class PhD candidates rose to 31.28 while the average age of the lower middle class PhD candidates rose to 33.75 years. One might assume that this development means that Columbia became more open to students from the lower middle class. On the other hand, the difference between the periods is, regarding the percentages, within the margin of error. Additionally, the fact that PhD candidates of the upper middle class were still slightly younger, indicates that they benefited from the additional economic resources of their fathers. It would be required to include additional data especially on PhD candidates post-1913 to confirm the shift towards the lower middle class.

#### **5.6.2.1 The Middle Class until 1900**

Up until 1900, the majority of the fathers of the upper as well as the lower middle class PhD candidates were self-employed. Fourteen or 51.83% of the upper middle class PhD candidates' fathers were self-employed, followed by 11 or 40.74% who were businessmen while only two PhD candidates or 7.41% had a father who was employed by the state. These two candidates state employees William Shepherd and John Neal whose fathers were both employed by the military. William Shepherd, who received his PhD in 1896, was born in 1871 in South Carolina. His father was an officer of the Confederate Army during the American Civil War.<sup>637</sup> John Neal, born in 1959 in Tennessee, received his PhD three years after William Shepherd, in 1899.<sup>638</sup> His father was also an officer in the Confederate Army and became a member of the Congress as a member of the Democratic Party from 1886 to 1889.<sup>639</sup>

Out of the 14 PhD candidates from the upper middle class whose fathers were self-employed, eight had a father who worked as a preacher. Alfred Moldenke, who

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<sup>637</sup> See William Shepherd, *History of proprietary government in Pennsylvania*, 1896, CWO Sh4.

<sup>638</sup> See John Neal, *Disunion and restoration in Tennessee*, 1899, CWO N25.

<sup>639</sup> See United States Congress, *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-2005* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2005).

received his PhD in 1893, mentioned his father's name<sup>640</sup> and work as a reverend.<sup>641</sup> Another candidate, Clement Morrey Lacey Sites, born in 1865 in Fuchow, China, and who received his PhD in 1899, mentions besides his father's name and work also his religious affiliation.<sup>642</sup> Only two of these eight PhD candidates mention professional experience before or during acquiring their PhD degree. The first was the aforementioned Clement Sites, who was appointed as instructor in 1887 and three years later became principal of the Capitol Hill High School in Washington D.C. He later accepted an appointment as a professor at the Fan Yang College in Shanghai.<sup>643</sup> The second is John Martin Littlejohn. He was born in Scotland, Great Britain, in 1867 and received his PhD in 1896. His father was a Presbyterian Preacher in Scotland.<sup>644</sup> John followed in his father's footsteps and studied at the Reformed Presbyterian Seminary, Belfast, and at the University of Glasgow, from which he acquired a master's degree in 1889 and a Bachelor of Divinity the following year. After acquiring an LLB degree from the same institution two years later, he started studying at Columbia in 1892 as a fellow in political philosophy. While at Columbia, he was joint editor of a Christian newspaper in New York City.<sup>645</sup>

The best-known father of the upper middle class PhD candidates before 1900 was the probably the father of PhD candidate Robert Seligman. He was born in 1861 in New York City and was the son of Joseph Seligman, one of the leading financiers of the railroad after the end of the American Civil War.<sup>646</sup> Edwin graduated from

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<sup>640</sup> See Alfred Moldenke, *Babylonian contract tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1893, CZO M733.

<sup>641</sup> Alfred succeeded his father as reverend of New York three years after his PhD. See Ira Spar and Eva von Dassow, *Cuneiform Texts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Private Archive Texts from the First Millennium B.C.* (New York (NY): The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), XII.

<sup>642</sup> See Clement Site, *Centralized administration of liquor laws in the American commonwealth*, 1899, CWO Si8.

<sup>643</sup> He accepted the appointment before he received his PhD but started working after he received his PhD from Columbia *Woman's Missionary Friend*, "Personal Report," *Woman's Missionary Friend*, 1899, 1, 12.

<sup>644</sup> See Parish Records, Kilbrandon and Kilchattan, ED: 2, Page: 3, Line: 2, Roll: CSSCT1871\_91.

<sup>645</sup> See John Martin Littlejohn, *The political theory of the schoolmen and Grotius*, 1896, CWO L73.

<sup>646</sup> See Harriet Rochlin and Fred Rochlin, *Pioneer Jews: A new life in the Far West* (Boston (MA): Houghton Mifflin Co., 2000), 74.

Columbia in 1885 after studying in Paris and Berlin.<sup>647</sup> The only PhD candidate who mentions her father's employment as a banker was Elsie Parsons. Parsons worked as a history teacher at Horace Man High School before acquiring a PhD degree from Columbia in 1899.<sup>648</sup> Before 1900, it seemed to have been uncommon for upper middle class PhD candidates to have a pre PhD career. Among the PhD candidates whose fathers were executive employees, Allen Johnson mentions that he had acquired working experience before joining Columbia. After he acquired a bachelor's degree from Amherst College in 1892, he worked as an English and history teacher for two years. In 1895, he received a master's degree in 1895 from Amherst College and went Leipzig to study history for 18 months, after which he continued his studies in Paris for a further six months. In 1897, he started his studies at Columbia and acquired a PhD two years later, in 1899.<sup>649</sup> Mortimer Lamson Earle is a counterexample. He did not acquire any pre-PhD working experience but studied at the University of Bonn and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Greece, from 1887 to 1888. Earle acquired a master's degree from Columbia in 1887 and, two years later, a PhD.<sup>650</sup>

As in the case of the upper middle class, the PhD candidates of the lower middle class whose fathers were employed by the state were the smallest group with only one PhD candidate. William Tamblyn's father was a school principal in Ontario, Canada, the same province where William was born in 1874.<sup>651</sup> The fathers of four PhD candidates were classified as being part of the working class. Only one of them, George Germann, mentions a pre-PhD teaching career. Germann taught in grammar schools in Brooklyn from 1889 to 1891, which was where he had been born in 1872. He started his studies at Columbia University in 1894. While his studies focused at first on

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<sup>647</sup> See Edwin Robert Seligman, *Medieval Guilds in England*, 1885, n/a, and Encyclopaedia of World Biography, *Edwin Robert Anderson Seligman*, accessed 11<sup>th</sup> October 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/people/social-sciences-and-law/economics-biographies/edwin-robert-anderson-seligman>

<sup>648</sup> See Elsie Parsons, *Educational legislation and administration of the colonial governments*, 1899, CXO P25.

<sup>649</sup> See Allen Johnson, *The intendant as a political agent under Louis XIV*, 1899 CWO J62.

<sup>650</sup> While he mentions his father, Mortimer Lent Earle, who died the same year his son acquired his PhD, he focuses more on his ancestors and how they settled in America in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. See Mortimer Lamson Earle, *Mortimer Lamson Earle papers, 1884-1905*, 1889, MS#0376.

<sup>651</sup> See William Tamblyn, *The establishment of Roman power in Britain*, 1899, CXO T15.

Mathematics, his focus shifted subsequently to education and received his PhD degree five years later.<sup>652</sup>

The largest group of the lower middle class were the PhD candidates whose fathers were self-employed, of which the PhD candidates whose fathers were farmers were the largest group with nine PhD candidates. Unsurprisingly, these nine also represent the most diverse group regarding geographical background as they were born in eight different states. The only exception is the State of New York, where Adna Weber, who also studied at the University of Berlin from 1895 to 1896,<sup>653</sup> as well as Frederic Cooper were born. Compared to other groups, having working experience seemed to have been more common among this group as three of the nine PhD candidates mention that they had working experience as primary school teachers before joining Columbia to acquire a PhD degree.

Another other large group of the lower middle class was the one of PhD candidates whose fathers were tradesmen with eight PhD candidates. Four of them were born in the State of New York, two of whom in New York City. Two candidates were born on Rhode Island and one each in Nebraska and Illinois. Only two candidates had any pre-PhD working experience. One of them was Charles Douglas, born on Rhode Island in 1856. He started his career as a history teacher after acquiring a bachelor's degree in 1879 and a master's degree in 1882 from Brown University. He was an instructor at the University of Wisconsin from 1882 to 1884 and, during the following year, taught history and political science at Milwaukee High School. In 1885, he started teaching in Brooklyn and joined Columbia three years later. He received his PhD in 1892 while he was still teaching at a Boys' High School in Brooklyn.<sup>654</sup> The other was Charles Chadsey, who was born in Nebraska in 1870. He started working as a principal at the high school of Durango, Colorado, an appointment he still had when he received his PhD degree in 1896 from Columbia.<sup>655</sup> One PhD candidate of this group, Norman Wilde, studied at the University of Berlin for three semesters from

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<sup>652</sup> See George Germann, *National legislation concerning education*, 1899, CXO G31.

<sup>653</sup> See Adna Ferrin Weber, *The growth of cities in the nineteenth century*, 1899, CWO W38.

<sup>654</sup> See Charles Douglas, *Financial history of Massachusetts from the organization of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the American*, 1892, CWO D7.

<sup>655</sup> See Charles Ernest Chadsey, *The struggle between President Johnson and Congress over reconstruction*, 1896, CWO C34.

1891 to 1893, after which he returned to the US to join Harvard for the winter term of 1893 to 1894. He received his PhD the same year from Columbia.<sup>656</sup>

Four candidates of the lower middle class had fathers who were craftsmen. Two of them were born in New York City and one each in Massachusetts and Ohio. Francis Burke Brandt and William Zabina Ripley, whose fathers were craftsmen, worked both as teachers before acquiring their PhD degree. Burke, after acquiring a bachelor's degree from Harvard in 1892, accepted an appointment as an instructor at Columbia Grammar School while at the same time pursuing his studies at Columbia. He acquired his PhD degree in 1895.<sup>657</sup> Ripley acquired a Bachelor of Science degree from MIT in 1890, after which he joined Columbia. He was appointed, while still studying, as an instructor at MIT in 1891, and received first his master's degree in 1892 and the following year his PhD degree from Columbia.<sup>658</sup>

#### **5.6.2.2 The Middle Class after 1900**

After 1900, the PhD candidates whose fathers were self-employed became the largest group of the upper middle class, with 58 candidates, followed by the businessmen with 37 candidates. Meanwhile, only three PhD candidates of the upper middle class had a father who was a state employee. Two of them, Burdette Buckingham and Martha Conant, had a father who was employed in the law sector. The other candidate was Harvey Thayer. His father, Henry Otis Thayer, was a historical records curator in Portland, Maine, the state Harvey was born. Harvey graduated from Bowdoin College in 1895 and studied at Harvard the following year, after which he studied at the University of Leipzig for two semesters before receiving his PhD in 1905 at the age of 32.<sup>659</sup>

Unlike the period before 1900, the bankers now formed only the third largest group within the group of businessmen. The majority of these came from the Northern Divisions. An exception was Harry Paul. He was born in 1874 in New Orleans, Mississippi, and was the only PhD candidate from this state until 1913. After acquiring a master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1901, he worked as an instructor

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<sup>656</sup> See Norman Wilde, *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi*, 1894, CXO W64.

<sup>657</sup> See Francis Burke Brandt, *Friedrich Edward Beneke*, 1895, CXO B73.

<sup>658</sup> See Sabina Ripley, *The financial history of Virginia, 1609-1776*, 1893, CWO R48.

<sup>659</sup> See Harvey Thayer, *Laurence Sterne in Germany; a contribution to the study of the literary relations of England and Germany in the eighteenth century*, 1905, CXO T33.

in English until 1904, the year he joined Columbia University.<sup>660</sup> Four had a pre-PhD career as teachers at high schools or colleges. One of them was William Johnson. He graduated from Princeton in 1888, which at that time was called the College of New Jersey and later joined the Princeton Theological Seminary from which he graduated in 1896. He received his PhD in 1902 at the age of 37.<sup>661</sup>

The second largest group of the businessmen were the eleven PhD candidates whose fathers were executive employees. Four were born abroad, two in Ohio and one in Massachusetts, while the remaining four candidates were born in the State of New York, two of whom were born in New York City. Only three candidates of this group do not mention any pre-PhD working experience. Two of them, Naomi Norwsworthy<sup>662</sup> and Felix Arnold,<sup>663</sup> were born in New York City while the third, William Burke,<sup>664</sup> was born in Ohio. Seven PhD candidates of this group had working experience as teachers. Another three candidates of the same group studied at German universities before acquiring their PhD degree from Columbia. David Muzzey, for example, who received his PhD in 1907, studied at the University of Berlin and at the Sorbonne, Paris, as a fellow of the Union Theological Seminary from 1897 to 1898.<sup>665</sup>

The largest group within the group of businessmen were now the children of wholesale merchants with twelve PhD candidates. Apart from Gertrude Hirst, all the candidates in this category were born in the Northern Divisions of the US. Seven of the twelve PhD candidates had a pre-PhD teaching career. Eugene Agger, for example, was born in 1879 in Cincinnati, Ohio, and acquired his PhD from Columbia in 1907. He joined the university of his hometown and acquired a bachelor's degree in 1901. During the following year, he was a teaching fellow and acquired a master's degree from the same institution.<sup>666</sup>

While no PhD candidate before 1900 had a father, who taught at a college or university, there were now eight candidates whose fathers were college or university teachers or lecturers. This reflects the professionalization of the higher education

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<sup>660</sup> See Paul Harry, *John Dennis, his life and criticism*, 1911, CXO P283.

<sup>661</sup> The Princeton Theological Seminary was, at that time, and remains an independent institution and is not part of Princeton University.

<sup>662</sup> See Naomi Northsworthy, *The psychology of mentally deficient children*, 1904, CXO N81.

<sup>663</sup> See Felix Arnold, *The psychology of association*, 1905, CXO Ar63.

<sup>664</sup> See William Murray, *History and functions of central labor unions*, 1900, CWO B91.

<sup>665</sup> See David Muzzey, *The spiritual Franciscans*, 1908, CWO M98.

<sup>666</sup> See Eugene Agger, *The budget in the American commonwealths*, 1907, CWO Ag3.



institutions in the US during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, when more researchers and professors could earn enough from their employment. Three PhD candidates had fathers who were college teachers and the fathers of five candidates were university lecturers. Interestingly, none of these candidates was born in New York City or the State of New York but none was born outside the US either. All PhD candidates whose fathers were university lecturers were born in the Northern States; three were born in Massachusetts and two in Ohio. The most prominent was most likely the father of John Maurice Clark, John Bates Clark. He was a professor of economics at Columbia. John Maurice studied first at Amherst College in 1901 and acquired a bachelor's degree from said institution in 1905. He joined Columbia immediately afterwards and acquired his PhD in 1911.<sup>667</sup> Two PhD candidates had pre-PhD teaching experience and one of them, Robert Chapin, studied at the University of Berlin, between 1894 and 1895, while being professor of economics at Beloit College. In 1906, he joined Columbia and received his PhD three years later, in 1909.<sup>668</sup>

With nearly two thirds, the PhD candidates whose fathers were self-employed was the largest category from the upper middle class. As in the case of the businessmen, the diversification increased, although the PhD candidates whose fathers were categorised as preachers remained the largest. Of the 58 fathers of PhD candidates who were classified as a self-employed, 33 were preachers. However, any information about whether the father of a PhD candidate was employed by a larger religious organisation or if his religious community was independent was unavailable.<sup>669</sup>

Regarding the preachers, the term that was most frequently used by far in the *US Census Records* was 'clergyman', which was used in twelve cases. This is three times more often as the next three terms, 'rabbi', 'reverend' and 'missionary', which were all used four times. Other terms used were 'minister', 'preacher' and 'pastor'. The PhD candidates of this group had a very diverse geographical background. While eight were born in the State of New York, five of whom in New York City, twenty candidates came from all over the US and seven candidates were born outside the US, one each

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<sup>667</sup> See John Clarke, *Chronological outline of the life of Robert Greene*, 1911, MA 1911 v.12.

<sup>668</sup> See Robert Chapin, *The standard of living among workingmen's families in New York City*, 1909, CWO C36.

<sup>669</sup> The information about the employment situation regarding preachers is challenging as even an independent preacher was employed by his church; it was simply not part of a larger organisation of churches.

in Canada, Syria, Germany, and Japan, and three in India. The fathers of two of the three candidates born in India were Christian missionaries apart from the aforementioned Manekji Dhala whose father was a Hindu priest. The only PhD candidate of this group whose father was a missionary but who was born in the US was Holmes Beckwith, who was born on the Hawaiian Islands in 1884.<sup>670</sup> Twenty-three PhD candidates in this category had a pre-PhD career. Most of these PhD candidates were engaged as lecturers or teachers in high schools or colleges. Some PhD candidates were, however, not very precise about their employment. Will Chamberlain, for example, was one of two PhD candidates who was born in India and whose father was a missionary. He graduated from Rutgers College in 1882 and, four years later, from the Theological Seminary in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He returned to India and “engaged in education and other work” but returned to America in 1898 and received his PhD from Columbia in 1900.<sup>671</sup> Others mention no employment at all. Martin Meyer visited McMicken University and the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio. He graduated from the university in 1899 and from the seminary in 1901 but does not mention being ordained as a rabbi. After that, he went to Jerusalem to study at the American School of Oriental Study and Research, but returned after a year to continue his studies at Columbia, where he received his PhD in 1907.<sup>672</sup>

Compared to the other categories, fewer PhD candidates of this group went abroad before acquiring their PhD. Of the 33 PhD candidates, only five mention any travel or studies abroad. Two of them were born outside the US. One was, as stated, Will Chamberlain. The other was Alfred Dennis, who was born to American missionaries in Beirut, Syria/Lebanon, in 1874. He attended schools in New Jersey and New York City, receiving his bachelor’s degree in 1896 from Princeton. He joined Columbia but went to Heidelberg, Germany, for one semester in 1897, after which he returned to Columbia and received his PhD in 1901.<sup>673</sup>

The second largest group in this category were the eleven PhD candidates whose fathers were physicians. Of these eleven candidates, only Mary Cushing was born

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<sup>670</sup> See Homes Beckwith, *German Industrial Education and Its Lesson for the United States*, 1913, CWO B384.

<sup>671</sup> See Will Chamberlain, *Education in India*, 1900, CXO C35.

<sup>672</sup> See Martin Meyer, *History of the city of Gaza from the earliest times to the present day*, 1907, CXO M57.

<sup>673</sup> See Alfred Dennis, *Eastern problems at the close of the eighteenth century*, 1901, CWO D42.

abroad. Eight had a pre-PhD career while only one went abroad to study. Guy Ford, who was also one of the few to mention his father's name on his CV, was born in 1873 in Wisconsin, received a bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1898 and continued his studies from 1899 to 1900 at the University of Berlin and the Universities of Leipzig, Göttingen, and Nancy. In 1900, he joined Columbia and received his PhD degree in 1904.<sup>674</sup>

As in the case of the upper middle class, the group of PhD candidates whose fathers were self-employed was the largest category of the lower middle class after 1900. In fact, this sector was dominant, with 83.06% of the PhD candidates of the lower middle class. Of the remaining 16.94%, 15.32% were part of the working class and 1.62% were state employees. The later includes Blanche Williams and James McConaughy, who both received their PhD in 1913 and whose fathers were both schoolteachers.<sup>675</sup>

The number of PhD candidates whose fathers were part of the working class rose to 19. The only foreign student whose father was part of the working class was Isaac Kandel.<sup>676</sup> Of the remaining eighteen candidates, four were born in the State of New York and another four were born in Pennsylvania. Fifteen PhD candidates had a pre-PhD career as teachers and two studied abroad. Lewis Chase, who received his PhD in 1903, studied at the University of Grenoble in 1900 after receiving a master's degree the year before from Columbia.<sup>677</sup> The other candidate was Edward Elliott, who studied at the University of Jena during the summer semester of 1905 before receiving his PhD from Columbia during the same year.<sup>678</sup>

As before 1900, the group of PhD candidates of the lower middle class whose fathers were self-employed consisted mostly of farmers, with 62, tradesman, with 28, and craftsmen, with 12 PhD candidates. The inability to separate small and large farmers explains the substantial number but also shows the increasing importance and recognition of higher education among this group. Only three candidates, whose

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<sup>674</sup> See Guy Ford, *Hanover and Prussia, 1795-1803*, 1904, CWO F75.

<sup>675</sup> For James McConaughy see United States Federal Census, *Massachusetts, Gill, Franklin*, 1910, 0497. For information about Blanche Williams, see the chapter about female PhD candidates.

<sup>676</sup> See Null J. Wesley, *Peerless educator: The life and work of Isaac Leon Kandel*, History of schools and schooling, vol. 47 (New York (NY): Peter Lang, 2007), 305.

<sup>677</sup> See Lewis Chase, *The English heroic play*, 1903, CXO C38.

<sup>678</sup> See Edward Elliott, *Some fiscal aspects of public education in American cities*, 1903, CXO EI15.

fathers were farmers, were born abroad. Over half of the PhD candidates, 32 to be precise, whose fathers were farmers, were born in the North Central Division, which, regarding the industrialisation of the North-Eastern states in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, is unsurprising. Of the remaining candidates whose fathers were farmers but who were not born in a state of the North Central Division or abroad, eleven were born in the South and ten in the North Atlantic Division. While the candidates from the South Atlantic Division were mostly evenly distributed among the states of the division, eight of the ten PhD candidates from the North Atlantic Division were born in the State of New York, although none was born in New York City.

As with the other groups, most of the PhD candidates whose fathers were farmers had a pre-PhD career. Fifty-one were employed as teachers, instructors or professors. Three candidates had a non-teaching career as translators, editors or ministers. James Lichtenberg had even a career as a minister as well as a lecturer. He was born in 1870 in Illinois and, after receiving a master's degree from Hiram College, Ohio, in 1902, held pastorates in Buffalo and New York City. In 1903, he joined Columbia but continued to work as a pastor until 1908 when he joined Columbia as a lecturer in political science. In 1909, he joined the University of Pennsylvania as assistant professor in sociology. The following year, he received his PhD from Columbia.<sup>679</sup>

Eight PhD candidates of this group went abroad to study, five of them went to study at the University of Berlin. Another place of interest was Paris, where three PhD candidates went to study. Nuba Fletcher studied at three foreign universities before acquiring his PhD from Columbia. He was born in 1880 in Illinois and graduated from the University of Illinois in 1901. After working as an instructor at the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut from 1901 to 1904, he continued his studies at the University of Heidelberg, the University of Berlin and Sorbonne during the following year. In 1905, he joined Columbia and received his PhD in 1907.<sup>680</sup>

The second largest group, the PhD candidates whose fathers were classified as being tradesmen, were mostly born in the northern parts of the United States. Of the 28 PhD candidates of this group, 21 had a pre-PhD career as instructors or teachers. Four PhD candidates of this group were born abroad, while eleven were born in the North Atlantic Division and seven in the State of New York of which five came from New York City. Nine were born in the Northern Central Division. The remaining American PhD candidates were all born in the South Atlantic Division. One of the foreigners of

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<sup>679</sup> See Patrick Lichtenberger, *Divorce; a study in social causation*, 1910, CWO L61.

<sup>680</sup> See Nuba Fletcher, *Some chapters from the history of the Rhine country*, 1907, CWO P71.

this groups was Gerhard Lomer who was in Montreal, Canada, in 1882. He began his studies at McGill University in his hometown and received a bachelor's degree in 1903 and a master's degree in 1904. Afterwards, he moved to New York City, where he studied at Columbia and Teachers College, where he was also an instructor during the summer session of 1909. He received his PhD in 1910 while working as an instructor in English.<sup>681</sup>

Only three candidates whose fathers were tradesmen went abroad to study before acquiring their PhD. One of them was Alvan Tenney. He was born in 1876 in Brooklyn and received a bachelor's degree from Columbia College in 1898 and later, in 1899, a master's degree from Columbia University. During the academic year 1900 to 1901, he first studied at the University of Berlin and later at the Collège of France, Paris. He returned to Columbia in the summer of 1901 and passed the required examination in the following years. It took, however, five additional years for him to get his PhD, which he received in 1907.<sup>682</sup>

Regarding the craftsmen, there was no singular dominant state and only one was born abroad. Twelve PhD candidates from this group were born in the state of the North Atlantic Division, three were born in the State of New York and two of whom were born in New York City. Another two candidates were born in Maine. Another five candidates were born in the Northern Division. Eight PhD candidates had a pre-PhD career in teaching. The only candidate with non-teaching working experience was Philip Jacobs who was born in 1879 in Syracuse, New York. After graduating from the university of his hometown in 1903, he worked as a journalist for two years. He joined the Drew Theological seminary, from which he graduated in 1908. Afterwards, he joined Columbia and received his PhD in 1910.<sup>683</sup> Three candidates studied or went abroad before receiving their PhD degree from Columbia. Alexander Luther studied in Leipzig while Ida Thallon went to an excavation site in Attica, Greece,<sup>684</sup> and George Danton studied in Munich. Danton was born in 1880 in New York City and studied at Columbia College. After graduating in 1902, he worked as a teacher at Harvard. He moved to Munich where he studied in spring 1905. Back in the US, he

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<sup>681</sup> See Gerhard Lomer, *The concept of method*, 1910, CXO L838.

<sup>682</sup> See Alvan Tenney, *Social democracy and population*, 1907, CWO T25.

<sup>683</sup> See Philip Jacobs, *German sociology*, 1910, CWO J16.

<sup>684</sup> See Ida Thallon, *Lycosura and the date of Damophon*, 1905, CXO T32.

joined Columbia and worked as an instructor at the College for Women, Western Reserve University, in Ohio, and received his PhD in 1907.<sup>685</sup>

## 5.7 Conclusion

The PhD degree was a title that was new to Columbia as well as to the higher education system of the United States when it was introduced towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The data on PhD candidates at Columbia represents the “early adopters” and the development of this first group of upcoming scholars from 1871 to 1913. During these more than forty years, the number of PhD candidates not only grew but also diversified as to their geographical and social background while the average age at graduation grew to today’s level.<sup>686</sup>

According to the available data, the prototypical PhD candidate at Columbia until 1900 was 27.73 years old on average and Protestant. He was born in the Northern Divisions of the US, probably in New York City, although the chance of him being born abroad was higher compared to Berlin. His father was part of the middle class and, as such, was likely to be a businessman. During the following period up until 1913, the prototypical PhD candidate was about four years older on average as he usually received his PhD degree at 32 years of age. He was still a Protestant, although his chance of being Jewish had increased. Unlike at Berlin University, where the chance of being born abroad rose during the second period, the prototypical PhD candidate at Columbia was more likely to be born in the US compared with the period up until 1900. On the other hand, he was also more likely to be born in the southern and western states of the US. Furthermore, he was still part of the middle class but, unlike before, more likely to be the son of a farmer, teacher or businessman compared to the period before. It seems that the goal of Barnard’s “inclusive vision” for Columbia College and Low’s as well as Butler’s shared view that if “Columbia was to become the best American university, it must also become the biggest” opened PhD program of Columbia to other social classes too.<sup>687</sup>

The growth of PhD candidates in the Humanities and in Sciences was in line with the overall development of the university until 1913. While, at first, there were more PhD candidates in the Sciences than in the Humanities, the latter outgrew the Science

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<sup>685</sup> See George Danton, *The nature sense in the writings of Ludwig Tieck*, 1907, CXO D23.

<sup>686</sup> See National Science Foundation, *Median age of doctorate recipients, by broad field of study, sex, citizenship status, ethnicity, and race: 2013*, accessed 11<sup>th</sup> October 2017 <https://www.nsf.gov/statistics/sed/2013/data/tab27.pdf>

<sup>687</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 225-226.

candidates in numbers in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Given the reforms of this period, this is unsurprising as the newly established schools and faculties, such as the School of Political Science established by Burgess, were primarily focused on studies and research in the Humanities. It took, however, a few years until the Humanities benefited from the reforms of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the number of PhD candidates started to grow steadily, although yearly fluctuations remained. It might be worth comparing these results with the foundation of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in 1979 and if the latter initiative led to further changes in the overall number of PhD candidates as well as in the balance of PhD candidates in the Humanities and in Sciences. Additionally, one must consider the unparalleled research opportunities in New York City with the New York Public Library, the Metropolitan Museum, the American Museum of Natural History and the Bronx Botanical Garden in comparison to Columbia's competitors, Harvard and Yale. Not least because of these opportunities Columbia became the nation's largest producer of PhDs in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>688</sup>

Comparing the overall student numbers and the PhD candidates does not make sense until the separation of undergraduate and graduate students was finally accomplished in 1897 with the foundation of Columbia College and the end of double registrations in 1901. While the number of PhD candidates both in Science and the Humanities grew but fluctuated, the number of students at Columbia's Graduate School increased continuously. This change occurred during the "Knickerbocker" debate when influential and wealthy New Yorker families sent their children to colleges outside New York but expected them to return to professional study at Columbia's Graduate Schools. While this was in line with Barnard's strategy to extend Columbia's professional schools, his successor Seth Low focused on opening the college to all New Yorkers. As the elitist Knickerbocker did not support this change in the university policy, they sent their sons to colleges outside of New York City.<sup>689</sup> The disproportionate growth of graduate students as well as PhD candidates after 1900 at Columbia seems to have been a result of this change. Butler, who succeeded Low in 1902, had no intention of changing this development and supported Barnard's

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<sup>688</sup> See National Archive of Science, *A century of doctorates* (Washington D.C., National Archive of Science: 1978).

<sup>689</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 260.

statement that “if Columbia was to become the best American university, it must also become the biggest.”<sup>690</sup>

This change in focus at Columbia from the teaching-only British model to the teaching and researching German one is also reflected in the background of the PhD candidates, as having a pre-PhD career or employment was not uncommon for PhD candidates at Columbia. The fact that Columbia “pressured the New York State Legislature to require more and more education for admission to each licensed profession” does not only explain the growing number of graduate and research students but also the increasing average age.<sup>691</sup> Additionally, New York City had a reputation of being an inappropriate place for undergraduates but providing many career opportunities for professionals. This supported Columbia’s efforts to become a good place for graduate and research students.<sup>692</sup>

Keeping in mind Seth Low’s goal of opening the university to New York’s middle class, one might assume that the increasing diverse geographical background of American-born PhD candidates contradicted his goals. However, Low’s effort concentrated on Columbia College, not the graduate and professional schools, which, due a lack of accommodation and the already mentioned reputation of New York City as being unsuitable for undergraduates, primarily recruited students from the city itself. The increasing diversity supports however Robert McCaughey’s statement that “Columbia’s professional and graduate schools differed from Harvard’s and Yale’s in being less dependent on the undergraduate college for students.”<sup>693</sup> Due to the attractiveness of New York City, the myriad career opportunities for students with a Master’s or PhD degree from Columbia and the fact that the university promoted the PhD as a degree for teaching in colleges and universities, Columbia managed to extend its recruiting area beyond New York City and the North Atlantic Division of the United States.

Many PhD candidates at Columbia went to Germany in general and the University of Berlin in particular before or during their time as PhD candidates at Columbia for research or study. In most cases, however, it is unclear if they went by themselves or

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<sup>690</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 260.

<sup>691</sup> Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2014), 228.

<sup>692</sup> See *ibid.*, 227.

<sup>693</sup> Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America*, 227.



within an exchange program, for example as part of the professorial one between Columbia and the University of Berlin, as no information is provided by the PhD candidates. It can be said that the exchange program had no effect on the PhD candidates at Columbia.<sup>694</sup>

None of the PhD candidates from Columbia who visited the University of Berlin or another German university acquired a degree. This supports the changing paradigm outlined by Anja Werner who has argued that before 1890 American students went to Germany to acquire a degree while those after 1890 went primarily for research<sup>695</sup> Moreover, they wished to improve their language skills, as German was still the leading language in the academic.<sup>696</sup> This could be another reason why, besides a lack of professionalism and reputation, the prestigious universities in the United Kingdom played no role for PhD candidates at Columbia until 1913, as going merely to improve one's English language skills at a university in the United Kingdom was pointless. Additionally, one can also argue that there was no 'international academic community' of equals in development. As soon as the American universities were being seen on the same level as the German ones, American PhD candidates preferred to acquire their degree from an institution of their own country. Like the American students before 1890 in the German Empire preferred to stay among their own during their time abroad, so did after 1890 the American PhD by acquiring their degree no longer abroad but at home.<sup>697</sup>

The question of the religious background of Columbia's students, staff and even trustees was an on-going and heated debate in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, not least due to Burgess anti-Semitic and anti-Feministic statements and publications

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<sup>694</sup> See vom Bernhard vom Brocke, "Der deutsch-amerikanische Professorenaustausch," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* [The German-American exchange of professors], *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* [Journal for cultural exchange] 31, no. 1 (1981), 137-142.

<sup>695</sup> See Anja Werner, *The transatlantic world of higher education: Americans at German universities, 1776-1914*, *European studies in American history*, 4 (New York (NY): Berghahn Books, 2013), 22.

<sup>696</sup> See Ulrich Ammon, *The dominance of English as a language of science: Effects on other languages and language communities*, *Contributions to the sociology of language*, vol. 84 (Berlin, New York (NY): Mouton de Gruyter, 2001), 344.

<sup>697</sup> See Gabriele Lingelbach, "Intercultural Transfer and Comparative History: The Benefits and Limits of Two Approaches", in *Traversea*, 1 (2011), 46-59, 51.

towards the end of his life,<sup>698</sup> although it only reached its peak after the First World War. In those years, conspicuous presence of Jews<sup>699</sup> at Columbia while at the same time no Jew was a Trustee could no longer be ignored. Due to this, most studies of religion and social class at Columbia have concentrated on the interwar period<sup>700</sup> While he argues that Columbia discriminated against Jews in the interwar period, Robert McCaughey contends that Columbia “was more accommodating and less hostile to Jewish students than were the other major eastern universities”.<sup>701</sup>

It is important to keep these different perspectives on the post-1917 period in mind when investigating the religious background of the PhD candidates at Columbia before 1913. First and foremost, it can be said that Burgess’s vision of an ‘elitist’ non-Jewish male-only Columbia was undermined not only by the growing number of lower middle-class PhD candidates and the foundation of Barnard College, but also by the comparably high percentage of Jewish PhD candidates at Columbia before the First World War. There are several reasons for this development. The first one is that members of the Jewish community were keen to use the education system to improve their position in society and did not see the “Protestant” identity of Columbia as an obstacle. This was different among the Catholic immigrants who established their own parallel education system topped by Fordham as their university.<sup>702</sup> As Columbia did not request students or PhD candidates to disclose their religious affiliation and the only religious institution affiliated to Columbia at that time was the comparably liberal Union Theological Seminary,<sup>703</sup> Jewish students and PhD candidates might have decided to acquire a degree from Columbia. The fast-growing Jewish community in New York City and the foundation of the Jewish Seminary in 1886 are other factors that could have helped to increase the number of Jewish PhD candidates at Columbia.

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<sup>698</sup> See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the subject: How the women of Columbia shaped the way we think about sex and politics* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 2004), 31-32.

<sup>699</sup> In 1917, it is estimated that between 25% and 40% of the students at Columbia College were Jewish. See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 257.

<sup>700</sup> Especially Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2014), 227.

<sup>701</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 257.

<sup>702</sup> See Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America*, 230.

<sup>703</sup> Robert T. Handy, *A History of Union Theological Seminar in New York*, 95-120.

Although the first known reference to Columbia's "Hebrew problem" was made in 1910 by the Frederick P. Keppel (at that time the Dean), it took another five to ten years until the question of a Jewish member of the Board of Trustees and on the number of Jewish students intensified.<sup>704</sup> Unfortunately, the McCaughey's as well as Wechsler's research has focussed primarily on the college students and the board of trustees but not on the Master students and PhD candidates before or during the interwar period.<sup>705</sup> One reason for is most like the possible lack of data (as Columbia did not maintain its students records) as well as the fact that the "Hebrew problem" became immanent with the sudden increase in the percentage of Jewish students at Columbia College when dozens of undergraduates left for military service in 1917. After all, the "early 20<sup>th</sup> century academic anti-Semitism has not wanted for chroniclers".<sup>706</sup> However, it might be worthwhile to include the religious background of these PhD candidates as well as Master students before and during the interwar period into future studies about Jews at Columbia to see how the debates did not only affect Columbia College but also the Graduate School and its research students.

The larger number of PhD candidates from the lower middle class compared to the upper middle class after 1900 can be interpreted in three ways. The first is that the success of Columbia in attracting students from outside New York City also attracted students from various parts of society. The second is that the lower middle class saw the importance of higher education for a successful career combined with the fact that more and more positions in education, research and state were only available to people with a PhD degree due to increasing professionalisation of higher education as advocated and promoted by Columbia. Finally, the substantial number of PhD candidates whose fathers were farmers could also be a 'flaw' in the data because it was not possible to separate small farmer from those owning large pieces of land.

Putting these results into the perspective of the overall development of New York's society as well as Columbia, there are two points worth mentioning. First and foremost, the comparably high number of PhD candidates who came from households which encouraged education, such as preachers and teachers, supports the finding that Columbia increased the standards of recruitment not only of its own staff but also those of other higher education institutions. Having a Master's degree was no longer

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<sup>704</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 257.

<sup>705</sup> Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America*, 227.

<sup>706</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 256.

sufficient for a student to follow in his father's footsteps as a teacher at a college or university or as a preacher at a seminary. A PhD, that proved one's capability as a researcher as well as an academic teacher, was now a requirement too.<sup>707</sup> The fact that Columbia had, with the Teachers College, its own Faculty of Education, and with the Union Theological Seminary its own Faculty of Theology, parallel to its Graduate School might have helped to attract especially PhD candidates whose fathers were part of the education and religious sector. By promoting the PhD as a degree required to teach on the highest level of education on the one hand and connecting this degree to opportunity to be educated at Columbia's Teachers College, Columbia established a system of professionalisation and self-recruitment among the academic elite in the United States in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries by promoting. I might be worth to extend this research to the PhD candidates from the interwar period especially with regard to their connection to Columbia's Teachers College.

The growing percentage of PhD candidates from the lower middle class must be seen in connection with the increasing number of 'Knickerbocker' families who sent their sons to colleges outside New York City to study. Columbia College attracted students from New York public schools. At the same time, more and more upper class families from New York City who saw Columbia as their 'home institution' sent their children to study at colleges outside of New York City. The more the PhD candidate's social background diversified too,<sup>708</sup> The admission reforms of Butler and Low seemed to have attracted not only New Yorkers to the college but also increased the social diversity among PhD candidates in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as the middle class more and more began to recognise opportunities of higher education for upward.<sup>709</sup>

In the end, Columbia became an 'elite' university and the "center for the training of the nation's future leaders"<sup>710</sup> not because it excluded specific social and religious groups or aimed to become the largest of all the American universities or pushed for the PhD to be required for teachers and researchers in higher education. It was rather because of the diversity of its students, the professionalism of its staff and its quality of teaching and learning in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>707</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 194.

<sup>708</sup> See *ibid.*, 261.

<sup>709</sup> See Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America*, 228.

<sup>710</sup> See *ibid.*, 226.

## 6. Female PhD Candidates

### 6.1 The Admission of Women in Berlin and at Columbia University

The development of the co-education of men and women and the admission of women to the universities and colleges differed greatly at the University of Berlin and at Columbia University. After all, it was the result of on-going debates within society about the role of women and the role of education in general in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Germany and the USA. Christine D. Myers has described this development in her study *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era*, published 2010, comparing development at twelve higher education institutions in England and the United States. The development of university education for women in Germany has been analysed by Patricia Mazón in her study *Gender and the Modern Research University*, published in 2003. However, a comparison between the admission of women in the United States and the German Empire has not been made so far.

In the German Empire, the admission of women was the prerogative of each state. Baden was the first state which decided to fully admit women in 1900. In Prussia, women were not fully admitted to the universities until 1908.<sup>711</sup> In Berlin, they were even officially banned from applying to attend lectures by a change in the constitution of the university on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1879.<sup>712</sup> However, women still had the option of getting special permission from the Department of Education. To do so, they had to prove that their knowledge on the topics of their studies was sufficient and that they had received the approval of the dean of the university. Each professor had the right not to allow women in his lectures and seminars. Another obstacle was that female candidates had to describe why the topics chosen were important to the future career of the applicants. The final decision about an application was not up to the university but the Department of Education. This was, however, a formal procedure. In 1896 the ministry had decided that it only needed a list of all women applying rather than detailed information about each applicant, due to the increasing workload. When

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<sup>711</sup> According to the ministerial order of 18th August 1908 regarding the admission of women to university, the Minister of Education still had the right to withdraw the right to matriculation from a woman due to "special reason". See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Zulassung der Frauen zu den Universitätsvorlesungen* [Admission of Women to University Lectures], December 1898, UK 154, Archive of the Humboldt-University, 34.

<sup>712</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Universität zu Berlin* [Constitution of the University of Berlin] (Berlin: Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1912), 39.

approved, women received the status of non-registered Prussians and non-Prussians who had the right to study from the director of the university, and they had to reapply every year for admission.<sup>713</sup>

This special status is, however, a problem regarding documentation. In most cases, women do not appear in official statistics of Prussian universities before 1908.<sup>714</sup> If women are mentioned in the years before, the data provided is lacking any additional information such as their place of birth or their social background because they were counted as guest students within the statistics. In some cases, not even an exact number of female students is mentioned but just the word "some".<sup>715</sup> Additionally, women who started studying before 1908 had in most cases no diploma from a German *Gymnasium* and therefore still needed to reapply for their special permission every year, even after 1908.<sup>716</sup>

With some rare exceptions,<sup>717</sup> women could make a request for an 'exceptional doctoral thesis' in Prussia but not before 1894.<sup>718</sup> This was of enormous importance

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<sup>713</sup> See Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education, 1865-1914* (Stanford (CA): Stanford University Press, 2003).

<sup>714</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Chronik der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin für das Rechnungsjahr 1908* [History of the Royal Friedrich-Wilhelms University Berlin for the Year 1908] (Halle a. S.: Buchdruckerei des Waisenhauses, 1908), 18.

<sup>715</sup> See Uwe Czech, *Die Staats-, Kamera- und Gewerbewissenschaften an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin von 1871 bis 1918* [The State, Policy and Economy Studies at the Friedrich-Wilhelms University Berlin from 1871 to 1918] (Berlin, 2007), 16.

<sup>716</sup> The first time, women are mentioned in the official statistics of all Prussian universities is a volume of 1911/1912, starting with the summer term 1909. See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der preussischen Landesuniversitäten mit Einschluss des Lyceum zu Braunsberg, der bischöflichen Klerikalseminare und der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Akademie für das militärische Bildungswesen zu Berlin für das Studienjahr zu Ostern 1911/1912* [Statistic of the Prussian National Universities including the Lyceum of Braunsberg, the episcopalian clerical Seminaries and the Kaiser Wilhelms Academy for the Military Education in Berlin for the Easter Year 1911/1912] (Berlin: Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau, 1912), 29.

<sup>717</sup> One of these exceptions is Sofia Kovaleskaia from Russia who got her PhD in absentia in Mathematics in 1873 from the University of Gottingen. See Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the Modern Research University*, 118.

<sup>718</sup> See Zentrum für transdisziplinäre Geschlechterstudien der HU Berlin und Projektgruppe Edition Frauenstudium, Störgröße "F", *Frauenstudium und Wissenschaftlerinnenkarrieren an*

as it was the only title and certificate that a Prussian university could provide to a woman until 1908. Until that time, women were not allowed to get any record of study or degree from the university.<sup>719</sup> Women could apply for the teacher 's certificate which was opened to women in 1905, three years before women could study at the University of Berlin. This was a certificate awarded by the state, not by the university, and it did not testify to any academic capability as it simply allowed women to apply for positions at the German *Gymnasium* and related secondary education institutions in Prussia. While male candidates for the teacher's certificate needed to be registered at a university, female candidates could apply for this exam without having visited a university, until the regular admission of women. Instead of lowering the demand from women to gain full access to university, as they could get jobs in education, without the requirement to have been studying before, it increased the pressure from female interest groups as the number of female *Gymnasiums* grew due to the rising number of female teachers.<sup>720</sup> Another challenge was the number of German women studying abroad, especially those studying medicine. Until 1899, women who had studied medicine outside of Germany were not allowed to practice as physicians in most parts of the German Empire, while at the same time the need for gynaecologists was increasing.<sup>721</sup> This discrepancy and the fact that the middle classes, who sent their young women to the *Gymnasium*, lent stronger support to the admission of women to the university, were the main reasons in Germany for admitting women to university in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In contrast to other European countries like Britain, most female doctoral candidates

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*der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, 1892 bis 1945: Eine kommentierte Aktenedition* [Disturbance Variable "F", the Admission of Women and Careers of Female Scholars at the University of Berlin, 1892 until 1945: A commentated Collection of Records] (Berlin: Trafo Verlag, 2010), 59.

<sup>719</sup> See *ibid.*, 61.

<sup>720</sup> Women could get their Abitur as externals in the 1890s and the first female *Gymnasium* was established in 1900. While higher education institutions for women already existed, they were not able to grant women the Abitur as they were in most cases private institutions and did not have the right to grant this degree. See Patricia M. Mazón, "Die erste Generation von Studentinnen und die Zulassung der „besseren Elemente“ 1890 – 1914," in *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften: Zur Geschichte von Akademikerinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* [The gender of Science: about the history of female academics in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century], Ulrike Auga, ed. (Frankfurt am Main et. al.: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2010), 113-125, 116.

<sup>721</sup> See David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1870-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 281.

did not see themselves as pioneers for the admission of women at German universities. One of the very few exceptions was Alice Salomon<sup>722</sup> who wrote her thesis *The Causes of Unequal Payment for Men's and Women's Work*<sup>723</sup> at the University of Berlin in 1906 and became a very prominent figure within the national and international women's movement.<sup>724</sup> Before applying for a doctor's title, she published a book on the feminist movement in 1901 and another on the social duties of women in 1902. However, her prominent role as an active feminist led to debates within the university and with the Department of Education in 1905, as she needed a derogation from the requirement to have a high-school degree. While most members of the philosophical faculty supported her request, the department insisted that the decision had to be unanimous. The members of the faculty protested and outlined the fact that if the faculty always had to take unanimous decisions in the case of requests from female students, one member of the faculty could block any female student from getting a doctoral degree.<sup>725</sup> Adolf Erman, professor of Egyptology in Berlin, was even willing to protest in person and sent a letter to the dean of the faculty that he would mention his position when meeting the minister.<sup>726</sup>

However, Alice Salomon was an exception. Most female students and doctoral candidates before 1908 supported stronger regulations regarding the admission of women. They feared that the growing number of foreigners at German universities, females in particular, would lower standards and undermine the fight of German women for regular admission. In the case of Berlin, the German female students and PhD candidates suggested leaving the city to study in other countries like France, where the regular admission of women had already been granted in the 1860s,<sup>727</sup> or

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<sup>722</sup> Due to the prominent role of Alice Salomon regarding the history of the German feminist movement, several biographies about her life and influence on the feminist movement and the education of women have been published over the past centuries including a biography written by Alice Salomon herself.

<sup>723</sup> See Alice Salomon, *Die Ursachen der ungleichen Entlohnung von Männer- und Frauenarbeit* [The reason for the unequal payment of Men and Women], 1906, 389/415.

<sup>724</sup> Alice Salomon did not only lose her German citizenship but also her doctor's title in 1938 due to her opposition to the Nazi regime and the fact that she was born Jewish. She had to leave Germany and moved to the United States. See *ibid.*

<sup>725</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Supporting letters for Alice Salomon*, Phil. Fak. No. 398, 1905, Archive of the Humboldt-University, 691-692.

<sup>726</sup> See *ibid.*, 687-688.

<sup>727</sup> See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Von der "Deutschen Doppelrevolution" bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges 1849 – 1914* [German History of



other parts of the German Empire where the full admission of women had already been established and the standards were higher, as in Baden, if standards for the admission of (female) foreigners to Berlin were not increased.<sup>728</sup> This position was influenced by growing anti-Semitic attitudes and tension towards people from Eastern Europe, especially as any increase in admission standards for women would have merely affected in most cases female Jews from Russia. Males on the other hand were caught in a tricky situation. Besides discussing the mental fitness of women to study, they opposed the admission of women as they feared their competition on the job market. In order to keep it free from women as long as possible, they limited the financial resources available for female *Gymnasiums* in order to lessen the opportunities for women to get the necessary education for admission to university. Furthermore, the universities in Prussia began to lower the number of female foreigners admitted to university. In 1909, the number of foreign males studying in the German Empire was 3.4% of all students; seven times higher than the number of foreign females.<sup>729</sup>

Another big obstacle for women was getting the financial support necessary not only for studying but also for writing a PhD thesis. This was used against admitting women. Without a family, that was open-minded about the education of women and had the necessary financial resources, going to university was impossible. Some female students tried to cover their costs by working while studying. Else Frobenius, one of the most prominent female students before 1908, worked as a journalist in order to be more independent from her father.<sup>730</sup> Women could also get support from their husbands were they to marry during their studies. Helene Herrmann got her PhD in 1904 for her thesis *The psychological Views of young Goethe and his Time* while her

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Society: From the «German Double Revolution» until the beginning of the First World War 1849-1913] [(München: Beck, 2008), 1218.

<sup>728</sup> See Zentrum für transdisziplinäre Geschlechterstudien der HU Berlin und Projektgruppe Edition Frauenstudium, Störgröße "F", *Gesuch von bereits zugelassenen Hörerinnen, nur Frauen mit ausreichender Vorbildung zum Studium. zuzulassen* [Request of already admitted female listeners, only to admit Women with sufficient preparation to the University], 49.

<sup>729</sup> See Patricia M. Mazón, *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften*, 120.

<sup>730</sup> See Silke Hellin, "Schlaglichter auf eine frühe Journalistin und politische Lobbyistin: Else Frobenius (1875 – 1952)" [Highlights about an early Journalist and political Lobbyist: Else Frobenius (1875-1952)], in *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften: Zur Geschichte von Akademikerinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Ulrike Auga, ed. (Frankfurt am Main et. al.: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2010), 141-156, 147.

husband, Max Herrmann, who supported her financially, was at the same time a private lecturer in Berlin.<sup>731</sup> Another female PhD candidate who got married before she received her doctoral degree was Erna Meyer. Her marriage was in June 1913 right before she had to defend her thesis in public. However, in contrast to Helene Herrmann, she did not mention any information about her husband, which implies that he did not have any connections to the University of Berlin.<sup>732</sup> It must be noted that, while very unlikely, it is possible that other female doctoral candidates in Berlin were married or got married during their time of study. In contrast for example to the United Kingdom, where universities had a special register to note any changes of names of current and former students, such a register did not exist in Berlin.

Even after 1908, it was very uncommon for a female scholar to have an academic career in the German Empire. Besides the restricted access to higher education, German society just did not expect a woman to go into academia. Even if a woman, after getting her PhD, published books or articles in journals, she did it as a side-line or within an academic project that was affiliated to a university but not counted as being part of it.<sup>733</sup> It was expected that women would choose jobs, which were more suitable for their "talents" such as a physician or teacher. This was especially the case for female Jews such as the above-mentioned Helene Herrmann who worked as a teacher after her PhD. Even those women who supported the regular admission of women were of the opinion that it was an educated woman's duty to work for her nation and to maintain her femininity.<sup>734</sup> At the same time, female students and doctoral candidates organised themselves into various political and religious associations to promote their goals even before their regular admission in 1908.<sup>735</sup>

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<sup>731</sup> See Helene Herrmann, *Die psychologischen Anschauungen des jungen Goethe und seiner Zeit* [The psychological views of young Goethe and his time], 1904, 389.

<sup>732</sup> See Erna Meyer born Pollack, *Der Haushalt eines höheren Beamten in den Jahren 1880 – 1906 untersucht an Hand von Wirtschaftsrechnungen* [The household of higher public officers between 1880 and 1906 based upon their accounts], 1913, 541.

<sup>733</sup> See Alexandra Tischel, "Wissenschaft jenseits des Berufes – Teilhabe und Ausschluss am Beispiel der Germanistin Helene Herrmann" [Science beyond the Occupation – Participation and Exclusion shown through the example of the Germanist Helene Herrmann], in *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften: Zur Geschichte von Akademikerinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Ulrike Auga, ed. (Frankfurt am Main et. al.: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2010), 127-140, 128.

<sup>734</sup> See Patricia M. Mazón, *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften*, 120.

<sup>735</sup> See Zentrum für transdisziplinäre Geschlechterstudien der HU Berlin und Projektgruppe Edition Frauenstudium, Störgröße "F", *Frauenstudium und Wissenschaftlerinnenkarrieren an*

Besides the social barriers, there were also legal issues. In the German Empire, the title of professor was connected to the completion of military service. As women were excluded from this service, they were also excluded from being promoted to this title until 1920. This included the *venia legendi* which was necessary to teach at a university as a professor. It must be noted, however, that according to the regulations, the necessity to complete military service was only required by German nationals. Foreigners were able to get promoted and acquire the *venia legendi* without any military service.<sup>736</sup> This means, from a legal perspective, that a female foreigner would have been able to get her promotion while a German woman would not. There are, however, no known foreign females who were promoted before the reform of 1920. Due to this, women who wanted to stay in academia had to work within a state-funded research project or in a research institution that was not part of a university like the *Prussian Academy of Science in Berlin*. While it had very strong ties to the university, the scholars there were not employed or paid by it. They, therefore, did not appear within the official documents of the university. By the 1890s, female scholars who had been studying abroad, either German nationals or foreigners, were working on projects at these institutions. After women were allowed to do a PhD in Berlin, they were often placed in the mentioned academy due to its close ties to the university. In some cases, male scholars, who changed from the university to the academy, took their whole team, including their female staff members, with them. Still, female scholars were not employed as researchers. Although they were part of the academy, they were often doing work that was not academic, in other words neither related to their qualification nor the focus of the academy as a research institute. Even with a PhD, they were employed as research assistants rather than scholars.<sup>737</sup>

In the United States, the situation facing female pupils and students was part of the

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*der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, 1892 bis 1945*, 109.

<sup>736</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Habilitationsbestimmungen für die Philosophische Fakultät der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin* [Postdoctoral Regulations for the Faculty of Philosophy of the Royal Friedrichs-Wilhelms University Berlin], 1<sup>st</sup> June 1908, UK 443, Archive of the Humboldt-University.

<sup>737</sup> See Petra Hoffmann, "Der Übergang vom universitären Ausbildungs- ins Wissenschaftssystem. Das Beispiel der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin" [The Transition of the academic Educationssystem to the academic Researchsystem shown by the example of the Prussian Academy of Science in Berlin], in *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften: Zur Geschichte von Akademikerinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Ulrike Aaga, ed. (Frankfurt am Main et. al.: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2010), 157-182, 162.

research project of Nicholas Murray Butler's *Monographs on Education in the United States*. While the first parts of the study were released in 1900 during the World's Fair in Paris, the full analysis of Thomas M. Carey, at that time president of Bryn Mawr College, about the *Education of Women* was released four years later in 1904 during the World's Fair of the same year in St. Louis. When looking at the admission of women in the United States compared to the German Empire, it is important to be aware of the fact that, unlike in the latter, most colleges and universities, especially in the east, were established as private institutions. As in the case of other topics, like admission criteria, all private (and sometimes even religious) colleges and universities took decisions about the admittance of women independently. Another important situation to be aware of was the division between the western, eastern and southern states. While the western and southern states were open-minded regarding coeducation, the institutions of higher education in the east were much more hesitant to admit women.<sup>738</sup> Overall, the number of coeducational institutions were growing. In 1870, 30.7% of the colleges were coeducational. This rose to 51.3% in 1880 and 65.5% in 1890.<sup>739</sup> According to the US education report of 1897-1898, out of 480 colleges 336 or 70% were coeducational. However, these coeducational institutions were not distributed equally among the United States. Although the first college to admit men and women was Oberlin College, Ohio, the eastern institutions of higher education were much more reluctant to admit women.<sup>740</sup> Out of the 217 colleges in the western states, 182 or 84% were coeducational. In the southern states, 125 of the 182 or 69% of the colleges were coeducational. Meanwhile, in the eastern states, only 29 out of the 81 or 36% of the colleges were coeducational.<sup>741</sup> One can compare this situation with the German Empire, where it was up to each state to admit women to its colleges and universities. The important difference is, however, that the decision by the states to admit women only affected the state universities and not private institutions like Columbia University.

Second, the civil war affected the role of women within education in the United States. This was even recognized by contemporary witnesses. Thomas M. Carey wrote in his

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<sup>738</sup> See Thomas M. Carey, "Education of Women," in *Monographs on Education in the United States*, Nicholas M. Butler, ed. (New York (NY): J. B. Lyon & Company, 1900), 321-358, 328.

<sup>739</sup> See *ibid.*, 330.

<sup>740</sup> Oberlin College admitted women as students in coeducation curriculum in 1837. It was further the first college to admit African-American students in 1844.

<sup>741</sup> See Commissioner of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1897-1898*, vol. 2 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), 1816-1841.

part of the *Monographs on Education in the United States* about the *Education of Women* in 1900:

“The five years of the civil war, which drained all the northern and western states of men, caused women teachers to be employed in the public and private schools in large numbers, and in the first reports of the national bureau of education, organized after the war, we see that there were already fewer men than women teaching in the public schools of the United States. This result proved not to be temporary, but permanent, and from 1865 until the present time not only the elementary teaching of boys and girls but the secondary education of both has been increasingly in the hands of women.”<sup>742</sup>

This affected the foundation of the state colleges and universities founded in the west after the civil war. There it was already a common sight for boys and girls to attend school together and for the teachers to be female. Due to this, it would have been difficult to explain why women were able to visit and work as high school teachers but not to study at the newly founded mostly state funded colleges. On the other hand, the admission of women would have been a break with tradition for the primarily privately funded and men-only colleges and universities in the eastern states as it was for the European universities.<sup>743</sup>

Meanwhile, Columbia University used another method to include women. Instead of admitting them as students like Berlin, it created a new institution affiliated to the university whose goal was to teach women according to the same curriculum: Barnard College. The college was founded in 1889 and was solely for female students. The goal of Barnard College was to teach each undergraduate according to the same curriculum as if they were studying at Columbia University.<sup>744</sup> While, on the one hand, it allowed women to pursue degrees awarded by Columbia University and opened the university to female researchers and staff members in the years to come, it also

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<sup>742</sup> Thomas M. Carey, *Monographs on Education in the United States*, 323.

<sup>743</sup> See *ibid.* 324.

<sup>744</sup> As in Berlin, some lecturers allowed female students in their courses as long as no opposition arose among the students' present. This changed towards the late 1870s when one of trustees found out that his own daughter was visiting courses at Columbia. See Annie Nathan Meyer, *Barnard Beginnings* (Boston (MA), New York (NY): Houghton Mifflin Company; The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1935), 5.

delayed the full coeducation of men and women for nearly a century.<sup>745</sup> One could argue that Columbia University was much more conservative compared to Berlin regarding the question to admit women. Berlin required 98 years to admit women as full students. Columbia University required 229 years to open all of its courses and schools to female students. In 1983, Columbia College, the last male-only domain at Columbia University and its affiliated institutions, opened its doors to female students, while Barnard College remains an all-female institution until today.

The hesitation of Columbia to admit women and the foundation of Barnard College was a result of the overall more conservative stance of the private institutions and their trustees in the north-east of the United States. However, the special situation of Columbia University was the competition between John William Burgess and the then president of Columbia University Frederick Barnard. Barnard supported Burgess's efforts to professionalise Columbia University. However, they had very different views on the expansion and inclusiveness of the institution.

Burgess was, to put it plainly, a white supremacist and Anti-Semite. He was not the only but certainly was the most powerful opponent to Barnard at Columbia University. Burgess saw the university as an elitist and exclusive institution. Opening it to other social groups like women, Jews or African-Americans would have undermined this principle.<sup>746</sup> According to Burgess, admitting women to the university would "make the college a female seminary, and a Hebrew female seminary, in the character of the student body, at that."<sup>747</sup> Barnard's vision of Columbia University and its college was much more democratic and inclusive. One reason was his overall positive experience with professional and intelligent women as well as the dominant role of women within his own education and life. He was convinced that "in the interests of society, the mental culture of women should be not inferior in character to that of men." He further states that "[t]he demand has been made, and its reasonableness has been generally conceded, that the same educational advantages should be offered to young women

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<sup>745</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia: A History of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754-2004* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 2003), 168.

<sup>746</sup> The assumption that women were inferior to men was already statistically disproven in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The University of Wisconsin, e.g., stated that women ranked most often beyond the men when applying for scholarships. Thomas M. Carey, *Monographs on Education in the United States*, 323-334.

<sup>747</sup> See John W. Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American Scholar: The Beginnings of Columbia University* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1943), 241-242.

which young men enjoy.”<sup>748</sup> Additionally, the increasing number of colleges in New York City heightened competition to get the brightest students and made it necessary for Columbia University to extend its reach further afield than New York City as well beyond the white male only candidate basis.<sup>749</sup>

Although Barnard was well respected as the president of Columbia University, his call for coeducation was not successful. The Collegiate Course for Women, which allowed women to study according to the Columbia curriculum but outside of Columbia’s campus at evening and night classes, proved problematic. This program ran for only six years with only four women receiving a Columbia degree until its closure in 1885.<sup>750</sup>

While Barnard continued to insist on establishing Columbia as a fully coeducational institution of higher learning, some of his supporters began to promote the idea of separate but affiliated institution solely for women. Annie Meyer Nathan, great-granddaughter of the first Jewish trustee Abraham Seixas, outlined in an article published in 1888 in *Nation* her vision of an affiliated college for women of the type that was planned and already established at competing institutions like Harvard.<sup>751</sup> The idea proved to be fruitful. In January 1889, the Columbia board of trustees supported the idea of establishing an affiliated college for women in general and only three months later, in April, it approved the resolution to establish Barnard College. In October, half a year later, Barnard College opened its first classes just five blocks south of Columbia University. Sadly, Barnard himself did not see this happen. He died three weeks after the board adopted the resolution to establish the college. Although he was heavily in favour of coeducation at Columbia University, he agreed that the college would bear his name.<sup>752</sup>

While Barnard College was not what those supporting coeducation at Columbia University had hoped to achieve, it was ultimately a great success. Columbia

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<sup>748</sup> Frederick A.P. Barnard, “Frederick A. P. Barnard on the Education of Women, 1879-1881,” Columbia College, accessed 14<sup>th</sup> October 2017 <https://edblogs.columbia.edu/histx3570-001-2014-1/primary-documents/frederick-a-p-barnard-on-the-education-of-women-1879-1881/>.

<sup>749</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 166.

<sup>750</sup> While not unlikely, it would require further research to prove if the increasing number of coeducational colleges lowered the attraction of Columbia’s Collegiate Course for Women. See *ibid.* 167.

<sup>751</sup> See Annie Nathan Meyer, *Barnard Beginnings*, 41.

<sup>752</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 168.

University became far less of a 'male-bastion' than the other big private colleges and universities did in the east in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Two years after the foundation of Barnard College, the Faculty of Philosophy, founded a year after the foundation of Barnard, admitted women to its classes, if the instructors agreed, and allowed women to apply for PhDs. In 1896, the first woman joined the Columbia teaching staff: Flora Harpham.<sup>753</sup> An agreement between Columbia and Barnard College, adopted in 1900 by the board of trustees, significantly increased the number of female staff members at Columbia. The biggest blow to the adversaries of coeducation like Burgess however had already happened two years before in 1898, when the faculty of the School of Political Science admitted women as staff members and gave them the right to apply for a PhD. The dean of the school at that moment was Burgess.

Barnard College's independent status allowed it to prosper further, covering the debate as well as the research topics that Columbia could or would not pursue but later adopted and promoted like the study of gender. Further, Barnard College could develop mostly unaffected by any struggles within Columbia University following Barnard's death and the discussions regarding the separation of Columbia College and Columbia University. Finally, and as shown by Rosalind Rosenberg in her study on the influence of Columbia women, Barnard College did not only influence Columbia University, but the City of New York and the United States. New York City became the "capital of the female worker" where already in 1898 one out of three women was a breadwinner. The nearest competitor, Chicago, "provided employment to fewer than half as many".<sup>754</sup> After the turn of the century, the professionally educated women of Barnard College and Columbia became more and more influential in politics and social movements in New York City and beyond.<sup>755</sup>

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<sup>753</sup> She got a bachelor's degree from Carlton College and master's degree from the same institution. At Columbia, she was working at Columbia's observatory. See Mary R. S. Creese, "American and British women in science, 1800-1900: A survey of their contributions to research", in *Ladies in the laboratory?*, Mary R. S. Creese, ed., with contributions by Thomas M. Creese (Lanham (MD): Scarecrow Press, 1998), 234-235.

<sup>754</sup> See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the subject: How the women of Columbia shaped the way we think about sex and politics* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 2004), 93.

<sup>755</sup> See *ibid.*, 313.



## 6.2 Female PhD Candidates

The typical female candidate in Berlin between 1900 and 1913 was 31 years of age, from Berlin, Protestant and part of the upper middle class. Altogether, 22 PhD degrees or 3.6% of the degrees awarded by the University of Berlin were awarded to women between 1900 and 1913.<sup>756</sup> It must be noted that due to the extreme differences between the number of male and female candidates, the following comparisons must be made with caution. To get more reliable results, it would be necessary to include data from other German universities, especially those that allowed the regular admission of women before 1908.

The first PhD was not awarded to a German woman but to an American. Caroline T. Steward received her PhD in 1901 for her thesis *Grammatische Darstellung der Sprache des St. Pauler Glossars zu Lukas* [Grammatical Presentation of the Language of St. Paul's Luke' Glossary]. She started studying in Berlin in 1898 with a fellowship granted by the Women's Education Association in Boston. According to her CV, she finished the PhD program within three years. Like most of the American students in Berlin, she had already visited other colleges in the United States of America, like Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, as a student or worked as a teacher before starting her studies at the University of Berlin. To get admitted to Berlin, she enlisted the support of the American Ambassador in Berlin who stated that "[t]here is no institution for women in the United States which stands higher than Bryn-Mawr College. Studies such as Miss Stewart claims to have made in the institutions above named would, in my opinion, thoroughly prepare her for the course she has been taking at the University of Berlin."<sup>757</sup>

In the 1890s, 77 female guest students were admitted in Prussia. Their number

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<sup>756</sup>Anette Vogt counted in her study, published in 2003, 22 PhDs awarded to women until 1908, of which 17 were studying Humanities and 5 Science. However, the research in the archive in Berlin made clear that there is an additional woman, Grace Fleming-Swearing, who, described as Miss, got her PhD 1904. See Anette Vogt, "Die Ausnahmepromovendinnen (1899 – 1909)" [The Exceptional Female PhD Candidates (1899-1909)], in *Von der Ausnahme zur Alltäglichkeit: Frauen an der Berliner Universität Unter den Linden*, Zentrum f. i. F. an zu Ausstellungsgruppe der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, ed. (Berlin: Trafo Verlag, 2003), 33-38, and Grace Fleming Swearingen, *Die englische Schriftsprache bei Coverdale* [The English written language in Cloverdale], 1904, 392.

<sup>757</sup>See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Letter of the American ambassador in Berlin to support Miss Stewart*, Phil. Fak. No. 362, 1901, Archive of the Humboldt-University.

increased to 777 within 10 years.<sup>758</sup> After the regular admission of women, 1814 female students or 3.5% of all students in the Michaelmas term 1909/1910 were women and Berlin was by far the most favoured place to study for women as more than half of those female students started their studies there.<sup>759</sup> In the Michaelmas term 1911/1912, the number of female PhD candidates increased to 2727, which means that 5% of all students in Prussia were female.<sup>760</sup> In comparison to male PhD candidates, women were much more often part of the upper middle class. Additionally, it was nearly two-and-a-half times more likely that a female PhD candidate was Jewish than a male PhD candidate.<sup>761</sup> On the other hand, there were no female PhD candidates from a Christian-orthodox family while the differences between male and female Catholics as well as Protestant PhD candidates regarding social background is minimal.

As regards the social background, it can be said that even in the upper middle classes those women who had a father with a higher education degree were more likely to undertake a PhD than those who did not. As in the case of the first generation of female students, most of the female doctoral candidates had fathers who were self-employed or part of the group of businessmen. The will of these groups to invest in the education of their daughters, even if the available sources were limited, was much higher than in any other.<sup>762</sup> A comparison with male PhD candidates in Berlin makes this more obvious. 48% of all male PhD candidates between 1900 and 1913 were from families of state officials, another 42% from the group of businessmen and 10% had a father who was self-employed. In the case of the female PhD candidates, those with a self-employed father was still the smallest group represented, with 24%; it is, however, nearly two-and-a-half times as big as in the case of male PhD candidates. Physicians were especially supportive, as half of the female PhD candidates from this

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<sup>758</sup>See Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the modern research university*, 120.

<sup>759</sup>See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten, 1910/1911*, 275.

<sup>760</sup>According to official statistics, guest students and „listeners“ were counted. See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen, 1911/1912*, 29.

<sup>761</sup>The number of Jewish females living in Berlin within this period was nearly three times higher than the number of female Catholics. The reason is that Berlin was one of the main centres of modern Jewish life in the German Empire. See *ibid.* 145.

<sup>762</sup>See Zentrum für transdisziplinäre Geschlechterstudien der HU Berlin und Projektgruppe Edition Frauenstudium, Störgröße "F", *Frauenstudium und Wissenschaftlerinnenkarrieren an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, 1892 bis 1945*, 107.

group had a physician as a father. In the case of the male PhD candidates, it was only a third.

In the case of the businessmen, the percentage of female PhD candidates from this group is, with 40 per cent, the same as the number of male PhD candidates. As in the case of male PhD candidates, female PhD candidates from this group benefited from the financial resources, which were in this class much higher than in the other two. It enabled them to start studying financially independently within a male-dominated higher education system.<sup>763</sup> The percentage of women whose fathers were employed by the state was 36%, more than 10% lower than in the case of male candidates. While the overall lower percentage might be coincidental, the comparably high percentage of female PhD candidates whose father was a state official indicates that they recognised the career opportunities a PhD offered. In the case of the gentry, only one female was part of this group. This was Maria Grunewald, who obtained her PhD in 1912. She was born in the district of Tilsit, East Prussia, and her father was an owner of an estate in this region.<sup>764</sup> Only three female PhD candidates were part of the lower middle class. Two of them had an employee as father, the father of the third one was a farmer. It is a little bit surprising that no female PhD candidate had a father who worked as a lower civil servant, especially due to the newly created and growing group of post office and national railway clerks towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

A comparison of these results with the official statistics of the Prussian universities after the regular admission in 1908 shows that the percentage of female PhD candidates from the lower classes was lower than among all female students at the University of Berlin. In case of the latter, it was more than a third, while in the case of female PhD candidates, it was with three out of 36 less than 10 per cent.<sup>765</sup> In the case of the whole German Empire, only 17% of all female students had fathers who were businessmen, which means that this social group was over-represented at the University of Berlin.<sup>766</sup> There are two possible reasons for this difference. The first is that women who were part of the lower middle classes believed a master's degree

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<sup>763</sup>See David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1870-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 281.

<sup>764</sup>See Maria Grunewald, *Die Entwicklung des Karnationskolorites in der venezianischen Malerei von den Anfängen bis auf Tiepolo* [The development of the *Karnationskolorites* in the Venetian paintings from their beginnings until Tiepolo], 1912, 509.

<sup>765</sup>See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten, 1908/1909*, 194.

<sup>766</sup>Wehler called this group not businessmen but the new middle class. See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 1219.

was enough to advance in the job market as it opened the opportunity to be a high school teacher so that a PhD was not necessary. The second is that women of this class were either not willing or not able to pay the additional costs incurred doing a PhD. According to the statisticians, the question of whether a study enabled the student to get a decent job was of utmost importance in the case of female students. Due to this, women focused on topics that were of use for them when applying to teach at a *Gymnasium*, such as mathematics, science and especially philology, without focusing on research. Even the statisticians ignored the fact that a woman who studied these topics could start a career in research.<sup>767</sup>

At the beginning, a female PhD candidate in Berlin was on average 30.9 years and therefore 4.5 years older than the average male candidate within the same period. The difference between male and female students decreased continuously in the years after 1908 as men and women received the same kind of education.<sup>768</sup> The difference was most likely caused by the fact that most female PhD candidates within this period had to get the above-mentioned special admission, which increased the time needed to finish their theses. Furthermore, most female candidates until 1908 made their *Abitur* not, like males, at a regular *Gymnasium*, but at private institutions after they finished their regular education.

The other big difference between male and female PhD candidates was their geographical origin.<sup>769</sup> Over 36% of all female PhD candidates were foreigners, nearly half of them Americans. This means that the number of foreigners among female PhD candidates was nearly three times as high as among male candidates within the same period. The percentage of female candidates from the German Empire or the Prussian States was, accordingly, 20% lower in comparison to males. Most female students and PhD candidates came from foreign countries which either did not allow the admission of women to higher education or had even more restrictions than the

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<sup>767</sup> In 1911/1912, nearly 60% of all women were studying Philology, 17% more Mathematics and Science and only 12% Medicine. See Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, *Statistik der Preussischen Landesuniversitäten, 1911/1912*, 194.

<sup>768</sup> See Zentrum für transdisziplinäre Geschlechterstudien der HU Berlin und Projektgruppe Edition Frauenstudium, Störgröße "F", *Frauenstudium und Wissenschaftlerinnenkarrieren an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, 1892 bis 1945*, 107.

<sup>769</sup> The system of geographical origin will be outlined in detail within the methodology chapter. For Germany, the borders of the national states and provinces are taken as of 1871. The only exception is Berlin. In this case, the borders of Great Berlin, established in 1920, were taken.

University of Berlin, like most universities in the United State or Russia.<sup>770</sup>

However, the above mentioned increasing admission standards for guest students lowered the number of foreign female students before 1908 and therefore the number of female PhD candidates as well until 1908. More than the half of all female PhD candidates were foreigners, but between 1909 and 1913, the number dropped to two out of 18. It can be said that the measures implemented to lower the number of foreign female guest students directly affected the number of foreign female PhD candidates as well. This was especially true regarding the United States. While no female American was awarded a PhD in Berlin after 1908, the number of female Americans living in the German Empire was increasing.<sup>771</sup> The number of female students from the United States, however, was already falling in 1900. While they were by far the majority among foreign female students in the 1890s, they had already lost their leading position to the Russians before the turn of the century.<sup>772</sup> Regarding the German female PhD candidates it can be said that the regular admission of women led to more diversity regarding their geographical background. Between 1900 and 1913 twelve or more than a third of female candidates were born in Berlin; another eight were born outside Berlin but still within Prussia. This means that 20 out of 23 German female candidates were Prussian. However, the number of female doctoral candidates born in Berlin dropped from more than half the total number before 1908 to a third thereafter.

Regarding the PhD, Patricia Mazón's argument that the higher standards for the admission of women were especially used to discriminate against female Jews from Russia can, however, neither be confirmed nor disproved.<sup>773</sup> One reason is that the number of female PhD candidates in Berlin was just too small. The other reason is that the only female PhD candidate from Russia, Frida Bielschowsky, was Jewish and would therefore defy Mazón's argument on both levels. She got her PhD in 1911,

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<sup>770</sup> In Russia, specialized women's universities were founded. See Trude Maurer, "Emanzipierte Untertaninnen: Frauenstudium im Russischen Reich" [Emancipated female Subjects: The Admission of Women in the Russian Empire], in *Der Weg an die Universität: Höhere Frauenstudien bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* [The way to university: higher education and women until the 20<sup>th</sup> century], Trude Maurer, ed. (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2010), 135.

<sup>771</sup> In 1900, 50% of all Americans living in the German Empire were female. Ten years later, in 1910, the percentage increased to 52%. See Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches 1904* (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1903), 9.

<sup>772</sup> See Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the modern research university*, 121.

<sup>773</sup> See *ibid.*, *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften*, 118.

three years after the regular admission of women, and had previously studied in Heidelberg and Breslau, which were both Prussian universities.<sup>774</sup> Still, German female students and PhD candidates did not see foreigners, especially Russians but also Germans from the Baltic with German citizenship, like Else Frobenius, as equals and excluded them from their societies.<sup>775</sup>

The difference regarding the social background and religion between male and female PhD candidates in Berlin also represents the more critical views towards state and society of the female compared to the male PhD candidates. Women, more than men, were much more often Jewish and were therefore not part of the Christian and especially not of the Protestant majority in Berlin, Prussia and the German Empire in general. Furthermore, the fathers of female PhD candidates, while part of the upper middle class, were also part of the group of self-employed. They were not part of the state-employees or businessmen. Additionally, they did not learn only from their parents about the importance of education. Especially in the case of Jewish female PhD candidates, it was much more likely that they had siblings who went to higher education institutions and functioned as examples for younger sisters compared to Christian female PhD candidates. Additionally, it is important to note that a decline in the birth rate came much earlier in Judaism than in Christianity. Due to this, the available financial resources per child within the reformed Jewish community were much higher. This allowed Jewish families to financially support their daughters during their studies, even if there were sons within the family as well.<sup>776</sup> This led, too, to an emancipation of Jewish females within the Jewish community, where previously they had had a lower standing and fewer rights than within regular German society.<sup>777</sup>

It must be noted that the father of every third female guest and later regular student had died before they started studying at a university. This meant that the opposition of family, especially male family members, to the wishes of a daughter to go to university was less. However, it also meant that a woman might have to finance her

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<sup>774</sup>See Frida Bielschowsky, *Die Textilindustrie des Lodzer Rayons. Ihr werden und ihre Bedeutung* [The textile industry in the area of Lodz: ist creation and ist importance], 1911, 501.

<sup>775</sup>See Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the Modern Research University*, 120.

<sup>776</sup>See Alexandra Tischel, *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften*, 130.

<sup>777</sup>See Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon, "Pionierinnen – Mitstreiterinnen – Ausgegrenzte: Jüdische Lehrerinnen und Studentinnen in Deutschland" [Pioneers - Companions – Excluded: Jewish female Teachers and Students in Germany], in *Der Weg an die Universität: Höhere Frauenstudien bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Trude Maurer, ed. (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2010), 211-235, 214.

life without the support of her father if she was not entitled an inheritance. This could, however, have increased the desire of a female PhD candidate to get a higher education to increase her chances within the job market.<sup>778</sup> Additionally, there were female students who wanted to finance their studies on their own in order to be more independent from their family. One of the best-known examples is Else Frobenius. She worked for the conservative *Kreuz-Zeitung* as a journalist while studying in Berlin, even though her father offered to support her.<sup>779</sup>

When comparing the education of the female PhD candidates in Berlin one must bear in mind that in most cases women were not able to go to high school and get an *Abitur* before 1900. Of importance regarding the *Abitur* for German women was the *Gymnasialkurs für Frauen* [High School Course for Women], organised by Helena Lange in Berlin. This course was visited by several female PhD candidates in Berlin before 1908, such as Anna Lüderitz or Helene Herrman. Another important course was organised by the *Allgemeine Deutschen Frauenverein* [General German Association for Women] in Leipzig, which was attended by Maria Schuette and Martha Bälz. Another option was to be trained as a teacher before entering the university. Since the teacher's exam was, as mentioned before, organised by the state, it was one of very few options for women to prove their knowledge with an officially recognised degree. After 1908, the *Abitur* became more and more important. While some female PhD candidates were able to obtain it directly from a high school, like Hermine Brauner-Plazikowski, others obtained this degree as externals. As with the male PhD candidates, the females studied at other universities either before or during their studies in Berlin, especially after 1908. Among the various universities, Munich and Paris were, as in the case of men, visited by several female PhD candidates. A good example is Ella Spiero, who got her doctor's title in 1912. She studied first in Nancy and at the Sorbonne, before returning to Germany where she studied at four different universities, including Berlin and Munich, before she finished her thesis.<sup>780</sup>

In the case of foreign female PhD candidates, the Americans are of particular interest to this study. Compared to the Germans, there was no college or preparation course for an American female PhD candidate to be enrolled in before coming to Berlin available in the United States. However, all of them obtained their academic education

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<sup>778</sup>See Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the modern research university*, 146.

<sup>779</sup>See Silke Hellin, *Das Geschlecht der Wissenschaften*, 147.

<sup>780</sup>See Ella Spiero, *Florians Fabeln in ihrem Verhältnisse zu den Fabeln La Fontaines*, [Florian's fables and their relationship to Fontane's fables], 1912, 519.

at American colleges before coming to Germany, and some of them were even registered at other German universities before studying in Berlin. As all of them already had a bachelor's degree, they did not face any conflicts regarding the rising standards in Berlin.<sup>781</sup> Grace Fleming Swearingen, for example, first studied in Heidelberg before going to Berlin.<sup>782</sup> In contrast to American male PhD candidates, none of the American females had a master's degree, worked as a lecturer or even as a professor at a university in the United States before or during her stay at the University of Berlin. However, some of them were working as teachers. Jane B. Sherzer, who received her PhD in 1902 for her dissertation on *The Isle of Ladies*, was Principal of the Academy for Young Women at Oxford College in Oxford, Ohio.<sup>783</sup> Mary Williams Montgomery, who was the second woman awarded PhD degree in Berlin, was born in Turkey. Her parents moved to the United States while she was a child. She took her bachelor's degree at Wellesley College and moved afterwards to Turkey where she lived for two years before moving to Berlin. It is unclear why her parents were in Turkey when she was born and why they moved to the United States.<sup>784</sup>

After the foundation of Barnard College in 1889, one would expect the first PhDs awarded to women by Columbia University to appear toward the end of the century. However, the first PhD awarded to a woman was Winfried Edgerton who got her PhD in astronomy in 1886, three years before Barnard College was established. She had, however, to apply twice and she got the title by decision of the board of trustees as no faculty allowed women to apply for a PhD at that time.<sup>785</sup> Still, as it was up the

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<sup>781</sup>Berlin increased its standards during the period of this study regarding American students. While at the beginning a high school degree was sufficient, a Bachelor degree was necessary to get registered later. The institutional development in Berlin will be outline in detail in the relevant chapter of the thesis. See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Increasing requirements for non-German students*, Phil. Fak. No. 438, 1907, Archive of the Humboldt-University.

<sup>782</sup>See Grace Fleming Swearingen, *Die englische Schriftsprache bei Coverdale*, 1904, 392.

<sup>783</sup>See Jane B. Sherzer, *The Isle of Ladies, herausgegeben nach einer HS des Marquis von Bath Longleat, dem MS audit. 10303 des Britischen Museums und Spegths Druck von 1598* [The Isle of Ladies, published after a HS of the Marquis of Bath Longleat, the MS audit 10303 of the British Museum and Spegths Print of 1598], 1902, 376.

<sup>784</sup>In her CV, she only mentions "the Orient". See Mary Williams Montgomery, *Briefe aus der Zeit des babylonischen Königs Hammurabi (ca. 2250. v. Chr.)* [Letters from the time of the Babylonian King Hammurabi (approx. 2250 B.C.)], 1901, 367.

<sup>785</sup> The fact that she declined an offer by Wellesley College, where she graduated, to work as professor because she planned to marry Professor James Merrill from Columbia's School of



faculties of Columbia University to admit women and the fact that a PhD candidate had to acquire a bachelor's and a master degree in order to apply for a PhD, it took a few years until women got momentum on their side to apply for PhDs at Columbia University.<sup>786</sup> The first woman to get a PhD in Humanities was, as in Berlin, a foreigner. Lucia Catherine Graeme Grieve was born in 1862 in Dublin, Ireland. Like Egerton, she graduated from Wellesley College in 1883. Unlike Edgerton, however, she did not immediately pursue her research. She worked as a teacher in various seminaries like the Freehold Young Ladies Seminary in Freehold, New Jersey. She joined Columbia University in 1893 and got her PhD, after an interruption of a year to study at Oxford University, in 1898 for her thesis about *Death and Burial in Attic tragedy*.<sup>787</sup>

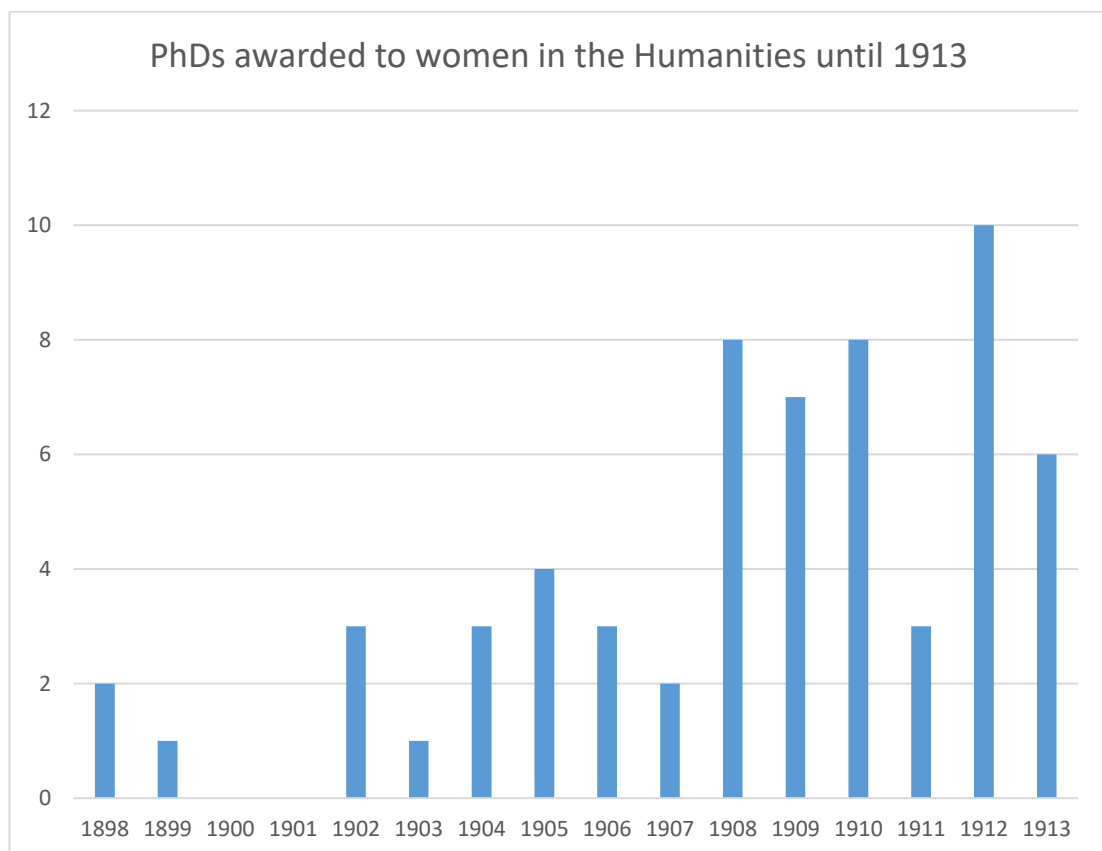


Figure 32 PhDs awarded to women in the Humanities at Columbia University until 1913

Mines was seen with satisfaction by opponents of coeducation like Burgess. See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 165-166.

<sup>786</sup> The second PhD awarded to a female PhD candidate was in the field of Science as well. It was awarded to Anna Stockton Pettit in 1895. See Columbia University, *List of Theses Submitted by Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University: 1872-1910* (New York (NY): Columbia University Bulletins of Information, 1910), 8.

<sup>787</sup> See *ibid.*, 10.

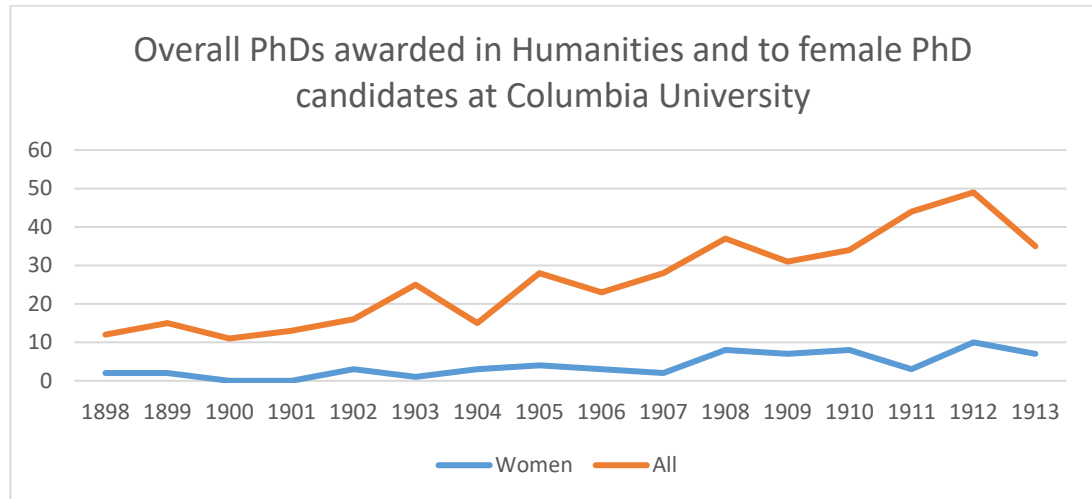


Figure 33 Overall PhDs awarded in Humanities and to female PhD candidates at Columbia University

Until 1913, 64 women got a PhD from Columbia University. Overall, 16% of all Humanity PhDs were awarded to women between 1898 and 1913. The number of PhDs awarded to women rose and fell in tandem with PhDs awarded. The percentages show that there is no clear momentum until 1913. The highest percentage was achieved in 1910 with 24 per cent. The lowest in 1903 with only 4% but already a year later it rose again to 20 per cent. Still, it is important to note that while the numbers as well as percentages were growing, it was still a “highly unusual achievement for a woman” to get a PhD at all until 1913.<sup>788</sup>

The average female PhD candidate at Columbia was about a year younger than a male PhD candidate. They were on average 30.62 years old at the time of their graduation. The second female PhD candidate in the Humanities, Helene Whiton, was also the youngest. Born in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1874, she was 24 years old when she got her PhD in 1898.<sup>789</sup> The oldest candidate was Romiett Stevens. She was born in Middleburg, New York, in 1866 and got her PhD in 1912, when she was 46.<sup>790</sup>

<sup>788</sup> Mary V. Dearborn, *Mistress of modernism: The life of Peggy Guggenheim* (Boston (MA), New York (NY): Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 29

<sup>789</sup> See Helen Whiton, *The coordinate and subordinate conjunctions in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde: with a comparison of the Romaunt of the Rose*, CXO W61.

<sup>790</sup> See Romiett Stevens, *The question as a measure of efficiency in instruction; a critical study of class-room practice*, CXO St474. Her father, William Stevens, who was a water works keeper, established a legacy in the amount of \$23.988 to the Teacher's College for the Romiett Stevens Fund. See *Columbia Daily Spectator*, Volume LIV, Number 36, 14<sup>th</sup> November 1930, 1.

There was never a large community of foreign female PhD candidates at Columbia. Only eight were born outside of the United States. Three of them came from the United Kingdom. Getrude Hirst was the first British female PhD candidate. She was born in Huddersfield, West Yorkshire, and got her PhD in 1902.<sup>791</sup> The other two candidates, Mary Whitley and Caroline Ruutz-Rees, were all born in London. All British female PhD candidates were instructed at British institutions before moving to the United States. Hirst attended Newnham College at Cambridge University and Whitley took the Senior Cambridge Local Examinations at the same institution after being instructed at home and private institutions.<sup>792</sup> Ruutz-Rees, on the other hand, got only her primary education in Britain after which she moved to the United States where she worked as a teacher. She attended graduate courses at Yale University from 1896 to 1898 but did not seem to acquire a degree. In 1904, she got an LLA<sup>793</sup> degree by examination from the University of St. Andrews, Scotland.<sup>794</sup>

The remaining five foreign-born female PhD candidates were born in Ireland, Japan, Canada, France and Austria. Lucia Grieve, as it has been outlined, was the first female PhD candidate in the Humanities and was born in Dublin, Ireland, of Scottish parents. Mary Gertrude Cushing was the second non-British foreign female PhD candidate. She received her PhD in 1908. She was born in Montreal, Canada, and her parents were American citizens. She was educated in Boston, Massachusetts, and attended Wellesley College from which she received her bachelor's degree in 1892 and her master's degree in 1895.<sup>795</sup> The same applies to Louise Loomis who received her PhD a year before in 1907. She was born in Yokohama, Japan in 1874.<sup>796</sup> Meanwhile, Mathilde Laigle, who received her PhD in 1912, was from Vandencourt,

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<sup>791</sup> See Getrude Hirst, *The Cults of Olbia*, 1902, CXO H61.

<sup>792</sup> See Mary Theodora Whitley: *An empirical study of certain tests for individual differences*, 1911 CXO W594.

<sup>793</sup> The Lady Literature in Arts was introduced by the time female students were not allowed to graduate the same way as male students and remained popular as it was possible to get degree without attending any courses. Susan Sellers, "Mischievous to the Public Interest: The Lady Literate in Arts Diploma and the Admission of Women to the University of St. Andrews in Launch-Site for English Studies" in *Launch-site for English studies: Three centuries of literary studies at the University of St. Andrews*, Robert Crawford, ed. (St. Andrews: Verse, 1997).

<sup>794</sup> See Caroline Ruutz- Rees: *Charles de Sainte-Marthe*, 1911 CXO R946.

<sup>795</sup> See John W. Leonard, *Woman's who's who of America, a biographical dictionary of contemporary women of the United States and Canada, 1914-1915* (New York (NY): The American Commonwealth Company, 1976), 224

<sup>796</sup> See United States Federal Census, *California, San Rafael, Marin*, 1880, 0235.

France. After receiving a bachelor's degree in France, she moved to the United States, where she worked as a governess for the governor of Iowa. She joined Columbia University in 1905.<sup>797</sup> Martha Ornstein, who later married Jacob Bronfenbrenner, a Columbia PhD candidate in Science from 1912, was from Austria and received her PhD in 1913. She was born in 1876 in Vienna where she received her high school degree before moving to the United States in 1895. Already a year later, she was admitted to Barnard College and graduated with a master's degree in 1900 after which she worked as teacher before applying for a PhD at Columbia.<sup>798</sup>

As in the case of the male PhD candidates at Columbia University, the archival situation regarding the religion and social as well as religious background of female PhD candidates is rather difficult. Nevertheless, there are a few interesting discoveries worth mentioning. While the different structure of state and society must be kept in mind, the low number of state employees among the upper middle class is striking. Only the father of Martha Pike Conant, who got her PhD in 1908,<sup>799</sup> worked for the state as a probate judge.<sup>800</sup> Meanwhile, only two female PhD candidates' fathers worked in the field of education. One was the father of Blanche Williams, who was a primary school teacher,<sup>801</sup> the other was the father of Dorothea Canfield, who was a professor and later president of Ohio State University.<sup>802</sup> Another important point is that the lower middle class are small in representation. Besides the already mentioned father of Blanche Williams, only eight were part of this class of which just one, the father of Cora Castle, was a day labourer.<sup>803</sup>

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<sup>797</sup> See Isabelle Ernot: *L'histoire des femmes et ses premières historiennes* (XIXe -début XXe siècle) [History of Women and the first female historians (19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries)], *Revue d'histoire des sciences humaines, Sciences Humaines*, no. 16, 2007, 165-194.

<sup>798</sup> See Martha Ornstein, *The Role of Scientific Studies in the Seventeenth Century*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (London, Hamden: Archon Books, 1963), vii-viii.

<sup>799</sup> See Martha Conant Pike, *The Oriental tale in England in the eighteenth century*, 1908, CXO C74.

<sup>800</sup> See United States Federal Census, *Massachusetts, Franklin, Gill*, 1880, 0688.

<sup>801</sup> See Martha H. Swain, Elizabeth Anne Payne and Marjorie Julian Spruill, *Mississippi Women: Their Histories, Their Lives*, vol. 1, 116.

<sup>802</sup> See the collection of James Hulme Canfield for more information: <http://cdi.uvm.edu/findingaids/collection/canfieldjh.ead.xml>

<sup>803</sup> See United States of America, Bureau of the Census *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*. 1900; Census Place: Spring Lake, Scott, Minnesota; Roll: 789; Page: 1B; Enumeration District: 0179; FHL microfilm: 1240789

Taking the social background into account, it is striking that no female PhD candidate had a rabbi as a father. On the other hand, the fathers of five female PhD candidates were active within the church as preachers or biblical scholars. The most famous was most likely the father of Winfried Smith, Henry Preserved Smith. He studied in Berlin from 1872 to 1874 without acquiring a degree and became a professor of theology at the Andover Theological Seminary, the Meadville Theological Seminary, and at Amherst College.<sup>804</sup> Winfried Smith got her PhD in 1912,<sup>805</sup> five years after her brother Preserved Smith also received his PhD from Columbia. While Preserved Smith studied, like his father, at Amherst College before joining Columbia, Winfried Smith studied at Vassar College because Amherst did not admit women until 1976.<sup>806</sup>

Regarding the American-born female PhD candidates; 30 were born in the North Atlantic Division, nine in the North Central Division, three in the Western Division and one each in the South Atlantic and South Central Division. Although the recruitment of female students from New York City was an important topic for Columbia, most female PhD candidates came from the State of New York. Out of 30 female PhD candidates from the North Atlantic Division, 16 were born in the State of New York of which four were born in Manhattan and three in Brooklyn. No other state was as dominant as New York.

The research also demonstrates the growing importance of Barnard College for recruitment of female postgraduate and PhD students from New York City.<sup>807</sup> Four out of the seven female PhD candidates from Manhattan and Brooklyn studied at Barnard for their bachelor's and at Columbia for their master's degree. Savilla Alice Elkus

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<sup>804</sup> See Julius A. Bewer, "Henry Preserved Smith," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 43, no. 4 (1927), 249-254.

<sup>805</sup> She thanks her brother who in 1912 was a history professor at Amherst College for reading the manuscript of her thesis. See Winfried Smith, *The commedia dell'arte; a study in Italian popular comedy*, 1912, CXO Sm68.

<sup>806</sup> See Preserved Smith: *Luther's table talk; a critical study*, 1907, CWO Sm52.

<sup>807</sup> Although Barnard was officially affiliated with Columbia, female PhD candidates who studied at Barnard before joining Columbia mention that they got their Bachelor's degree from Barnard and not from Columbia which further emphasizes the importance as well as reputation of Barnard. However, it might be required to see if women who got their PhD or Master's degree at other institutions make the same separation or if solely female PhD candidates at Columbia did this due to the close connection between the two institutions.

received her bachelor's degree at Normal College,<sup>808</sup> New York City, while Bertha Putnam studied at Bryn Mawr. Both moved to Columbia University for their master's degree before continuing with their PhD degree.

The only exception was Ida Charlton Thallon Hill. She started her studies at Vassar College, the affiliated women's college of Yale, and received her bachelor's degree in 1897. She received her master's degree from the same institution after working at an excavation site at the cave of Vari in Attica, Greece, from 1899 to 1901.<sup>809</sup> However, Barnard College was not only important for the recruitment of women from New York City but also beyond. Excluding the female PhD candidates from New York City, sixteen female PhD candidates were connected to Barnard College. Ten got their bachelor's degree from Barnard College while six were working as teaching assistant before or during their time as PhD candidates. Louise Loomis and Gertrude Mary Hirst were both teaching at Barnard College during their years as PhD candidates at Columbia University.<sup>810</sup> The only foreign PhD candidate studying at Barnard College before joining Columbia was Alice Ornstein who got a bachelor's degree in 1899.<sup>811</sup>

An interesting case regarding former Barnard students is Juliana Catherine Shields Haskell who received her bachelor's degree in 1904. She is the only female PhD candidate with a direct connection to Berlin. She was born in 1875 in Norwich, Connecticut, and attended public schools in the same city. She attended the private school of Pauline Lange in Berlin, but it is unknown if she moved to Berlin due to her family or her own aspirations. She stayed in Berlin for four years and was one of the female guest students of Erich Schmidt at the University of Berlin.<sup>812</sup>

She is also interesting regarding the marriage of female PhD candidates at Columbia and the inconsistent state of sources. She married Henry S. Haskell, a Yale graduate of 1892, in 1899. His family name, Haskell, is also the only family name she mentions on the front page of her PhD thesis. In her CV, however, she mentions that she got

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<sup>808</sup> After studying at Normal College, Savilla Alice Elkus studied at Teacher's College and got a Bachelor of Science before starting her post-graduate studies at Columbia University.

<sup>809</sup> See Ida Thallon Hill Charlton: *Chalycosura and the date of Damophon*, 1905, CXO T32.

<sup>810</sup> See Louise Ropes Loomis: *Medieval Hellenism*, 1906 CXO L87 and Gertrude Hirst: *The Cults of Olbia*, 1902, CXO H61.

<sup>811</sup> See Martha Ornstein, *The Role of Scientific Studies in the Seventeenth Century*, vii–viii.

<sup>812</sup> The archive of Columbia categorized her including both family names. See Juliana Catherine Shields Haskell, *Bayard Taylor's translation of Goethe's Faust*, 1908, CXO H27.

married but calls herself Shields, her original family name.<sup>813</sup> The list of PhDs until 1910 provided and published by Columbia University usually mentioned if a female PhD candidate was married by including the abbreviation 'Mrs.' and the former family name in brackets. An example for this is Elsie Worthington Parsons, born Clews, who received her PhD 1899.<sup>814</sup> She was married the following year to Herbert Parsons,<sup>815</sup> whose name was included by Columbia in their list. However, no information about the marriage of Juliana Catherine Shields Haskell was included in this list.<sup>816</sup> In fact, the list of Columbia mentioned only three 'Mrs.'. This is an unusually low rate as the marriage rate of Barnard students was 10.4% in 1889 while a study released in 1899, by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the predecessor of today's American Association of University Women, shows that 23% of the female graduates in the United States were married.<sup>817</sup> With all due respect to the progressiveness of Columbia University: It is unlikely that the percentage of married female PhD candidates is about 20% below the average of female graduates.

### 6.3 Conclusion

It is important to remember that this is only a comparison of the admission of women at Columbia and Berlin University and their female PhD candidates until 1913. A more comprehensive comparison would be possible by including other colleges and universities and extending the time frame into the 1920s, when the suffrage movement and the economic crisis intensified the fear that men would lose their social standing.<sup>818</sup> This would improve the understanding of the role of the first women who acquired a PhD at these universities even more.

However, comparing the female PhD candidates at the University of Berlin and Columbia enables a discussion of the value of the PhD as a degree for women at a

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<sup>813</sup> See Juliana Catherine Shields Haskell, *Bayard Taylor's translation of Goethe's Faust*, 1908, CXO H27.

<sup>814</sup> See Elsie Worthington Clews Parsons, *Educational legislation and administration of the colonial governments*, 1899, CXO P25.

<sup>815</sup> See The New York Times, *Miss Clews is Married; Wedded to Herbert Parsons in Her Newport Home*, Special to The New York Times, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1900, Section, 5.

<sup>816</sup> See Columbia University, *List of Theses Submitted by Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University*, 30.

<sup>817</sup> See Thomas M. Carey, *Monographs on Education in the United States*, 356-359.

<sup>818</sup> See Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley (WV): University of California Press, 1995), 84.

time when coeducation was still heavily debated. The way it was achieved was different at both institutions. This allows one not only to compare how coeducation was achieved but also if and to what extent it can be called a success.

Columbia University was much more open-minded with regard to the admission of women and their careers as scholars, foreigners as well as Americans than the University of Berlin. This explains the finding that three British women went to the United States to receive their PhD and stayed there after they had finished their studies.<sup>819</sup> The average age of a female PhD candidate at Columbia was about the same as in Berlin, although it was required to receive a Master's degree before applying for a PhD at Columbia. The number of PhDs awarded to women in the field of Humanities at Columbia is much higher than that at the University of Berlin. One reason was most likely the fact that universities like Columbia introduced the requirement to get a PhD in order to apply for a teaching position. After all, about every second female graduate in the US worked as a teacher after her graduation and the master and later PhD degree was a requirement for a woman to extend her career opportunities.<sup>820</sup> Meanwhile, the universities in the German Empire, especially the University of Berlin, sent mixed signals. It allowed women to receive a PhD but not to study as regular students until 1908. Women were free to register as regular students while at the same time they were faced with increased requirements for receiving a PhD. The University of Berlin awarded them an academic title, but did not employ them as teachers or researchers.

Similarities do exist, as well. The most obvious one is the social background of the female doctoral candidates. Apart from Maria Grunewald, no PhD candidate in Berlin

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<sup>819</sup> Gertrude Hirst became a lecturer in Greek and Latin at Barnard College until 1943 and died in New York. See William M. Calder III, "Hirst, Gertrude Mary, in *Biographical Dictionary of North American Classicists*, Ward W. Briggs, ed. (Westport (CT), Greenwood Press, 1994) 285-286. Caroline Rutz-Reese was the headmistress of the Rosemary Hall in Greenwich, Connecticut, and died in at the same place. See Tom Generous, *Choate Rosemary Hall: A History of the School* (Wallingford (CT), Choate Rosemary Hall, 1997) and Connecticut Department of Health. *Connecticut Death Index, 1949-2001* (Hartford (CT): Connecticut Department of Health, s.n.) and Teachers College Record Volume 57 Number 8, 1956, 571-572. Mary Theodora Whitley became a lecturer at Teachers College and stayed there until her retirement in 1943. She died in Yonkers, New York, in 1956. See Helen M. Walker: "Mary Theodora Whitley, 1879-1956", in Teachers College, *Teachers Collge Records, Record Volume 57 Number 8, 1956, 571-572.*

<sup>820</sup> See Thomas M. Carey, *Monographs on Education in the United States*, 358.



was born into the gentry. The group of businessmen, on the other hand, seem to have been the driving force of support for female PhD candidates. Additionally, it was at least no disadvantage coming from an educated background as the lower classes were only represented in a small way in Berlin as well as Columbia. The admission of women was a 'gender empowerment' but not a 'social empowerment'. At least at the beginning it did not lead to a broadening of the social composition of the PhD candidates as the upper middle class benefited most from the new opportunities.<sup>821</sup>

Being born in New York City or Berlin might have facilitated pursuing a PhD for women as well, as it was not necessary to look for different accommodation during the time of study. This, nevertheless, could be a challenging task. Additionally, PhD candidates at Columbia already had a master's degree and were working as teachers before or while studying. By contrast, female PhD candidates in Berlin most often acquired master and PhD degrees at the same time, at least after the official admission of women in 1908. Additionally, the question of marriage would need to be included especially in order to explain the age difference between male and female PhD candidates. Other similarities were the institutional obstacles female PhD candidates faced at the University of Berlin and at Columbia University before and during their studies. In Berlin, women needed to get special approval to be admitted to the university, as the *Abitur* was not available for women until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. At Columbia, where females had to study at Barnard or an equivalent college, the admittance of women to Columbia College was still nearly a decade away.

Putting this into a more general perspective, it raises the question if these developments fit into the German *Sonderweg*-thesis. It might be required to make an overall comparison of the admission of women to higher education in the United States and the German Empire (and Europe) to answer this question. Especially the foundation of Barnard College increases the challenge to find a clear answer to this question. In a time when "active campaigns for coeducation were under way at both Harvard and Yale"<sup>822</sup> and professors at Columbia already admitted women to their lectures, Columbia decided to separate male and female Bachelor students by establishing a new institution. On the one hand, it "deferred full coeducation at Columbia College for nearly a century" while, on the other hand, it can be seen "as the beginning of a substantial and increasing presence of women students and later

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<sup>821</sup> See Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities*, 84.

<sup>822</sup> See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the subject: How the women of Columbia shaped the way we think about sex and politics*, 21.

women faculty and administrative staff within the larger Columbia community.”<sup>823</sup>  
However, focusing on the admission of female PhD candidates, it is safe to say that there is no German *Sonderweg* after 1908, when women were able to join any German university the way their male counterparts were able to do. Since then, female PhD candidates at both institutions were not only on the same level as male PhD candidates but also their social composition was also the same.

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<sup>823</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 168.

## 7. Conclusion

Writing a conclusion of a study that has dealt with a large amount of historical data and that needs to be aware of the developments of two different universities and societies is challenging due to the variety of information and sources used. It is therefore essential to focus on the information and the documents that have been available. Moreover, quantitative studies like this one usually do not tell a story of their own but allow one to establish a better understanding of changes and continuities.<sup>824</sup> It is therefore important to note that the following summary focuses on those points that are sustainable enough to be contextualized, especially as regards the comparison between the PhD candidates at the University of Berlin and Columbia University and with regard to the development of the PhD as an academic degree in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

It is also important to remember that this study includes all PhD candidates in the Humanities and their background at two of the most prestigious universities. By doing so, it covers a period and topic that most other studies have tended to ignore. One group of studies focuses on the period before 1871,<sup>825</sup> where quantitative data about students and PhD candidates is not available, or its quality is doubtful. Another group of studies discusses the development of higher education and universities after 1913, but focuses on topics such as influential academics,<sup>826</sup> specific group of students<sup>827</sup> or the overall structural development of the university,<sup>828</sup> while ignoring PhD

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<sup>824</sup> See Vincent Carpentier, "Quantitative source for the history of education", in *Journal of the History of Education* 37, no. 5 (2008), 701-720, 709.

<sup>825</sup> Carl Diehl's study about American scholars in Germany until 1870, for example, has this problem as, although it includes nearly 250 cases, it relies on just about twelve very well documented students from Yale and Harvard. See Carl Diehl, *Americans and German scholarship 1770-1870*, Yale historical publications. Miscellany 115 (New Haven (CN): Yale University Press, 1978).

<sup>826</sup> See Rosalin Rosenberg, *Changing the subject: How the women of Columbia shaped the way we think about sex and politics* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 2004).

<sup>827</sup> See Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2014).

<sup>828</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, eds., *Geschichte der Universität zu Berlin 1810-2010: Biographie einer Institution, Praxis ihrer Disziplinen* [History of the University of Berlin 1810-2010: Biography of an Institution, Practice of its Disciplines] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag Berlin, 2010).

candidates.<sup>829</sup> Additionally, both institutions recruited their researchers and teachers from their former PhD students.<sup>830</sup> This study therefore fills this gap in the literature and, at the same time, tries to establish a bridge through its data for future studies about academics and the creation of the 'academic world' in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The focus has been on the differences and the extent of analogy between Columbia and Berlin by concentrating on the overall development of the PhD candidates and, by keeping in mind the social and structural developments, answering the main question of this study: who were these 'early-adopters' at the University of Berlin and at Columbia University, the two institutions that shaped the modern PhD in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and what does this tell us about the evolution of education and society.

One must keep in mind that this is only a comparison between Berlin and Columbia and that these results do not necessarily represent all PhD candidates in the German Empire and the United States of America, although both, Berlin and Columbia, were not only the leading institutions for graduate teaching and research in the Humanities but also the ones with the largest financial resources available.<sup>831</sup> While the German Empire ensured the quality and recognition of the PhD nationwide, this was not the case in the United States of America where many PhD programs were of questionable quality.<sup>832</sup> Although the professionalisation processes of university education in the United States was led by the social, economic and academic elite, it lacked a central institution which could have coordinated all the efforts.<sup>833</sup> The professionally-

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<sup>829</sup> Unlike at other American universities at the turn of the century, at Columbia "the university [was] not dwarfed by the college". Letter from H.C. Emery, *Columbia Literary Monthly* 2, no. 1 (October 1883), 145-146.

<sup>830</sup> For the University of Berlin see Marita Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 121 [Professors and universities in the 19th century, critical studies in history], (Göttingen, Gießen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997). For Columbia see See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia: A history of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754-2004* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 2003).

<sup>831</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 229-231.

<sup>832</sup> See Renate Simpson, *How the PhD came to Britain: A century of struggle for postgraduate education* (Guildford: Society for Research into Higher Education, 1983), 19.

<sup>833</sup> See Alain Touraine, *The Academic System in American Society* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1974), 34.

organised PhD programme at Columbia was an exception, not the rule.<sup>834</sup> It is therefore safe to say that professionalisation of university education, led and coordinated by first the Prussian and later the German state,<sup>835</sup> facilitated these processes in the German Empire in comparison to the United States. However, the price was less freedom for the German universities to reform the way they deemed fit.

Interestingly, the number of PhD candidates in the Humanities began to rise at both universities in the 1890s, although remaining quite volatile in relation to the total number of students, which constantly rose at both universities. However, it is noteworthy that the number of Science PhDs at the University of Berlin outnumbered those in the Humanities, whereas it was the other way around at Columbia. This is, after all, unsurprising. Although Columbia had with the School of Mines a prestigious science institution, it fell back in these fields of research towards the turn of the century, not least because its trustees rejected to appoint for example a botanist for the School of Mines in 1881, while its Humanities-orientated institutions continued to expand to other fields of research.<sup>836</sup> Meanwhile, the University of Berlin was rivalled in the field of science by the Technical University which was granted the right to confer PhD degrees in 1899.

When looking at the rising number of PhD candidates at Columbia, it is important to keep in mind the rise of the progressive education movement in the United States and the German Empire. One might assume that the development at Columbia contradicted the more 'hands-on' approach of the progressive movement regarding school education. However, the situation was more complex than this, especially as two very prominent representatives of the progressive education movement, John Dewey and Friedrich Paulsen, were teaching and researching at Columbia and the University of Berlin, respectively, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the one hand, the "professional faculties were no longer considered the higher faculties for

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<sup>834</sup> See William James, "The PhD octopus," in *Memoirs and Studies*, ed. William James (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1911).

<sup>835</sup> See Helmut Fend, *Geschichte des Bildungswesens, Der Sonderweg im europäischen Kulturraum* [History of the education system, the *Sonderweg* in European cultural area] (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006), 176-177.

<sup>836</sup> For example, Columbia's process of getting the leading institution for genetics in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was started by Henry Fairfield Osborn and Edmund B. Wilson in the 1890s. However, it took them about 15 years to get there. See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 197.

which the arts and science facult[ies] served as mere preparation.”<sup>837</sup> They were all on the same level and could confer the same degrees. This can be interpreted as meaning that the non-professional faculties were upgraded, or that the professional faculties were downgraded or both. On the other hand, a PhD, with its research and thesis, that adds new knowledge, was after all, the most ‘hands-on’ degree a non-professional faculty has to offer and, more importantly, reflected the interest of the PhD candidate.<sup>838</sup> In fact, the goal of the progressive education movement, as promoted by John Dewey, was close to the German university model, and especially the seminar, as developed by Wilhelm von Humboldt in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. It aimed to change education from authoritarian ex-cathedra teaching to a more practical orientated but also more professional approach, that encouraged the teacher to share his experience and methodologies, while also including the experience and knowledge of his students.<sup>839</sup>

When comparing the reforms of this period at both universities the situation gets even more complicated. Columbia seems to have had a clear plan by establishing new or merging with existing institutions such as Teachers College or the New York College of Pharmacy while at the same time expanding its Graduate School as the leading institution for graduate teaching and research.<sup>840</sup> This meant that the university separated professional training on the one side and research and teaching, which was done at the Graduate School, on the other. Yet this separation was not absolute. Berlin, on the other hand, was not capable of or willing to carry out such a reform. There were two reasons for this. One was the sheer size of the Faculty of Philosophy, which encompassed all academics besides law, theology and medicine. With regard to the number of its students, its professors and research output, it was the largest faculty in the university. It resisted any efforts to split the more professional-orientated disciplines, which Columbia subsumed, for example, from its Faculty of Pure Science, which remained part of Columbia’s Graduate School.<sup>841</sup> Another reason was simply

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<sup>837</sup> See Joseph Ben David, *Centers of learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States*, Repr. (London, New Brunswick (NJ): Transaction Publishers, 1977), 20.

<sup>838</sup> See John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago (IL): The University of Chicago Press, 1897), 57.

<sup>839</sup> See *ibid.*, 35.

<sup>840</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 226.

<sup>841</sup> Ben David, See Joseph Ben-David, “Science and the university system,” in *Scientific Growth*, in *Scientific Growth: Essays on the Social Organization and Ethos of Science*, Gad Freudentahl, ed. (Berkeley (WV) et al.: University of California Press, 1991) 159-173, 161.

the fact that at the University of Berlin, the power to change the institution was shared among the professorial body. This means that, unlike at Columbia, where the president was capable of imposing his vision on the university, at Berlin the professorial oligarchy prevented any such reform.<sup>842</sup> In fact, John Dewey had in Columbia's Teachers College an institution that was particularly suited to instruct future teachers according to his vision, hence the idea of the progressive education movement. Friedrich Paulsen, although an influential and prominent philosopher and educator, had no such institution at his disposal at the University of Berlin.

Additionally, and this was the second reason, Berlin refused to include any professional training in its Faculty of Philosophy while supporting the establishment of a technical school in Berlin, today's Technical University of Berlin. It was founded in 1879 and included disciplines such as engineering and could even award its own PhDs from 1899 onwards. It seems that while Columbia was willing to compete with every other institution in every field, in some fields more successfully than in others, Berlin simply refused to do so until the 1960s when it was no longer possible to ignore professional training as part of a universities portfolio.<sup>843</sup> It seems that Columbia (and hence the American universities) saw professional training not as a competition to its 'academic' composure, but as an additional resource for teaching and research, while the 'academic oligarchy' in Berlin saw it otherwise. The fact that board of trustees of Columbia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries included numerous prestigious professionals, from lawyers to businessmen to engineers from New York City might have made it easier for Columbia to integrate professional and academic into its curriculum.<sup>844</sup>

Looking more deeply into the PhD candidates, their average age appears to be the easiest of the four categories to compare. The main reason for the rising average age and, hence, the increasing gap between Berlin and Columbia was probably connected to the rising standards as well as admission criteria especially at Columbia University.<sup>845</sup> Another important reason for the difference in the average age between

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<sup>842</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *The scientist's role in society: A comparative study with a new introduction* (Chicago (IL): University of Chicago press, 1984), 130.

<sup>843</sup> See Joseph Ben David, *Centers of learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States*, 48.

<sup>844</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 217.

<sup>845</sup> Frank Noble, who acquired his PhD in 1897, stated in his CV that the University Council regulations required to focus only on pre-PhD educational institution he attended. See Frank Noble: *Taxation in Iowa*, 1897, CWO N66.

the universities of Berlin and Columbia was the ways in which these two universities awarded PhDs. Berlin allowed students to acquire the title of Master of Arts as well as PhD simultaneously, after studying for three years, and candidates were not required to spend these three years at the same institution. Including the time spent in the writing and defence of the thesis and the related bureaucratic procedures, a PhD candidate in Berlin could acquire his PhD within four years, by the age of 22.<sup>846</sup> Columbia, on the other hand, separated the PhD degree from its other degrees. No PhD candidate was found who acquired his PhD the same year as he received his master's degree, although some were awarded their PhD the following year. This indicates that a connection between a PhD candidate's Master and PhD thesis was possible.

Another reason for the age difference is that Columbia, unlike the University of Berlin, required its PhD candidates to have at least a bachelor's degree before joining Columbia Graduate School. This fact was of such importance that the university included the list of degrees that its students had acquired before joining Columbia University in its reports. During the summer session of 1910, for example, a third of the students at the university, including the undergraduate students at the college, held at least one degree.<sup>847</sup> Meanwhile, the University of Berlin, in fact the German university model in general, was far more flexible and open in this regard, as it allowed students to study with their high school diploma without any additional requirements. Even the constitution of the University of Berlin of 1912 stated that, while a student had to pass the examination in Berlin to acquire his master's degree, he was allowed to study at any other German university for three years before taking the exam. However, this was only possible because the higher education system in the German Empire was organised and controlled by the state while the organisation and recognition of degrees and curriculums in the United States was up to each university at least until the foundation of the American Association of Universities in 1900.<sup>848</sup>

The different systems had their benefits and disadvantages. While the independence of Columbia University from any central controlling institution facilitated efforts to

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<sup>846</sup> See Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, *Statuten der Universität zu Berlin* (Berlin: Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1912), 43.

<sup>847</sup> See Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1910* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1910), 236.

<sup>848</sup> See Alain Touraine, *The Academic System in American Society*, 34.



reform and improve its structure as well as research and teaching capabilities compared to Berlin, it did not allow it to extend its system to other institutions and, by doing so, allow students to study at whatever institution they wanted while still being eligible to acquire their degree from Columbia University. This inability is shown by the fact that no PhD candidate at Columbia mentioned that he studied at another American institution while pursuing a PhD at Columbia.

Meanwhile, students as well as PhD candidates in the German Empire had much more freedom to freely choose and switch universities compared to the United States. Yet the University of Berlin could not overhaul its curriculum and study programmes without the support of the Ministry of Education. Apart from the resistance from the already mentioned “professorial oligarchy”,<sup>849</sup> this structural difference was the reason for the lack of reforms in Berlin, while Columbia was able to influence the development of the German PhD system. However, this argument can also be turned the other way around. While Columbia had to lobby for a mutual understanding regarding the requirements and value of the PhD degree among the American universities, which, in the end, led to the foundation of the American Association of Universities in 1900, any fundamental reform of the PhD system at the University of Berlin would have had to be extended to all other German universities. Alternatively, the University of Berlin would have endangered its own leadership among the German universities, as its PhD degrees were no longer comparable.<sup>850</sup>

Both the University of Berlin and Columbia University saw their PhD degree as a reward allowing those who received it to become part of academia. In contrast to Berlin, however, PhD candidates at Columbia had usually gained teaching experience before they acquired their PhD degree. This reiterates the fact that Columbia promoted its degree not only as one that proved a student’s capability as a researcher, but also as one that enabled a candidate to transfer teaching experience into the academic world, something the University of Berlin never did. Thus, Robert McCaughey has rightly described Columbia’s “PhD as a Meal Ticket” not least because it opened job opportunities in the whole academic world by promoting mere high school teachers to become academic teachers and researchers.<sup>851</sup> This

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<sup>849</sup> See Joseph Ben-David, *The scientist's role in society: A comparative study with a new introduction*, 130.

<sup>850</sup> See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago (IL): University of Chicago Press, 1970), 330.

<sup>851</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 194-196.

indicated a relative openness of the job market in the United States especially in comparison to the German one, where the state controlled all levels of education from the primary school teacher to the university professor.

Although the data is not available as Columbia did not store the PhD applications it did not admit, it stands to reason that having acquired teaching experience before applying for a PhD degree at Columbia was beneficial to gaining admittance. After all, Columbia relied on its own PhD candidates to fill its own junior positions until the late 1890s when the PhD programs at other American universities had achieved an equivalent level.<sup>852</sup> It therefore had a genuine interest in seeing that its PhD candidates were not only capable of research but also of teaching its own graduate students. Berlin, on the other hand, could fill its junior ranks from any other German university, as they were all part of the same system.

Unlike the age of PhD candidates, there were no regulations or changes to the constitutions of both institutions that could have affected geographical background on a legal basis until 1913. Until 1900, the candidates of both universities were primarily born in the city in which the university was located or the neighbouring regions. Strikingly, the percentage of foreign-born PhD candidates at Columbia was higher than at Berlin during both periods, although it dropped at the latter during the period up until 1913. Recruiting international students as PhD candidates was a way of showing the importance of a university and its success. Both universities were aware of the importance of their international reputation and exchange between each other as shown by the professorial exchange program. However, they were also aware of difficulties regarding the different structures and curricula but seemed to have been not efforts at the time to find a comprehensive and sustainable solution.<sup>853</sup>

One might assume that the comparably significant percentage of foreign-born PhD candidates at Columbia during both periods compared to Berlin shows that the former already enjoyed an international reputation for excellence and professionalism that

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<sup>852</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 194-196.

<sup>853</sup> In the report of 1911, Butler devoted several pages to the exchange with Berlin and the importance of these programmes but also included a letter from Johann Gustav Droysen to Burgess about the challenges of such an exchange due to the different education systems in 1884, a few months before discussions about an official exchange were initiated. See Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1911* (New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1911), 14-25.

outranked its German counterpart. This, however, ignores the fact that the US was, far more than the German Empire, a country of immigration in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>854</sup> Unlike the case of the foreign-born PhD candidates at the University of Berlin, who had acquired their primary education in their home countries, most of those at Columbia University had moved to the United States not to study but to pursue their professional career (most often as teachers) and had then joined Columbia University. Additionally, numerous PhD candidates at Columbia were born abroad and thus counted as foreign PhD candidates, although they had arrived in the US as children or teenagers and received their primary education already in the United States. Columbia also attracted second-generation immigrants, who counted as Americans and wanted to elevate themselves in society by studying at Columbia. Although City College New York charged no fees and New York University was far cheaper than Columbia, its “growing academic reputation made that university particularly attractive to the upwardly mobile immigrant.”<sup>855</sup>

It is necessary to look at the geographical development in more detail to precisely and properly evaluate the development of German- and American-born PhD candidates. In both cases, the number of PhD candidates born in parts of the country that are further away from the university increased during the second period. Columbia extended its recruitment area into the Southern and Western Divisions of the US. It also increased its influence in the states of the Northern Division.<sup>856</sup> Berlin, on the other hand, included more students from the other German states, especially those in the south, and extended its recruitment region to the east, as the growing number of PhD candidates from Russia and Romania shows. One could argue that both universities were able to establish a nationwide reputation for professionalism and research.

However, the extending reach of Columbia must also be seen in the context of the role of the American school system in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The United

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<sup>854</sup> See Vincent Carpentier, “Public expenditure and economics growth in the USA in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in comparative perspective”, in *International Journal of the History of Education* 42, no. 6 (2006), 683-706, 696.

<sup>855</sup> Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America*, 228.

<sup>856</sup> It might be worth to include data about the other universities of the same region to see if Columbia’s case was an exceptional one in the United States or if other universities of the same region were also able to extend the diversification of the geographical background of their American students.

States after the Civil War had promoted a (new) national identity through their education systems. Columbia did not just copy the German PhD model but reformed it by defining the country's official language English and not Latin as the language to be used in the thesis right from the start and by promoting competition among PhD candidates and higher education institutions through the separation of Master students and PhD candidates. At Columbia, the PhD was not a degree available for every student as in Berlin but only available for those who qualified through their academic merit. This 'Americanisation' of the German university model<sup>857</sup> was even discussed by contemporary witnesses<sup>858</sup> and is connected to the growing nativism in the United States in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>859</sup> The growing number of American-educated PhD candidates at Columbia, compared to the dropping number of American PhD candidates at German universities as outlined by Anja Werner, also shows the growing self-confidence of American academics that their system and capabilities were on at least the same level as the German one.<sup>860</sup>

While Berlin expanded its recruitment to Russia and Romania, not least because of the interest of Russian intellectuals in German culture and research,<sup>861</sup> Columbia

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<sup>857</sup> After all, "the perception of the German model was selective and partly distorting (more so in the United States than in France), and that the reception in turn can by no means be described as an "import" of unchanged elements, but at best as an adaptation of small parts of the German system, in many cases even rather as an enhancement of genuine approaches triggered by the discourse of the "German model." See Gabriele Lingelbach, "Intercultural Transfer and Comparative History: The Benefits and Limits of Two Approaches", in *Traversea* 1 (2011), 46-59, 54.

<sup>858</sup> See Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957* (New York (NY): Vintage Books, 1961), 66.

<sup>859</sup> See Philipp Gassert, *Amerikanismus, Antiamerikanismus, Amerikanisierung*, Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, accessed 15<sup>th</sup> January 2017, [http://library.fes.de/jportal/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/jportal\\_derivate\\_00021256/afs-1999-531.pdf](http://library.fes.de/jportal/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/jportal_derivate_00021256/afs-1999-531.pdf)

<sup>860</sup> See Anja Werner, *The transatlantic world of higher education: Americans at German universities, 1776-1914*, European studies in American history, 4 (New York (NY): Berghahn Books, 2013), 22.

<sup>861</sup> See Arthur Ellis, Reinhard Golz, Wolfgang Mayrhofer, "The Education Systems of Germany and Other European Countries of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the View of American and Russian Classics: Horace Mann and Konstantin Ushinsky," *International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present*, accessed 14<sup>th</sup> October 2017, <http://www.ide-journal.org/article/ellis-golz->

seems to have extended its reach towards Japan and China on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. While the role and exchange of Russian PhD candidates have already been studied, for example regarding the foundation of Russian universities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>862</sup> the rising number of PhD candidates from China at Columbia after 1900 has not been investigated so far. It would be worthwhile not only researching what happened to the PhD candidates from Japan and China that acquired their PhD from Columbia before 1913 but also to find out if the number of PhD candidates from both countries at Columbia continued to increase after 1913 and to look at their possible impact in Japan and China.

Comparing the religious background of the PhD candidates at both institutions is the most challenging task. One reason is the unequal data base for Columbia and for Berlin. Another complication is the different role of religion at the two universities. It is important to remember that, although Columbia had a chapel and until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century regulated the religious life of its students, it had no official faculty of theology. Robert McCaughey states that Columbia became “America’s first post-Protestant university” in the early 1930s when its student body as well as Board of Trustees were no longer predominantly Protestant.<sup>863</sup> However, religion, though not part of the curriculum, was at least indirectly an important dimension of Columbia’s social life until the late 1920s, even though the chapel visits had dropped from its constitution in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>864</sup>

The exact opposite applies to the University of Berlin, which had no chapel but did possess a Faculty of Theology and where co-operation among researchers of different religious affiliations was a widespread practice, as American visiting scholars

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<sup>862</sup> For example, by Klaus Meyer, “«Gründungswellen»: Von der zarischen zur sowjetischen Universitätspolitik“ [«Foundation Waves»: From the Tsar to the Sovjet university policy] in *Neues und Bleibendes aus historischer Perspektive* [New and lasting from a historical perspective], Dittmar Schorkwitz, ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2008).

<sup>863</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 276.

<sup>864</sup> The Union Theological Seminar serves as the Faculty of Theology of Columbia University since its affiliation in 1928. This means that from a legal as well geographical perspective, the Faculty of Theology is still not as integrated into Columbia University as the Faculty of Theology at the University of Berlin.

clearly recognised.<sup>865</sup> There were no regulations on religion in the constitution apart from the requirement to mention one's affiliation upon registration and in the PhD candidate's CV. For Berlin, the information about a student's religion seemed to be more important than whether and how he practised it. Maybe the most significant difference is that while Berlin had its own Faculty of Theology and therefore allowed at least Christian students to practice their religious beliefs at the university while PhD candidates at Columbia had no such opportunity.<sup>866</sup> However, it is important not to overinterpret these differences. After all, the University of Berlin was founded according to Wilhelm von Humboldt's vision of a *universitas litterarum*, as an institution that provided education on all possible fields. Excluding or not including theology, one of the four basic faculties of all continental European universities, would have undermined this idea.

Due to these differences and the gaps in the information about PhD candidates at Columbia, a focus solely on numbers seems misplaced. The PhD candidates both at Columbia and at the University of Berlin were primarily Protestant and as such did not differ from the student body or the university in general. Nevertheless, having studied at a theological seminary seems to have been beneficial, as PhD candidates at both universities explicitly mentioned that they had been studying at religious seminaries before joining or while studying at their new university. However, one must remember that, unlike Berlin, Columbia required its PhD candidates already to have acquired a master's degree. Getting a master's degree from a seminary therefore allowed a PhD candidate at Columbia not only to pursue a career in his religion but also to apply for a PhD at Columbia University and, by doing so, to pursue a career in academia, too.

An important topic regarding both institutions is the question of Jewish and Catholic PhD candidates. While anti-Semitism was present at both institutions, it was expressed very differently. At Columbia, the growing number of Jewish students was subsumed under the term "Hebrew question" or "Jewish question". University policies focused primarily on the challenges the increasing number of Jewish students caused regarding the reputation of the college, the student social life, the issue of Jewish holidays during exam periods or the question of whether a Jewish member could sit

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<sup>865</sup> See William Beattie, ed., *Life and Letter of Thomas Campbell: in two Volumes*, 2 vols. 2 (New York (NY): Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1855), 128.

<sup>866</sup> It might be interesting to see if the official affiliation of the Union Theological Seminary and its recognition as the Faculty of Theology of Columbia University led to a change regarding the visited seminaries of PhD candidates in the early and mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

on the Board of Trustees. Still, anti-Semitism in (American) academia has not been the focus of research so far.<sup>867</sup> Meanwhile, a “Catholic question” never arose, because Catholics were “more willing to enter fully into the social life” at Columbia.<sup>868</sup> At Berlin, the discrimination against Jews and Catholics did not concentrate on the students. Unlike Columbia, there were no efforts at the University of Berlin to lower the number of Jewish or Catholics students by changing the admission requirements. However, they were discriminated against when trying to apply as researchers, not only at Berlin University but at all German universities. As Rüdiger vom Bruch has pointed out, “Catholic scientists [especially during the “Kulturkampf” (“cultural clash”)] had nearly no chance to get appointed at Protestant universities [such as Berlin] while Jews had no chance at all (with a few exception).”<sup>869</sup>

These different expressions of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism can explain the different developments at Berlin and at Columbia. The decrease in the number of Jewish PhD candidates in Berlin was arguably a result of the lower career chances in academia that Jews had in the German Empire and hence a result of growing anti-Semitism in the German Empire. Although this legal discrimination had formally already ended in 1871, there was still the pressure on Jews to change their religion if they wanted to pursue a career in academia.<sup>870</sup> Meanwhile, the Catholic PhD candidates had more career opportunities than the Jewish PhD candidates because, there were Catholic universities such as the University of Munich. With the end of the “Kulturkampf” in the late 1880s, the career chances of Catholic PhD candidates at Protestant universities increased significantly, although the typical professor at a German university remained Protestant.<sup>871</sup>

At Columbia, the discrimination of Jews focused primarily on the admission of College students. Additionally, anti-Semitism only began to increase at Columbia after the United States had joined the First World War and the proportion of the Jewish students at the College increased due to the number of undergraduates who had to leave for military service.<sup>872</sup> Unfortunately, neither McCaughey nor Wechsler included

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<sup>867</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 256.

<sup>868</sup> See *ibid.*, 274.

<sup>869</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *German universities, past and future: Crisis or renewal*, 15-16.

<sup>870</sup> See Reut Yael Paz, *A gateway between a distanz God and a cruel world, The contribution of Jewish German-speaking scholars to International Law* (Leiden, Moston (MA): Nijhof, 2013), 95.

<sup>871</sup> See Marita Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert*, 270.

<sup>872</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 257.

PhD candidates or graduate students in their studies but focused solely on undergraduate students and their admission to Columbia College during the interwar period. A comparison of the results of this study is therefore difficult. However, it can be said that the number of Jewish PhD candidates increased, before the “Jewish question” was being discussed at Columbia. This is, after all, not surprising considering the large number of Jewish immigrants to the United States and especially to New York City during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, initially from the German Empire and later from Russia.<sup>873</sup> It might therefore be worth including PhD candidates after the First World War at Columbia when discussing the effect of anti-Semitism at Columbia so see if the PhD candidates were affected, as well.

Before comparing the social background of PhD candidates at Columbia University and the University of Berlin, it is important to emphasize again that the number of Master's degrees awarded rose faster at both institutions than that of PhDs awarded. At both institutions, it remained a degree that was acquired only by a comparably small group of students. It was exclusively pursued by those willing and able to invest the resources and time required. On the other hand, Columbia promoted the importance of the PhD degree, and ultimately its own PhD program,<sup>874</sup> for researchers and teachers at higher education institutions towards the turn of the century.<sup>875</sup> Meanwhile, there were no changes in the regulations at Berlin University to limit the number of PhDs awarded even though the debate in the German Empire on the high number of PhDs and their increasingly difficult career prospects in academia intensified during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>876</sup>

The social background of the PhD candidates at both universities on the one hand reflects the openness of the institutions and shows which groups of society saw it as beneficial to invest their resources in acquiring such a degree. While the process of acquiring a PhD was, after all, the result of the efforts of the PhD candidate himself, the social background of a candidate was a benefit with regard to the available support

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<sup>873</sup> For more details about Jewish migration to the United States in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries see for example Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter with Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States, 1830-1914* (Philadelphia (PA): Jewish Publication Society, 1984) or Hasia Diner, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880* (Baltimore (MD): The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

<sup>874</sup> See Columbia University, *Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1911*, 106.

<sup>875</sup> See Robert A. McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 192.

<sup>876</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *German universities, past and future: Crisis or renewal*, 15-16.



and resources during the period of study. The candidates' social background therefore answers two questions at the same time: the openness of the university and the interest of specific groups of society regarding acquiring a PhD.

It is safe to say that it was the PhD candidates whose fathers belonged to the middle class, who saw the greatest benefit in acquiring a PhD at both universities. Although the number of PhD candidates from the upper class rose after 1900, they remained, by percentage, a small group compared to the number of the middle-class PhD candidates. A notable difference between Berlin's and Columbia's middle-class PhD candidates is their relationship to the state. Most PhD candidates at the University of Berlin had a father who was employed by the state, while this was only true for very few of the PhD candidates at Columbia. This is not necessarily surprising due to the different role of the state in the German Empire, where for example railway employees, teachers and the clergy were mostly employed by the state. Additionally, it supports Alain Touraine's interpretation that "German universities were more closely connected with the state than the ruling class" while the "American colleges and universities, on the other hand, were closely connected to the ruling class and with social change."<sup>877</sup> However, it also evidences that the degree was recognised as an asset by both societal groups, independently of the role of the state. At least with regard to academic degrees and their recognition in the society there seems to have been no German *Sonderweg* towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as both societies were becoming more and more meritocratic.

Comparing the categories of the middle class, the first remarkable result is that, up until 1900, the number and percentage of PhD candidates at Columbia whose father was engaged in education or the clergy was remarkably low compared to Berlin. This changed after 1900, when the number of PhD candidates whose fathers were working at a college or university, or belonged to the clergy, rose. This development requires an explanation, too. One reason is that the higher education institutions in the United States, private as well as state-funded, were still in development towards the end of the century.<sup>878</sup> Until late 19<sup>th</sup> century, only a few institutions, Columbia among them, had the required qualities of a university. Moreover, the progressive education movement, which promoted the professionalisation of teaching through new

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<sup>877</sup> See Alain Touraine, *The Academic System in American*, 35.

<sup>878</sup> See Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 320-321.

institutions such as the Teachers College Columbia was still in its early phase.<sup>879</sup> There were, put simply, insufficient opportunities to embark on a career as a scholar or teacher at a college or university in the US as compared to the German Empire until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the rise of PhD candidates who came from an 'educational household' indicates the formation of a group of academics within society who 'passed down' their mutual understanding of the importance of education to their children both in the United States and the German Empire. This could be an argument against the German *Sonderweg*-thesis as in both countries universities were no longer dominated by a few 'elitist' families and became more meritocratic orientated regarding their PhD candidates and staff members.<sup>880</sup> It would be worth including PhD candidates (as well as graduate students) in law and science of the same and especially the interwar period to see if this emerging group of academics, in both countries, is permeable regarding their fields of research. It would be worth extending the research about PhD candidates to the interwar period, when the progressive education movement, especially in the United States, began to be more and more influential, for example through Teachers College Columbia. This would allow us to further analyse the interconnection between the professionalization of education and the professionalization of the PhD programs.<sup>881</sup>

Additionally, these developments at both universities show that the education level of the father became more important compared to his career or social class. This indicates a shift in society, to which especially Columbia, being more aligned towards teaching the nation's elite,<sup>882</sup> was more predestined to be affected compared to Berlin, which was more aligned to the state and where reforms were more difficult to be undertaken.<sup>883</sup> It is worth mentioning that these changes occurred at a time when Columbia College faced the challenge of being abandoned by its original clientele, New York's upper class families, while more and more second generation immigrant

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<sup>879</sup> See Bernhard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States* (New York (NY): McGraw-Hill, 1960), 15.

<sup>880</sup> Even though the 'academic oligarchy' remained in power at German universities, it was no longer dominated by few families as shown by Marita Baumgarten.

<sup>881</sup> For more information about the progressive education movement and John Dewey's influence at Columbia see Robert Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 1993).

<sup>882</sup> Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, A History of Selective College Admission in America*, 227.

<sup>883</sup> See Alain Touraine, *The Academic System in American Society*, 35.

middle class students from New York City joined the college, a development despised by Burgess and his allies.<sup>884</sup> Simply put; the German state 'shielded' the University of Berlin from shifts in society through its control of the education system while Columbia had no other choice than to cope with the changes if it wanted to become the leading higher education institution in the United States.

The substantial number of PhD candidates especially at Columbia whose fathers were farmers must also be noted when discussing the overall diversification of Columbia's clientele in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. This can be interpreted as indicating that Columbia, and maybe even American society in general, was more open to PhD candidates regardless of their social background. Being born into a certain social category does not mean that one must stay within this category. Although, the question remains whether the result would be same if Columbia had asked its students about their social background, as Berlin did, it is safe to say that besides all the resistance of leading figures at Columbia such a Burgess, the PhD candidates at Columbia show increasing social mobility and openness at the highest level of education in the United States at the turn of the century.

The question of female students and PhD candidates was a topic of heated debate at both universities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Unlike other topics such as, for example, the question of anti-Semitism at Columbia, numerous studies on the question of co-education and the admittance of women at both institutions have been published. However, as none of these studies compared the two institutions, it is worth mentioning that the two institutions pursued a very different approach including women as students and later PhD candidates. In general Columbia was more open to women than the University of Berlin. Although Columbia separated men and women on College level, it admitted women as regular Master and PhD students to its Graduate School and even employed a woman as a member of its teaching staff in 1896, exactly the same year that Columbia's Graduate School was established.<sup>885</sup> By contrast, the University of Berlin admitted women only as extraordinary students before 1908. They could only acquire a PhD, but no other university degrees. Additionally, they were only allowed to follow a lecture if the lecturer agreed and if the Ministry of Education of the German Empire had no objections against these women

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<sup>884</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 258.

<sup>885</sup> See Mary R. S. Creese, "American and British women in science, 1800-1900: A survey of their contributions to research", in *Ladies in the laboratory?*, Mary R. S. Creese, ed., with contributions by Thomas M. Creese (Lanham (MD): Scarecrow Press, 1998), 234-235.

joining the university. However, these different approaches can also be interpreted as a reflection of the different structure of the universities of Berlin and Columbia. As a state-funded and supervised institution, Berlin could not admit women earlier than 1908, even if it wanted to, as it was prohibited by law. Meanwhile, Columbia, as a primarily privately-funded and the most endowed institution in the United States in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>886</sup> had the freedom to admit women the way, the Board of Trustees, deemed fit. Additionally, the fact that Columbia separated Bachelor students from its Master and PhD students enabled the university to establish Barnard as a women-only institution and Columbia College as a man-only one, while 'merging' the two again at its Graduate School. Berlin's curriculum did not allow for such separation. It could only admit women fully after, 1908.

While the higher number of female PhD candidates at Columbia reflects the more open approach of Columbia (as compared to Berlin), the important similarity is the strong roots of the female PhD candidates within the middle class as well as their employment before receiving their PhD. In the case of the male PhD candidates, it was the members of the middle class who saw the benefit of acquiring a PhD. Additionally, it reflects the beginning of change in society in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the case of Columbia's hometown, for example, this directly reflected the growing number of female breadwinners in New York City. According to Rosalind Rosenberg, "one in every three women over sixteen years of age [...] qualified as a breadwinner" in, 1898.<sup>887</sup> In Berlin, on the other hand, the decision to admit women "was a reaction to the social-political pressure created by the girl schools for the upper middle class, the demand for female doctors and the fact that many of them went abroad to study."<sup>888</sup>

It is safe to say that although Columbia was inspired by the German university model, it decided to amend it where required, and, by doing so, established our understanding of the PhD degree as one that one pursues after finishing general studies. PhD candidates had to write a thesis and thereby not only to contribute to their field of research, but they also earned the right to become part of academia. Columbia University also established a college for women and admitted them to study directly for master's and PhD degrees, while women at the University of Berlin

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<sup>886</sup> See Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 229.

<sup>887</sup> See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the subject: How the women of Columbia shaped the way we think about sex and politics*, 93.

<sup>888</sup> See Rüdiger vom Bruch, *German universities, past and future: Crisis or renewal?*, 17.

required a special degree to start their studies until 1908. The social as well as geographical background of the PhD candidates was far more diverse at Columbia University than in Berlin. However, it would be incorrect to assume that the University of Berlin was not flexible or open towards other universities. It accepted all students from every German university and allowed them to continue studies that they had embarked on at other institutions within the German Empire. There were moreover no requirements to apply to become a PhD candidate, as every student who matriculated from the University of Berlin could write a thesis. Columbia, on the other hand, selected its PhD candidates, as not every student was eligible to submit a thesis. Columbia seems to have been seeking experienced PhD candidates and took only those whom it deemed to be the most qualified. The university ultimately established today's primarily meritocratic PhD system by requiring candidates to acquire a bachelor's as well as master's degree, and most often also teaching experience, before pursuing their PhD at Columbia, which is a policy that today every well-regarded university pursues vis-à-vis PhD candidates. Still, the evidence seems to be mixed. Columbia's PhD candidates represent a more openness with regard to social and geographical composition of Berlin, on the other hand, was more open regarding admission procedures. It is therefore safe to say that at least with regard to the composition of the PhD candidates and the PhD procedure at the University of Berlin, there was no clear German *Sonderweg* in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The success of the American and hence Columbia's PhD system cannot be denied at it was definitely able to avoid the problem of creating an "unchanging core of [an] intensively trained elite" by being more flexible regarding political and social change even on its higher level.<sup>889</sup> However, it also demonstrates that, by following Columbia's example regarding criteria for PhD candidates and the PhD program in general, today's PhD programs are less flexible and open-minded compared to the ones Berlin offered where, at least from a legal point of view, every student had the right to write and hand-in a PhD thesis. It could be a chance for today's universities to reintroduce some of the flexibility of Berlin's system while maintaining the professional approach developed by Columbia. This may serve to enhance social diversity among the PhD candidates.

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<sup>889</sup> See Joseph Ben David, *Centers of learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States*, 66.

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## 9. Bibliography

This study relies heavily on primary sources especially regarding the candidates of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin and Columbia University. A list outlining the reports, statistics, biographies, encyclopaedias, newspapers, collections, census records and similar that were consulted for study can be found within the list of primary sources. All secondary literature can be found in the second sub chapter of this bibliography. Additionally, all German and French primary and secondary sources were translated each time they were in use in a chapter of the thesis for the first time. The list of PhD candidates, their theses and call numbers at the archive of Humboldt University and Columbia's Rare Books & Manuscript Collections can be found in the Appendix.

### 9.1 Primary Sources

The primary sources used for this study are very diverse. This study includes various statistics and records published by various authorities of the German Empire and the United States of America but also from other countries. Additionally, the fact that some documents are primary as well as secondary sources makes the separation sometimes difficult. Silke Hellin's *Schlaglichter auf eine frühe Journalistin und politische Lobbyistin: Else Frobenius (1875 – 1952)* for example provided information about the PhD candidate Else Frobenius but also insight about the admission of women at the University of Berlin and the challenges they faced. In cases like this, the documents were classified as primary or secondary sources depending on how they were primarily being used for this study. Additionally, some documents were useful for both universities while others only contained information viable for PhD candidates at the University of Berlin or Columbia University, or led to other sources, especially in cases of newspaper such as *The New York Times* or *Chicago Tribune*.

It was decided to separate the documents according to who was responsible for their creation and publication. All documents by Columbia University and the University of Berlin were separated into their own sub chapter. The following sub chapter lists all the official records by state institutions as well as newspapers and biographies or encyclopaedias. Finally, all documents that were not classified as official records nor as being published by the University of Berlin or Columbia University are listed as well as those which are specifically mentioned within the thesis.



### 9.1.1 For Columbia University

Most of these documents are available through Columbia Library or the Rare Books & Manuscripts Collection of Columbia University. The list of PhD candidates including their theses and call numbers please have a look at Appendix.

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- ———. Statutes of Columbia College, as passed by the Trustees; to which are added, the Statute organizing the School of Mines, and the Statute organizing the School of Law. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1865.
- ———. Statutes of Columbia College and its Associated Schools: to which are added, the Permanent Resolutions and Order of the Board of Trustees. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1866.
- ———. Rules of Order: Adopted by the Faculty, Feb 17, 1869. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1869.
- ———. Statutes of Columbia College and its Associated Schools: to which are added the Permanent Resolutions and Orders of the Board of Trustees. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1871.
- ———. Statutes of Columbia University and its Associations Schools. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1878.
- ———. Revised Statutes: October 1891. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1891.
- ———. Statutes Enacted by the Trustees of Columbia College in the City of New York: July 1891. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1891.
- ———. Revised Statutes, July 1892. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1892.
- ———. Annual Report of the President of Columbia College, made to the Board of Trustees: May 4, 1885. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1885.
- ———. Annual Report of the President of Columbia College for the year 1885-1886 made to the Board of Trustees: May 3, 1886. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1886.
- ———. Annual Report of the President of Columbia College for the Year 1886-1887 Made to the Board of Trustees: May 2, 1887. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1887.
- ———. Annual Report of the Acting President of Columbia College for the Year 1888-1889 Made to the Board of Trustees: June 3, 1889. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1889.

- ———. Report of the Acting President of Columbia College for the Year 888-1889 made to the Board of Trustees: June 3, 1889. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1889.
- ———. Third Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 3, 1892. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1892.
- ———. Fourth Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 1, 1893. New York (NY): C Columbia College, 1893.
- ———. Fifth Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 1, 1894. New York (NY): Columbia College, 1894.
- Columbia University, Seventh Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 6, 1896. New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1896.
- ———. Eleventh Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: November 6, 1899. New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1899.
- ———. Eleventh Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees: October 1, 1900. New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1900.
- ———. President's Annual Report: Twelfth Annual Report of President Low to the Trustees. New York (NY): Columbia University Bulletins of Information, 1901.
- ———. Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1902. New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1902.
- ———. Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1904. New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1904.
- ———. Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1906. New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1906.
- ———. Annual Reports of the Presidents and Treasurer to the Trustees with Accompanying Documents: For the Year Ending June 30, 1908. New York (NY): Columbia University Press, 1908.
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- ———. Columbia University Quarterly, New York (NY): Columbia University Press.
- ———. Charters and Statutes, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1959, with amendments to June 2013, s.n., s.n., 2013.
- Teacher's College Columbia, Teachers College Record.<sup>890</sup>

### 9.1.2 For the University of Berlin

In case of documents stored by the Archive of Humboldt University, the call number is mentioned if one was available. The list of PhD candidates including their theses and call numbers please have a look at Appendix.

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- ———. Zulassung der Frauen zu den Universitätsvorlesungen. s.n. Archive of the Humboldt-University.
- ———. Letter of the American ambassador in Berlin to support Miss Stewart. Phil. Fak. No. 362. Archive of the Humboldt-University.
- ———. Supporting letters for Alice Salomon, Phil. Fak. No. 398. Archive of the Humboldt-University.
- ———. Supporting letters for Arthur Koelker, Phil. Fak. No. 438, 1907, Archive of the Humboldt-University.
- ———. Chronik der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin für das Rechnungsjahr 1908. Halle a. S.: Buchdruckerei des Waisenhauses, 1908.
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- ———. Statuten der Philosophischen Fakultät der Königlichen Friedrich Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin: Erlassen am 29. Januar 1838. Neudruck unter Berücksichtigung der bis zum 30. September 1908 eingetretenen Änderungen. Berlin: Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1912.
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- ———. Statistische Erhebungen an der Universität Berlin. s.n. Archive of the Humboldt-University.

- Königliche Universitätsbibliothek zu Berlin. Verzeichnis der Berliner Universitätsschriften 1810 – 1885. Berlin: Commissions-Verlag von Weber, 1899.

### 9.1.3 Official Records and Publications

- Archives of Ontario. Marriage Records of Canada, 1801-1929.
- Auswärtiges Amt. "Geheime Denkschrift des Auswärtigen Amtes über das deutsche Auslandsschuldwesen." In Deutschlands Auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1918 – 1932: Grundlinien und Dokumente. Edited by Kurt Düwell, 271-273. Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1976; April 1914.
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## Appendix: List of theses and PhD candidates in the Humanities at the University of Berlin and Columbia University, 1871 to 1913

These are theses collected for this study and, according to the documentation found, approved in the Humanities by the University of Berlin or Columbia University. They are sorted alphabetically according to the last name of the PhD candidate. Last name and first name as well as title of the thesis were taken as written on the title page of the thesis. The list is separated into the theses by the University of Berlin and Columbia University and into the theses between 1871 and 1899 and between 1900 and 1913. The call number refers, in the case of the University of Berlin, to the box within the university's archive containing the thesis and any accompanying documents and in case of Columbia, with some exceptions, to the Rare Book & Manuscript Collection who is responsible for storing the theses. In case of Columbia, theses that had no call number and that were not found within other archives or libraries were marked as not available (n/a).

### University of Berlin

#### 1871-1899

Last Name	First Name	Title	Year	Call Number
Abel	Ludwig	De Abu Mighan Poeta Arabico Ejusque Carminibus	1887	277
Adam	Johannes	De Codibus Aeschineis	1882	256
Adam	Rudolphus	De Herodoti Ratione Historica	1890	297
Adickes	Erich	Kant's Systematik Als Mitbildender Faktor Bei der Entstehung seines Systems	1887	277

Aemilius	Albrecht	De Lysiae Oratione Vigesima	1878	250
Albrecht	Heinrich	Die Volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Kleinkraftmaschinen	1889	287
Allin	Arthur	Das Grundprincip der Association	1895	326
Alt	Carl	Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Goethes Dichtung und Wahrheit	1897	339
Altehaus	Ernestus	Quaestionum De Iulii Pollucis Fontibus Specimen	1874	247
Altenkrüger	Ernst	Friedrich Nicolais Jugendschriften	1894	322
Altmann	Wilhelm	Die Wahl Albrechts II. Zum römischen Könige	1885	270
Andreae	Percy	Die Handschriften des Pricke of Conscience von Richard Rolle de Hampole im britischen Museum	1887	281
Anton	Guenther Kurt	Geschichte der preussischen Fabrikgesetzgebung bis zum Erlasse des Regulativs vom 9. März 1839	1891	302
Appel	Carl	Das Leben und die Lieder der Trobadors Peire Rogier	1882	257
Auerbach	Sigmund	Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Leibnitzschen Monadenlehre	1884	263
Bachmann	Erich	Studien über Eberhard von Cersne	1891	304
Back	Fridericus	De Graecorum Caerimoniis in Quibus Homines Deorum Vice Fungebatur	1883	260
Bäck	Leo	Spinozas erste Einwirkungen auf Deutschland	1895	327
Bally	Carolus	De Euripidis Trageodiarum Partibus Lyricis Quaestiunculae	1889	290

Banck	Rudolf	Geschichte der sächsischen Banken mit Berücksichtigung der Wirtschaftsverhältnisse	1896	333
Bannier	Guilelmus	De Titulis Aliquot Atticis Rationes Pecuniaum Minervae Exhebetibus	1891	305
Barbu	Nicolaus	De Sapphus Epistula	1887	276
Bartells	Erich	Über Systembildung	1879	251
Beckmann	Gustav	Das mittelalterliche Frankfurt a.M. Als Schauplatz von Reichs- und Wahltagen	1888	285
Belger	Christanus	De Aristotele Etiam In Arte Poetica Compenenda Platonis Discipulo	1872	246a
Below	Ericus	De Hiato Plautino	1885	267
Beniamin	Conradus	De Iustiniani Imperatoris Aetate Quaestiones Militares	1892	309
Bersu	Philipp	Die labialisierten Gutturale vor u im historischen Latein	1885	266
Beth	Karl	Die Grundanschauungen Schleiermachers in seinem Entwurf der philosophischen Sittenlehre	1898	344
Bethge	Richard	Wirnt von Gravenberg	1881	255
Bethke	Ernst	Über den Stil Hadamars von Laber in seiner „Jagd“	1892	312
Bie	Oscar	De Musarum Imaginibus Quaestiones Selectae	1887	276
Bieger	Johannes	De Auli Persii Flacci Codice Pithoeano C Recte Aestimanod	1890	293
Bischof	Fritz	Der Conjunctiv bei Chrestien	1881	254/1
Blaschke	Sigismundus	De Antidodis Apud Atheniensis	1876	249

Bleeck	Ludwig	Das Augsburger Interim in Strassburg	1893	319
Bloch	Hermann	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Kaiser Heinrichs VI. In den Jahre 1191 – 1194	1891	304
Boas	Ludwig	Friedrichs des Grossen Massnahmen zur Hebung der wirtschaftlichen Lage Westpreussens	1890	297
Boetticher	Carolus	De Alliterationis Apus Romanis VI et Usu	1884	264
Böhmert	Wilhelm	W. Stanley Jevons und seine Bedeutung für die theoretische Nationalökonomie in England	1891	301
Bökemann	Walter	Französischer Euphemismus	1899	348
Bolte	Iohannes	De Monumentis Ad Odysseam Pertinentibus	1882	257
Borsdorf	Alfredus Theodorus Guilelmus	Die Burg im „Claris und Laris“ und im „Escandor“	1890	292
Bosse	Friedrich	Zur diplomatischen Vorgeschichte des Königsberger Vertrages auf Grund einer kritischen Vergleichung von Samuel Pufendorfs schwedischem und brandenburgischem Berichte unter einander und mit den Acten	1887	280
Bracht	Edmund	Ständische Verhandlungen in der Kurmark unter Joachim Friedrich (1598 – 1608)	1895	330
Brand	Augustus	De Dialcetis Aeolicis Quae Dicuntur	1885	268
Brandenburg	Erich	König Sigmund und Kurfürst Friedrich I. Von Brandeburg. 1409 – 1426	1890	297



Brandt	Carolus	Quaestiones Propertianae	1880	254
Braunholtz	Edgar	Die erste nichtchristliche Parabel des Barlaam und Josaphat, ihre Herkunft und Verbreitung	1883	262
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Christensen	Henricus	De Fontibus A Cassio Dione Vita Neronis Enarranda Adhibitis	1871	245
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Seeliger	Gerhard	Das deutsche Hofmeisterarnt im spaeteren Mittelalter	1884	265
Seifert	Adolf	Glossar zu den Gedichten des Bonvesin da Riva	1885	270
Seiffert	Max	J.P. Sweelinck und seine direkten deutschen Schüler	1891	300

Sensche	Richard	Über den Stil bei dem alemannischen anonymen Prediger aus dem XIII. Jahrhundert	1897	340
Seyferth	Paul	Sprache und Metrik des mitttelenglischen strophischen Gedichtes „Le Morte Arthur“ und sein Verhältnis zu „The Lyfe of Ipomydon“	1894	325
Sharp	Frank	Das ästhetische Element in der Moral	1892	311
Sherwood	Clarence	Die Neu-Englischen Bearbeitungen der Erzählungen Boccaccios von Gishmonda und Guiscorda	1892	308
Siebert	Johannes	Metrik und Rhythmik von Tannhäusers Gedichten	1894	320
Siebert	Ernst	Ein Kommentar zu Giacomo Leopardis „Pensieri“	1895	330
Siede	Julius	Syntaktische Eigentümlichkeiten der Umgangssprache weniger gebildeter Pariser beobachtet in den Scènes populaires von Henri Monnier	1885	260
Sieg	Aemilius	Bhàradvâjacîshâ	1891	303
Siegfried	Ernestus	De Multa Quae Epibolē Dicitur	1876	249
Siemon	Otto	Quo Modo Plutarchus Thycididem	1881	254/1
Sievers	Georg	Die politischen Beziehungen Kaiser Ludwigs des Baiern zu Frankreich in den Jahren 1314 bis 1337	1896	333
Siewert	Paulus	Plautus In Amphitruone Fabule	1894	321
Simmel	Georg	Das Wesen der Materie nach Kant's Physischer Monadologie	1881	254/1

Simon	Philipp	Jacques D'Amiens	1895	327
Simon	Kurt	Die Verspätung des Erzherzoges Johann Wagram	1899	352
Simson	Paul	Danzig im 13jährigen Kriege von 1454 – 1566	1891	303
Sohrauer	Max	Kleine Beiträge zur Altenglischen Grammatik	1886	271
Soltau	Otto	Das Leben und die erhaltenen Werke des Trobadors und Dichterfreundes Blacatz	1898	344
Sombart	Werner	Über Pacht- und Lohnverhältnisse in der römischen Campagna	1888	286
Sommer	Robert	Locke's Verhältnis zu Descartes	1887	279
Sorof	Martinus	De Ratione, Quae Inter Eos Codices Recentiores, Quibus Aeschyli fabulae Prometheus, Septem Adv. Thebas, Persea Contientur, Et Codicem Laurentianum Intercedat	1882	257
Spahn	Martin	Die innere politische Entwicklung des Herzogtums Pommern von 1478 bis 1625	1896	331
Spangenberg	Hans	Cangrande I. della Scala	1891	305
Spatz	Wilhelm	Die Schlacht von Hastings	1896	333
Specht	Friedrich	Das Verbum reflexivum und die Superlative im Westnordischen	1891	301
Speck	Johannes	Bonnets Einwirkung auf deutsche Psychologie des vorigen Jahrhunderts	1897	340
Speier	Friedrich	Geschichte König Konrads IV. (1228 – 1254)	1898	344
Spiro	Fridericus	De Euripidis Phoenissis	1884	264
Splettösser	Willy	Der heimkehrende Gatte und sein Weib in der Weltliteratur	1898	345

Springer	Hermann	Das Altprovenzalische Klagelied mit der Berücksichtigung der verwandten Literaturen	1894	325
Steig	Reinholdus	De Theocriti Idylliorum	1882	256
Stein	Walther	Die Genossenschaften der deutschen Kaufleute zu Brügge in Flandern	1899	291
Steiner	Bernhard	Ludwig Tieck und die Volksbücher	1893	316
Steinmann	Adolphus	De Parthis ab Horatio memoratis. Quaestiones chronologicae	1898	343
Stephan	Friedrich	Verfassungsgeschichte der Reichsstadt Mühlhausen in Thüringen bis 1350	1886	271
Stern	William L., Dr. Phil.	Die Analogie im volkstümlichen Denken	1893	315
Sternbeck	Hermann	Unrichtige Wortaufstellung und Wortdeutungen in Raynouard's „Lesique Roman“	1887	277
Sternfeld	Richard	Das Verhältniss des Arelats zu Kaiser und Reich vom Tode Friedrichs I. Bis zum Interregnum	1880	254
Stock	Maximilianus	De Vitruvii Sermone De Formis Enuntiatorum Temporalium	1888	285
Stockhausen	Hermann	Studien zu Platens Balladen	1899	346
Stockmann	Carolus	De Vocalium Et Consonarum Infectione	1876	249
Stoedtner	Franz	Hans Holbein, der Ältere. 1437 – 1504	1896	331

Stohmeyer	Hans	Der Stil der mittelenglischen Reimchronik Roberts von Gloucester, einer Untersuchung zur Ermittlung der Verfasser dieses Werkes	1891	299
Störer	Franz	Verfassungsgeschichte von Regensburg von der germanischen Ansiedlung bis zum Jahre 1256	1882	258
Stosch	Johannes	Der Hofdienst der Spielleute im Deutschen Mittelalter	1881	254/1
Strack	Adolf	Zur Geschichte des Gedichtes vom Wartburgkriege	1883	261
Strecker	Arthur	Franz von Meinders	1891	305
Strohmeier	Fritz	Über verschiedene Functionen des altfranzösischen Relativsatzes	1892	308
Struck	Walther	Die Schlacht bei Nördlingen im Jahre 1634	1893	314
Stuhr	Friedrich	Die Organisation der Geschäftsordnung des Pisaner und Konstanzer Konzils	1891	301
Sydow	Rudolfus	De Recensendis Catulli Carminibus	1881	255
Szamatolski	Siegfried	Ulrich von Huttens Deutsche Schriften	1889	290
Tessmann	Alfred	Aelfricis Altenglische Bearbeitung des Interrogationes Sigewulfi Prespyteri in Genesin des Alcuin	1891	302
Theuner	Emil	Der Übergang der Mark Brandenburg vom Wittelsbachischen an das Luxemburgische Haus	1887	280
Thoemes	Nicolaus	Commentatio Literaria Et Critica De Sancti Thomae Aquintatis	1874	247
Thomas	Aemilius	Schedae Criticae In Senecam Rhetorem	1880	253



Thon	Osias	Die Grundprinzipien der Kantischen Moralphilosophie	1895	328
Tischert	Georg	Die moderne staatliche Ertrags- und Einkommensbesteuerung in Preussen Oesterreich und Baden	1892	310
Toeche-Mittler	Konrad	Der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Kanal und die Berlin-Hamburger Flussschiffahrt	1891	304
Trampe	Ernestus	De Lucani Arte Metrica	1884	263
Traut	Hermann	Kurfürst Joachim II. Von Brandenburg und der Türkenfeldzug vom Jahre 1542	1892	309
Trautwein	Paul	De Prologorum Plautinorum Indole Atque Natura	1890	292
Treis	Karl	Die Formalitäten des Ritterschlags in der altfranzösischen Epik	1887	275
Tschiedel	Johannes	Quaestiones Aeschineae. De Verborum Insitiorum Quodam Genere	1887	281
Tuchenhaendler	Nathan lonas	De Vocabulis Graecis In Linguam Latinam Translatis	1876	249
Tyrol	Fritz	Lessings sprachliche Revision seiner Jugenddramen	1893	319
Ullrich	Richard	Studia Tibulliana. De Libri Secundi Editione	1889	290
Utsunomiya	Kanae	Die Warenpreisbewegung in Japan im dem Jahre 1875, ihre Ursachen und ihre Einwirkung auf die Volkswirtschaft	1897	339
Vahlen	Alfred	Der Deutsche Reichstag unter König Wenzel	1891	305
Vandenhoff	Bernhard	Nonnulla Tarafae Poëtae Carmina Ex Arabico in Latinum Sermonem Versa Notisque Adumbrata	1895	330

Vogel	Erich	Claudio Monteverdi Leben, Wirken im Lichte der Zeitgenössischen Kritik und Verzeichniss seiner im Druck erschienen Werke	1887	279
Voigt	Julius	Das Naturgefühl in der Literatur der französischen Renaissance	1897	340
Voigt	Paul	Untersuchungen über die Lage des Handwerks	1897	340
Vollmer	Erich	Das Mittelenglische Gedicht „The Boke of Cupide“	1897	341
Volz	Gustav Berthold	Kriegsführung und Politik König Friedrich des Grossen in den ersten Jahren des siebenjährigen Krieges	1895	330
von Beguelin	Max	Iwan Iwanowic Chemnicer	1888	284
von der Leyen	Friedrich	Des Armen Hartmann Rede vom Glouven	1894	325
von Giz'ycki	Georg	Versuch über die philosophischen Consequenzen der Goethe-Lamarck-Darwin'schen Evolutionstheorie	1875	248
von Kostanecki	Anton	Der öffentliche Kredit im Mittelalter nach Urkunden der Herzogtümer Braunschweig-Lüneburg	1889	289
von Oechelhaeuser	Adolph	Dürer's apokalyptische Reiter	1885	266
von Petersdorff	Hermann	Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- Steuer- und Heeresgeschichte der Mark im dreissigjährigen Kriege	1888	286
von Rabski	Wladislaw	Über die Satiren des Christoph Opalinski	1892	308

von Ruville	Albert	Die Auflösung des preussische-englischen Bündnisses im Jahre 1762	1892	309
von Sommerfeld	Wilhelm	Die Beziehungen zwischen den Deutschen und den pommerschen Slaven bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts	1894	324
von Stein	Heinrich	Ueber Wahrnehmung	1877	249
von Wulf	Max	Die husitische Wagenburg	1889	289
Voss	Georg	Das Jüngste Gericht in der bildenden Kunst des frühen Mittelalters	1884	n/a <sup>891</sup>
Wachler	Ernst	Über Otto Ludwigs ästhetische Grundsätze	1897	340
Wächter	Wilhelm	Untersuchungen über die beiden mittlenglischen Gedichte „Roland and Vernagu“ und „Otuel“	1885	269
Wachtler	Ioannes	De Alcemaeone Crotoniata Pars Prior	1896	333
Wagner	Philipp	Gillon le Muisi, Abt von St. Martin in Tournai, sein Leben und seine Werke	1896	336
Wald	Guilelmus	Additamenta Ad Dialectum Et Lesbiorum Et Thessalorum Cognoscendam	1871	245
Walter	Fritz	Die Politik der Kurie unter Gregor X	1894	320
Warmbier	Ernestus	Studia Heraclitea	1891	306
Wartenberg	Georgius	Quaestiones Ovidinae Quibus Agitur De Tristium, Ibdidis, Epistolarumque, Quae „Ex Ponto“ inscribun Temporibus	1884	263
Wartenberg	Georgius	Quaestiones Ovidinae	1884	263

<sup>891</sup> The record was found in the year book but no dissertation was found within the archive of the University of Berlin.

Waszynski	Stephanus	De Servis Atheniensium Publicis	1898	344
Weber	Ernst	Ueber den Gebrauch von devoir, laisser, pooir, savoir, soloir, voloir im Altfranzösischen	1879	252
Weber	Heinrich	Ueber das Verhältniss Englands zu Rom während der Zeit der Legation des Cardinals Otho in den Jahren 1237 – 1241	1883	261
Weber	Alfred	Hausindustrielle Gesetzgebung und Sweating-System in der Konfektionsindustrie	1897	338
Wegenerus	Philippus	De Casuum Nonnullorum Graecorum Latinorumque Historiae	1871	245
Wehnert	Bruno	Goethes Reim	1899	352
Weil	Rudolphus	De Amphictionum Deplhicolorum Suffragiis Capita Duo Piora	1972	246b
Weinecke	Friedrich	Das Stralendorffsche Gutachten und der Jülicher Erbfolgestreit	1886	273
Weise	Paulus	De Bacchidum Plauteniae Retractatione Quae Fertus	1883	260
Weise	Ricardus	Quaestiones Caecilinae	1888	285
Welter	Julian	Studien zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Zunftwesens im Mittelalter	1895	330
Wenckstein	Adolph	Le Play	1893	318
Wendland	Paulus	Quaestiones Musonianae	1886	272
Wendt	Emil	Die Entwicklung der Leibnizschen Monadenlehre bis zum Jahre 1695	1885	270
Werde	Ferdinand	Über die Sprache der Wandalen	1886	274

Werminghoff	Albert	Die Verpfändung der mittel- und niederrheinischen Reichsstädte während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts	1893	315
Werner	Julius	Quaestiones Barbianae	1891	306
Werner	Moritz	Zwei Threnoi Alfred de Mussets	1895	327
Wernicke	Conradus	De Pausaniae Periegetae Studiis Herodoteis	1884	263
Wersche	Carl	Das staatsrechtliche Verhältnis Polens zum Deutschen Reich während des Mittelalters	1887	281
Werscher	Arthur	Ernst Platners und Kants Erkenntnistheorie	1891	303
Wessely	Rudolf	Über den Gebrauch des Casus in Albrechts von Eyb Deutschen Schriften unter Vergleich des Mhd. Und Nhd. Sprachgebrauchs	1892	308
Wetzel	Erich	Das Zollrecht der deutschen Könige von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur goldenen Bulle	1892	309
Wetzler	Paulus	De Coniunctivi Optativi Apud Graecos Usu	1881	255
Wiehr	Ernst	Strategie Napoleons und des Kronprinzen von Schweden im Herbst 1813; Habelberg und Dennewitz	1892	313
Wiese	Berthold	Ueber die Spraceh des Tesoretto Brunetto Latino's	1883	259
Wilbrandt	Robert	Platos Ideenlehre in der Darstellung und in der Kritik des Aristoteles	1899	351

Wilcken	Udalricus	Observationes Ad Historiam Aegypti Provinciae Romanae Depromptae E Papyris Graecis Berolinensibus Ineditis	1885	266
Wilhelm	Keiper	Friedrich Leopold Stolbergs Jugendweihe	1892	312
Willert	Hans	Geoffrey Chaucer. The House of Fame	1883	262
Winckler	Hugo	De Inscriptione Sargonis Regis Assyriae Quae Vocatur Annalium	1886	273
Winkler	Friedrich	Castruccio Castracani	1896	336
Winther	Hermannus	De Fastis Verrii Flacci Ab Ovidio Adhibitis	1885	269
Wischmann	Walther	Untersuchungen über das Königreich Jakobus I. von Schottland	1887	281
Wobbermin	Georg	Die innere Erfahrung als Grundlage eines moralischen Beweises für das Dasein Gottes. Eine methodologische Studie	1894	323
Wolff	Franz	Erwerb und Verwaltung des Klostervermögens in den Traditiones Wizenburgenses	1883	261
Wolff	Eugen	Quae Ratio Intercedat Inter Lysiae Epitaphium Et Isocratis Panegyricum	1896	330
Wolfstieg	August	Geschichte der Stadt Goslar im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert	1883	262
Wuerz	Carolus	Merces Ecclesiastica Athenis, Quibus De Causis Quoque Tempore Instituta Et Qua Ratione Dispensari Solita Sit	1877	250
Wunderlich	Hermann	Beiträge zur Syntax des Notker'schen Boethius	1883	259
Wutke	Conrad	Beiträge zur Geschichte des Grossen Städtebundkrieges für die Jahre 1387 – 88	1887	278

Wygodzinski	Willy	Über altwürttembergische Gemeindegüterpolitik	1894	321
Zahlefeldt	Franciscus	Quaestiones Criticae In Varonis Rerum Rusticarum Libros Tres	1881	254/1
Zander	Herwarth	Sieben Jahre Nordalbingischer Geschichte nach der Schlacht von Bornhöved	1894	320
Zarkzweski	Christ. August	Die Steuerreform in Ostpreussen (1715-19)	1886	270
Zimmermann	Ricardus	De Nothorum Athenis Condicione	1886	273
Zimmermann	Franz	Die Datierungsformel in Urkunden Kaiser Karls V.	1889	289
Zimmermann	Otto	Die Totenklage in den altfranzösischen chansons de geste	1899	348
Zinkeisen	Frank	Die Anfänge der Lehngerichtsbarkeit in England	1893	318
Zumetzikos	Alexander M.	De Alexandri Olympiadisque Epistularum	1894	322
Zupitza	Ernst	Kritik der Lehre vom Übergang labiovaler Geräuschlaute in germanische reine Labiale	1896	332
Zurborg	Arminius	De Xenophontis Libello Qui Hopoi Inscibitur	1874	247

### 1900-1913

Last Name	First Name	Title	Year	Call Number
Abadjieff	Christo	Die Handelspolitik Bulgariens	1909	466
Abb	Gustav	Die Geschichte des Klosters Chorin	1911	505

Abraham	Erich	Nürnberger Malerei der zweiten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts	1912	517
Agricola	Ernestus	De Aristidis cenus	1900	354
Alafberg	Fritz	Wolfgang Heribert von Dalberg als Bühnenleiter als Dramatiker	1907	429
Albert	Nef	Das Lied in der deutschen Schweiz im letzten Drittel des 18. und am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts	1908	440
Albrecht	Theodor	Der Sprachgebrauch des Dialektsdichters Charles E. Benham zu Colchester in Essex	1913	527
Allard	Emmy	Friedrich der Grosse in der Literatur Frankreichs mit einem Ausblick auf Italien und Spanien	1913	531
Allis	Oswald Thompson	Neubabylonische Briefe. Zwanzig Briefe in Cuneiform Texts XXII	1913	537
Altenkirch	Rudolf	Die Beziehungen zwischen Slaven und Griechen in ihren Sprichwörtern	1908	443
Altmann	Sally	Studien zur Lehre vom Geldwert. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kritik der Geld- und Werttheorie	1906	415
Altunian	Georg	Die Mongolen und ihre Eroberungen in kaukasischen und kleinasiatischen Ländern im XIII. Jahrhundert	1911	496
Amersdorffer	Alexander	Kritische Studien über das Venezianische Skizzenbuch	1901	367
Amling	Ernst	Zur Geschichte des Papsttums im X. Jahrhundert	1913	537



Anders	Erwin	Schwarzenburgs Disposition für den 14. Oktober 1813	1908	437
Andrae	Friedrich	Preussische und russische Politik in Polen. Von der taurischen Reise Katharinas II. (Januar 1787) bis zur Abwendung Friedrich Wilhelm II. Von Hertzbergischen Plänen (August 1789)	1905	404
Andrees	Hans	Der Einfluss des Flügeladjutanten Freiherrn Ludwig von Wrangel auf die Konvention von Tauroggen	1907	431
Andres	Heinrich	Shakespeare's Belesenheit	1900	358
Anklam	Ernst	Das Englische Relativ im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert	1908	447
Arendt	Max	Die brandenburgische Kanzlei, ihr Urkunden- und Registerwesen unter der Regierung des Kurfürsten Johann (1486 – 99)	1913	538
Arndt	Gualterus	Emendationes Epicureae	1913	526
Artler	Georg	Die Zusammensetzung der deutschen Streitkräfte in den Kämpfen mit den Slaven von Heinrich I. bis auf Friedrich I.	1911	505
Aschkenasy	Hirsch	Hegels Einfluss auf die Religionsphilosophie in Deutschland	1906	420
Aschner	Siegfried	Die deutschen Sagen der Brüder Grimm	1909	470
Ayers	Edward E.	Arbeiterversicherung und Armenpflege	1901	363
Baaz	Ericus	De Herodiani fontibus et aucotirate	1909	457

Bachem	Johannes	Sächsische Plastik vom frühen Mittelalter bis nach Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts	1908	437
Backhaus	Johannes	Die Corvener Geschichtsfälschungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts	1905	405
Baehr	Walterus	De Centurionibus Legionariis Quaetiones Epigraphicae	1900	354
Baeske	Wilhelm	Oldcastle – Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare	1905	405
Bälz	Martha	Die Me. Brendanlegende des Gloucesterlegendars	1909	468
Bang	Martin	Die Germanen im römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantins I.	1906	408
Barth	Bruno	Liebe und ehe im altfranzösischen Fablel (sic!) und in der mittelhochdeutschen Novelle	1910	472
Bartsch	Helmut	Zur Frage der Entwicklung der gewerblichen Arbeitsverfassung	1904	393
Basler	Karl	Konrads von Würzburg „Trojanischer Krieg“ und Benoïts de Ste Maure „Roman de Troie“	1910	486
Bastgen	Hubert	Geschichte des Domkapitels zu Trier im Mittelalter	1907	432
Bauer	Karl	Die sozialpolitische Bedeutung der Kleinkraftmaschinen	1907	425
Bauer	Hans	Die Tempora im Semitischen. Ihre Entstehung und ihre Ausgestaltung in den Einzelsprachen	1910	481
Bauer	Hermann	Die Überlieferung des Lehniner Archivs	1913	531

Baum	Johann Peter	Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Obereichsfeldes in der Neuzeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Hausindustrie	1903	379
Bäumer	Gertrud	Goethes Satyros (Einleitung, Kapitle I u. II)	1905	397
Becker	Gustav	Die Aufnahme des Don Quijote in die englische Literatur (1605 bis ca. 1770)	1902	377
Becker	Johann Pantaleon	Die Sprache der kurischen Fischer in Perwelk auf der kurischen Nehrung	1904	390
Becker	Otto	Die „séance royale“ am 23. Juni 1789	1909	466
Becker	Rudolf	Christian Weises Romane und ihre Nachwirkungen	1910	486
Becker	Adolf	Die Sprache Friedrichs von Spee	1912	522
Beckh	Hermann	Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik von Kalidasas Meghaduta	1907	429
Behne	Adolf	Der Inkrustationsstil in Toscana	1912	522
Behnke	Fritz	Diego Ximénez de Encisos „Los Medicis de Florencia“, Giovanni Rosinis „Luisa Strozzi“ und Alfred de Mussets „Lorenzaccio“ in Verhältnis zur Geschichte	1910	477
Behrend	Fritz	Über den Verfasser des „Eselkönigs“. Ein Beitrag zur Tierdichtung im Elsass	1905	406
Belgard	Martin	Parzellierung und innere Kolonisation in den sechs östlichen Provinzen Preussens 1875 – 1906	1907	427
Bellée	Hans	Polen und die römische Kurie in den Jahren 1414 – 1424	1913	537

Bergemann	Fritz	Salomon Gessner. Eine literarhistorisch-biographische Einleitung	1913	528
Berner	Alexander	Die Theorie vom Arbeitslohn. Untersuchungen über die jüngste Lohntheoretik und die Möglichkeit eines allgemeinen Lohngesetzes	1911	498
Bernhard	Ernst	Höhere Arbeitsintensität bei kürzerer Arbeitszeit. Ihre personalen und technisch-sachlichen Voraussetzungen	1909	457
Berr	Adolf	Die Kirche gegenüber Gewalttaten von Laien (Merowinger- Karolinger- und Ottonenzeit)	1913	535
Bertalot	Ludwig	Eine humanistische Anthologie. Die Handschrift 4o 768 der Universitätsbibliothek Münschen	1908	453
Bertling	Martin	Die Kroaten und Panduren in der Mitte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts und ihre Verwendung in den Friderizianischen Kriegen	1912	512
Bertram	Karl	Quellenstudie zu Gottfried Kellers „Hadlaub“	1906	419
Beversdorff	Gerhard	Die Streitkräfte der Karthager und Römer im zweiten punischen Kriege	1910	485
Beyer	Bruno	Über den Gebrauch von „Tout“ im Alt- und im „Neufranzösischen“	1905	400
Bieber	Hugo	Johann Adolf Schlegels Poetische Theorie in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange untersucht	1911	505
Biedermann	Erhard	Studien zur ägyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit	1913	533

Bielefeldt	Karl	Das Eindringen des Kapitalismus in die Landwirtschaft unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Provinz Sachsen und der angrenzenden Gebiete	1910	481
Bielschowsky	Frida	Die Textilindustrie des Lodzer Rayons. Ihr werden und ihre Bedeutung.	1911	501
Bier	Hermann	Das Urkundenwesen und die Kanzlei der Markgrafen von Brandenburg aus dem Wittelsbach 1323 – 1373	1907	431
Bierbach	Karl	Die letzten Jahre Attilas	1906	419
Biereye	Wilhelm	Beiträge zur Geschichte Nordalbingiens im 10. Jahrhundert	1909	456
Bitsch	Fridericus	De Platonicorum quaestionibus quibusdam Vergilianis	1911	493
Blach	Samuel	Die Schriftsprache in der Londoner Paulsschule zu Anfang des XVI. Jahrhunderts (bei Colet, Lily, Linacre, Grocyn)	1905	400
Blau	Armin	James Thomson's „Seasons“. Eine Genetische Stiluntersuchung	1910	479
Block	Willibald	Die Condottieri	1913	528
Blum	Johannes	Budgetrecht und Finanzpraxis	1911	506
Blume	Erich	Die Germanischen Stämme und die Kulturen zwischen oder und Passarge zur römischen Kaiserzeit	1910	486
Bock	Richard	Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Nachrichten Bonithos von Sutri im liber ad amicum und deren Verwertung in der neueren Geschichtsschreibung	1909	464
Bode	Karl	Die Bearbeitung der Vorlagen in Des Knaben Wunderhorn.	1908	448

Boehm	Fridericus	De symbolis Pythagoreis	1905	399
Boehm	Kurt	Spensers Verbalflexion	1909	459
Boerner	Gustav	Die Annalen und Akten der Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens in Lüchtenhöfe zu Hildesheim	1905	397
Boesch	Georgius	De Apolloni Rhodi Elocutione	1908	452
Bohlen	Adolf	Zusammengehörige Wortgruppen, getrennt durch Cäsur oder Verschluss, in der angelsächsischen Epik	1908	442
Böhm	Wilhelm	Studien zu Hölderlins Empedokles	1902	378
Böhme	Karl	Gutsherrlich-bäuerliche Verhältnisse in Ostpreussen während der Reformzeit von 1770 bis 1830	1902	369
Böhme	Traugott	Spensers Literarisches Nachleben bis zu Shelley	1909	466
Böhnke	Max	Die Flexion des Verbums in Lazamons Brut	1906	417
Bolle	Wilhelm	Die gedruckten englischen Liederbücher bis 1600. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der sangbaren Lyrik in der Zeit Shakespeares	1903	383
Bölsing	Gottfried	Matthissons Lyrik	1911	491
Bombe	Walter	Benedetto Buonifigli. Eine kunsthistorische Studie	1904	396
Borchard	Curt	Die Wirkungen der Getreidezölle auf die Getreidepreise	1913	527
Borghorst	Gerhardus	De Anatolii Fontibus	1905	397

Born	Max	George Sand's Sprache in dem Romane Les Maîtres sonneurs	1900	359
Boschan	Richard	Der Handel Hamburgs mit der Mark Brandenburg bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrhunderts	1907	424
Bosdorf	Erich	Entstehungsgeschichte von Fielding „Joseph Andrews“	1908	437
Bradisteanu	Stancu	Die Beziehungen Russlands und Frankreichs zur Türkei in den Jahren 1806 und 1807	1912	520
Bratu	Trajan	Foqués Lyrik	1907	430
Braun	Franz	Die Provinzialeinteilung Spaniens in römischer Zeit	1908	455
Brauner-Plazikowski	Hermine	Ein äthiopisch-ahmarisches Glossar	1913	533
Brietzmann	Franz	Die böse Frau in der deutschen Litteratur des Mittelalters	1912	519
Brinckmann	Albert Erich	Baumstilisierungen in der mittelalterlichen Malerei	1906	412
Brinkmann	Carl	Die Entstehung des Märkischen Landbuchs Kaiser Kalrs IV.	1908	448
Brinner	Ludwig	Die Deutsche Grönlandfahrt	1912	520
Brockhage	Bernhard	Zur Entwicklung des Marktes für ausländische Wertpapiere	1910	474
Brüll	Adolph	Die altenglische Latein Grammatik des Aelfric	1900	358
Brunner	Gottfried	Ketzer und Inquisition in der Mark Brandenburg im ausgehende Mittelalter	1904	393
Brunstäd	Fritz	Untersuchungen zu Hegels Geschichtstheorie I.	1909	464

Brutzer	Gustav	Die Verteuerung der Lebensmittel in Berlin im Laufe der letzten 30 Jahre und ihre Bedeutung für den Berliner Arbeiterhaushalt	1912	516
Brysz	Simon	Das Ding an sich und die empirische Anschauung in Kants Philosophie	1913	530
Büchner	Oskar	Die Geschichte der norwegischen Leiländer bis zur Verfassungsänderung im Jahre 1660	1903	387
Budde	Fritz	Wieland und Bodmer	1909	466
Bull	Max	Die französischen Namen der Haustiere in alter und neuer Zeit mit Berücksichtigung der Mundarten	1902	373
Bultanow	Alexander	Über den Strukturzusammenhang zwischen dem ästhetischen Wertgefühl und seinen intellektuellen Voraussetzungen	1909	457
Bulthaupt	Fritz	Milstäter Genesis und Exodus (Einleitung, Lautlehre: Vokalismus)	1908	438
Burchardt	Max	Die Syllabische Schreibung im Aegyptischen	1908	455
Burchhardt	Kurt	Das Mhd. Gedicht von der „Frauentreue“	1910	486
Burckhardt	Rudolf	Cima da Conegliano. Ein venezianischer Maler des Übergangs vom Quattrocento zum Cinquecento	1904	393
Büsing	Max	Die Reihenfolge der Gedichte Karolinens von Günderrode	1903	387
Busse	Friedrich	Australien und der britische Zollverein	1906	418
Busse	E. Kurt	Ulrich von Türheim	1913	532



Büsselberg	Wilhelm	Die Erschliessung von städtischem Baugeländer	1908	447
Capesius	Bernhard	Die Vertreter des alten î, û, und ü im Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen	1912	518
Carroll	Benajah H.	Die Annexion von Texas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Monroe-Doktrin	1904	389
Caspar	Erich	Die Gründungsurkunde der sicilischen Bistümer und die Kirchenpolitik Graf Rogers I. (1082 – 1098)	1902	378
Cassirer	Kurt	Die ästhetischen Hauptbegriffe der französischen Architektur-Theoretiker von 1650 – 1780	1909	462
Chicos	Stefan	Die Staatsmonopole in Rumänien	1906	410
Chiu	Moses	Kritische Betrachtung über Lau-Tsze und seine Lehre	1911	490
Christiani	Wilhelm Arnold	Über das Eindringen von Fremdwörtern in die russische Schriftsprache des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts	1906	409
Christmann	Curt	Melanchthosn Haltung im schmalkaldischen Kriege	1901	368
Christophels- meier	Carl	Der vierte August 1789	1905	404
Clapp	Edwin J.	Die Rheinschiffahrt. Ihre Entwicklung, die Grundlagen ihrer jetzigen Blüte und ihr Güterverkehr im Jahre 1907	1910	474
Cohn	Ludwig	Gewerkschaftliche Organisations- und Lohnkampfpolitik der deutschen Metallarbeiter	1903	386

Cöln	Franz	Die anonyme Schrift Abhandlung über den Glauben der Syrer	1903	384
Coulin	Alexander	Verfall des Gerichtlichen und Entstehung des privaten Zweikampfs in Frankreich	1908	447
Creanga	George D.	Darstellung der Reformen der direkten Besteuerung in Preussen und die relative Anwendung derselben auf das Rumänische Steuerwesen. Mit einem Steuerreformenentwurf.	1900	356
Creutz	Max	Masaccio. Ein versuch zu stilistischen und chronologischen Einordnung seiner Werke	1901	363
Czeppan	Richard	Die Schlacht bei Crécy (26. August 1346)	1906	410
Dahms	Rudolfus	De Atheniensium sociorum tributis quastiones septem	1904	396
Damm	Otto	Der deutsche-französische Jargon in der schönen französischen Literatur	1910	485
Dammeier	Kurt	Die Vertauschung von er und ar im Wortschaft der heutigen französischen Schriftsprache	1903	387
Daniel	Otto	William Schenstone's „Schoolmistress“ und das Aufkommen des Kleinepos in der Neuenglischen Literatur	1908	442
Dassow	Johannes	Friedrich II. von Preussen und Peter III. von Russland	1908	438
Dauch	Bruno	Die Bischofsstadt als Residenz der geistlichen Fürsten	1913	535
Davar	Manekji	Die Pahlavi-Version von Yasna IX	1904	391

de Jongh	Johanna	Holland und die Landschaft	1903	379
de Wedel	Christiana	Symbola ad Clementis Alexandrini stromatum librum VIII. Interpretandum	1905	403
Degenfeld- Schonburg, Graf von	Ferdinand	Die Lohntheorien von Ad. Smith, Ricardo, J. St. Mill und Marx	1913	542
Deite	Hermann	Die katholisch-soziale Bewegung in Deutschland nach ihrer Literatur geschildert	1908	442
Deiters	Heinrich	Stilistische Studien zu Hebbels Tragödien	1911	498
Dennefeld	Ludwig	Die Geburtsomenserie šumma isbu. Ein Beitrag zur Assyriologie und zur Geschichte der Medizin.	1913	540
Dermietzel	Paul	Studien über die Gemeindeverwaltung un den Gemeindehaushalt in Barmen sowie die Verwaltung des Amtes Benenburg um die Wende des 16. Jahrhunderts, Vorstudien zu einer Geschichte der Garnnahrung im Wuppertal	1905	404
Detmar	Bernhard	Karneades und Hume. Ihre Wahrscheinlichkeitstheorie	1910	477
Deutschmann	Alois	Zur Entstehungs des Deutsch-Tiroler Bauernstandes im Mittelalter	1912	525

Diamant	Walter	Studien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Städte in Pommern, der Kur- und Neumark unter Friedrich dem Grossen und seinen nächsten Nachfolgern bis 1806	1913	526
Dickhoff	Emil	Das zweigliedrige Wort-Asyndeton in der älteren deutschen Sprache	1905	404
Diels	Pauls	Die Stellung des Verbuns in der älteren althochdeutschen Prose	1906	418
Diether	Otto	Leopold von Ranke als Politiker	1910	479
Dimitroff	Iwan	Abu Abdallah Muhammad Ibn Al-Hasan Asch Schaibani und sein corpus juris „al-gami as sagir“	1908	442
Dittbrener	Walter	Issos. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Alexander des Grossen	1907	434
Dombrowski	Ludwig	Die Beziehungen des Deutschen Ordens zum Baseler Konzil bis zur Neutralitätserklärung der deutschen Kurfürsten (März 1438)	1913	535
Dr. theol. Hehn	Johannes	Hymnen und Gebete an Marduk nebst einer Einleitung über die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung Marduks	1903	382
Draeger	Walter	Das alte lübische Stadtrecht und seine Quellen	1913	529
Drechsler	Walther	Der Stil des Macphersonschen Ossian	1904	396
Drummond	James Douglas	Studien zur Kriegsgeschichte Englands im 12. Jahrhundert	1905	404
Dückers	Peter	Das Koalitionsrecht und die Organisation der Landarbeiter	1910	489
Ebeling	Erich	Das Verbum der El-Amarna-Briefe	1909	464

Ebermann	Oskar	Über Blut- und Wundsegen	1902	377
Ebert	Max	Der Stil der Heineschen Jugendprosa	1903	382
Eckhardt	Kurt	Die Armensichen Feldzüge des Lukullus	1909	459
Eckstorff	Erich	Studien zur ersten Phase des Feldzuges von 1796 in Italien	1901	361
Effenberger	Wilhelm	Über den Satzaccent im Englischen	1908	453
Eggerking	Guilelmus	De Graeca artis tragicae doctrina, imprimis de affectibus tragicis	1912	520
Ehlert	Johannes	De Verborum Copia Thucydidea Quaestiones Selectae	1910	474
Eichner	Johannes	Kants Begriff der Erfahrung	1909	456
Eiten	Gustav	Das Unterkönigtum im Reiche der Merovinger und Karolinger	1907	426
Elsner	Paul	Percy Bysshe Shelleys Abhängigkeit von William Godwins Political Justice	1906	413
Elsner	Richard	Francis Jeffrey, der Hauptbegründer der Edinburgh Review, und seine kritischen Prinzipien	1908	445
Engel	Hubert	Spensers Relativsatz	1908	438
Engelbrecht	Erwin	Die Agrarverfassung des Ermlandes und ihre historische Entwicklung	1913	537
Engelhardt	Karl	Ein badisches Bauerndorf vor 50 Jahren und jetzt, Bevölkerung und Wirtschaftsleben	1910	486
Erlemann	Edmung	Das landschaftliche Auge der angelsächsischen Dichter	1902	376

Ernst	Nicolaus Karl	Die Beziehungen Moskaus zu den Tataren der Krym unter Ivan III. Und Vasilij III. 1474 – 1519	1911	501
Exner	Paul	Typische Adverbialbestimmungen in frühenglischer Poesie	1912	511
Eyck	Erich	Der Vereinstag Deutsch Arbeitervereine 1863 – 1868	1904	390
Fehling	Ferdinand	Kaiser Friedirch II. und die römischen Cardinäle in den Jahren 1227 und 1239	1900	360
Fehse	Erich	Sprichwort und Sentenz bei Eustache Deschamps und Dichtern seiner Zeit	1905	397
Feitelberg	David	Die Einkommenbesteuerung nichtphysischer (juristischer) Personen	1900	353
Fellner	Robert	Die fränkische Ritterschaft	1904	396
Fest	Otto	Über Surrey's Virgilübersetzung	1903	384
Feuchtwanger	Luwdig	Geschichte der sozialen Politik und des Armenwesens im Zeitalter der Reformation	1908	444
Fischer	Gustav	Die sociale Bedeutung der Maschinen in der Landwirtschaft	1902	371
Fischer	Ernst	Die geschichtlichen Vorlagen zur Dialektik in Kant Kritik der reinen Vernunft	1905	403
Fischer	Otto	Die altdeutsche Malerei in Salzburg	1907	436
Fischer	Fridericus	Senatus Romanus, Qui Fuerit Augusti Temporibus	1908	439
Fischer	Georg	Die Schlacht bei Novara (6. Juni 1513)	1908	446
Fischer	Eugen	Der Patriziat Heinrichs III. und Heinrichs IV.	1908	445

Fischer	Frank	Die Lehnwörter des Altwestnordischen	1909	461
Fischer	Erich	Beiträge zur Erforschung der chinesischen Musik	1910	474
Fischer	Kurt	Gabriel Voigtländer. Ein Dichter und Musiker des 17. Jahrhunderts	1910	473
Fiset	Franz	Das altfranzösische Jeu-Parti	1904	396
Fitch	Florence Mary	Der Hedonismus bei Lotze und Fechner	1903	384
Fliedner	Fritz	Die ronkalischen Felder in der deutschen Kaiserzeit	1906	413
Flueler	Max	Die Norddeutsche Sinfonie zur Zeit Friedrichs d. Gr, und besonder die Werke Ph. Em. Bachs	1908	453
Focken	Johannes	De Gregorii Nazianzeni Orationum Et Carminium Dogmaticorum Argumentandi Ratione	1912	518
Foss	Ernst	Die „Nuits“ von Alfred de Musset	1902	374
Fraenkel	Ernst	Griechische Denominativa in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und Verbreitung	1905	406
Franke	Bernhard	Die Entwicklung der französischen Landwirtschaft unter der Herrschaft des gegenwärtigen Schutzzollsystems	1903	381
Franke	Wilhelm	Der Stil in den epischen Dichtungen Walter Scotts	1909	468
Freiherr v. Zessner	Hans Karl	Städtisch-industrielle Konzentration der Bevölkerung und Abwanderung vom Lande in Böhmen in der Zeit von 1880 – 1900	1912	521

Freye	Karl	Jean Pauls Flegeljahre	1907	422
Friedemann	Hermann	Die Götter Griechenlands. Von Schiller bis zu Heine	1905	406
Friederici	Erich	Das persische Idealheer der Cyropädie	1909	466
Friedlaender	Paulus	Argolica. Quaestiones ad Graecorum historiam fabularem pertinentes	1905	401
Friedländer	Walter F.	Der mahavrata-Abschnitt des Cankayana-Aranyaka herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen	1900	355
Fries	Albert	Goethes Achilleis	1901	367
Fries	Friedrich	Die Lehre vom Staat bei den protestantischen Gottesgelehrten Deutschlands und der Niederlande in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts	1912	525
Frisch	Walther	Die Organisationsbestrebungen der Arbeiter in der deutschen Tabakindustrie	1905	399
Froehner	Georg	Wanderungsergebnisse im erzgebirgischen Industriegebiet und in der Stadt Chemnitz	1908	455
Fuchs	Rudolf	Specimen des Petakopadesa	1908	448
Fuchs	Wilhelm	Die Besetzung der Deutschen Bistümer unter Papst Gregor IX. (1227 – 1241) und bis zum Regierungsantritt Papst Innocenz IV. (1243)	1911	507
Fuhrmann	Ludwig	Die Belesenheit des jungen Byron	1903	381



Fuhrmann	Otto	Die Bedeutung des lokalen Nachrichtenverkehrs für das wirtschaftliche Leben unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Telephonwesens im Reichspostgebiet	1909	466
Gadow	Wilhelm	Neuausgabe des mittelenglischen Streitgedichtes Eule und Nachtigall mit Einleitung und Wortschaft	1907	426
Gaertner	Walter	Die Schlacht am Trasimenischen See	1911	496
Gálvez	José Maria	Guevara in England	1910	486
Gay	Edwin Francis	Zur Geschichte der Einhegungen in England	1902	375
Geiger	Benno	Maffeo Verona (1574 – 1618) und seine Werke für die Markuskirche zu Venedig	1910	473
Geisel, geb. Salomon	Judith	„Tasso“ und sein Gefolge	1911	491
Gelb	Adhémar	Theoretisches über „Gestaltsqualitäten“	1910	486
Gerber	Paul	Die Schlacht bei Leuthen	1901	367
Gerhardt	Emil	Bieten die natürlichen Entwicklungsbedingungen Kanadas die Grundlage zur Ausbildung eines selbstständigen Staatswesens?	1910	472
Gerloff	Willy	Über Veränderungen im Wortgebrauch in den englischen Bibelübersetzungen der Hexapla (1388 – 1611)	1902	377

Gerstenberg	Curt	Ludwig der Romer als Alleinherrscher in der Mark Brandenburg	1902	374
Gerstenberg	Kurt	Das Wesen der deutschen Sondergotik	1913	529
Geyer	Fritz	Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboia im Altertum	1902	377
Giersberg	O. Georg	Die Bedetung der Wadderstrasse im östlichen Deutschland für den Transport landwirtschaftlichen Massengüter	1903	381
Giesecke	Albert	Studien über Giov. Batt. Piranesi (1720 – 1778)	1911	493
Gille	Hans	Die historischen und politischen Gedichte Michel Beheims	1910	472
Ginsberg	Fritz	Die Privatkanzlei der Metzzer Patrizierfamilie de Heu (1350 – 1550)	1912	523
Gladow	Johannes	Vom Französischen Versbau neuerer Zeit	1906	413
Glaserapp	Gustav	Zur Vorgeschichte der Allegorie in Edmund Spensers „Faerie Queene“	1904	391
Glasser	Curt	Hans Holbein der Ältere	1907	435
Glawe	Erich	Der Sprachgebrauch in den altschottischen Gesetzen der Handschrift	1908	444
Goebel	Otto	Die russischen Industriearbeiter um 1905	1911	507
Goeths	Paul	Berlin als Binnenschiffahrtsplatz	1910	477
Göhrke	Friedrich	Die Überlieferung von Johans von Würzburg „Wilhelm von Österreich“ nebst einer Reimgrammatik	1912	525
Goldstein	Moritz	Die Technik der zyklischen Rahmenerzählungen Deutschlands. Von Goethe bis Hoffmann	1906	420

Golodetz	Michael	Die Staatsaufsicht über Hypothekenbanken	1905	397
Gorgs	Carl	Beiträge zu einer Untersuchung des Einflusses der Effektenspekulation auf den Geld- und Kapitalmarkt	1912	522
Görnemann	Willy	Zur Sprache des Textus Roffensis	1901	365
Görnhardt	Rudolf	Die Lage der grundbesitzenden Tagelöhner in Nordwest- und Ostdeutschland mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Provinzen Schlesien und Posen	1910	481
Görres	Josef	Das Lütticher Domkapitel bis zum 14. Jahrhundert	1907	424
Goslich	Dietrich	Die Schlacht bei Kolin 18. Juni 1757 – mit zwei Kartenskizzen	1911	501
Gossen	Iohannes	De Galeni Libro Qui Euno Yi E Nepi Eoytm ΩN Inscriptur	1907	422
Gossner	Erich	Über die Entwicklung und heutige Organisation des Berliner Fischhandels	1901	365
Goto	Rokuya	Die japanische Seeschiffahrt	1901	369
Gotthardt	Gerhard	Bolzanos Lehre vom „Satz an sich“ in ihrer methodologischen Bedeutung	1909	459
Gotzen	Joseph	Über die Bárðar saga Snaefellsáss	1903	380
Graber	Erich	Die Urkunden Königs Konrads III.	1905	407
Grabower	Rolf	Die finanzielle Entwicklung der Aktiengesellschaften der deutschen chemischen Industrie und ihre Beziehungen zur Umwelt	1910	472

Grabski	Paul	Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Handelskammern in Preussen bis zur königlichen Verordnung vom 11. Februar 1848	1907	433
Graebert	Karl	Der Landtag zu Treptow an der Rega, Lucie (13. Dezember) 1534	1900	359
Graebner	Fritz	Böhmische Politik vom Tode Ottokars II. Bis zum Aussterben der Přemysliden	1901	366
Graf zu Dohna	Stanislaus	Kants Verhältnis zum Eudämonismus	1902	370
Grandke	Hans	Das Berliner Schneidereigebewerbe im neunzehnten Jahrhundert	1905	403
Grantzow	Hans	Geschichte des Göttinger und des Vossischen Musenalmanachs	1908	450
Grapow	Hermann	Das 17. Kapitel des ägyptischen Totenbuches und seine religionsgeschlechtliche Bedeutung	1912	524
Grawe	Carl	Die Entwicklung des preussischen Feldzugsplanes im Frühjahr 1757	1903	387
Greene	Francis Melbourne	Gewand und Körper. Eine psychologisch-ästhetische Analyse, erläutert an Dürers Werken	1909	459
Grigorovitza	Emanuel	Die Quellen von Cl. Brentanos „Gründung der Stadt Prag“	1901	363
Grimberg	Jean	Beiträge zur Geschichte des Grossen Kurfürsten	1905	398
Grisebach	August	Das deutsche Rathaus der Renaissance	1906	418
Groethuysen	Berhard	Das Mitgefühl	1904	389

Gröllich	Edmund	Die Baumwollweberei der sächsischen Oberlausitz und ihre Entwicklung zum Grossbetrieb	1911	501
Gross	Karl Josef	Sulzers Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste	1905	400
Gross	Hans	Zur Entstehungs-Geschichte des Tabula Peutingeriana	1913	530
Grossmann	Wilhelm	Frühmittelenglische Zeugnisse über Ministrels (ca. 1100 bis ca. 1400)	1906	410
Grossmann	Heinrich	Das angelsächsische Relativ	1906	419
Grothe	Wilhelm	Der heilige Richard und seine Kinder	1908	442
Grunewald	Maria	Die Entwicklung des Karnationskolorites in der venezianischen Malerei von den Anfängen bis auf Tiepolo	1912	509
Gundelfinger	Friedrich	Caesar in der deutschen Literatur	1903	383
Günther	Ernst	Die revisionistische Bewegung in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie	1905	405
Guretiwisch	Berka	Die Entwicklung der menschlichen Bedürfnisse und die sociale Gliederung der Gesellschaft	1901	367
Gutbier	Ewald	Das Itinerar des Königs Philipp von Schwaben	1912	522
Gutenberg	Hans	Die Aktiengesellschaften der Elektrizitätsindustrie	1912	516
Gutmacher	Erich	Der Wortschaft des althochdeutschen Tation	1913	535
Hackmann	Fridericus	De Athenaeo Naucratita Quaestiones Selectae	1912	523
Hadank	Karl	Die Schlacht bei Corenuova am 27. November 1237	1905	400

Haenisch	Ernst	Die chinesische Redaktion des Sanang Setsen, Geschichte der Ostmongolen, im Vergleiche mit dem mongolischen Urtexte	1904	392
Haering	Hermann	Der Reichskrieg gegen Graf Eberhard den Erlauchten von Württemberg und seine Stellung in der allgemeinen deutschen Geschichte	1910	486
Hagedorn	Bernhard	Ostfrieslands Handel und Schifffahrt im 16. Jahrhundert	1908	444
Hahn	Johannes	Julius von Voss	1909	470
Haintz	Otto	Von Novara bis La Motta (Creazzo.). Venedig in den oberitalienischen Kämpfen des Jahres 1513	1912	518
Hake	Bruno	Wilhelm Müller. Sein Leben und Dichten	1908	446
Halpern	Isidor	Der Entwicklungsgang der Schleiermacher'schen Dialektik	1901	361
Hamann	Richard	Das Symbol	1902	372
Hamann	Hermann	Die litterarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmärchen und ihre Bearbeitung durch die Brüder Grimm	1905	402
Hamburger	Ernestus	Symbola ad Horati carminum elocutionem	1913	529
Haneld	Fritz	Das Englische Gewerkvereinsrecht nach 1870	1909	464
Hanow	Benno	Beiträge zur Kriegsgeschichte der staufischen Zeit. Die Schlachten bei Carcano und Legnano	1905	398
Häpke	Rudolf	Brüggens Entwicklung zum mittelalterlichen Weltmarkt	1908	443

Hardegen	Friedrich	Imperialpolitik König Heinrichs II. Von England	1905	402
Hartung	Fritz	Hardenberg und die preussische Verwaltung in Ansbach-Bayreuth 1792 bis 1806	1905	406
Hasenclever	Adolf	Die Politik der Schmalkaldener vor Ausbruch des schmalkaldischen Krieges	1901	361
Hass	Martin	Die Landständische Verfassung und Verwaltung in der Kurmark Brandenburg während der Regierung des Kurfürsten Johann Georg (1571 – 1598)	1905	401
Havenstein	Eduard	Friedrich von Hardenbergs ästhetische Anschauungen. Verbunden mit einer Chronologie seiner Fragmente	1908	454
Hazuka	Wenzel	Beiträge aus den altbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden zur Erklärung des Hammurabi-Kodex	1907	428
Hecht	Hans	Die Sprache der altenglischen Dialoge Gregors des Grossen	1900	354
Heck	Casimir C.	Zur Geschichte der nicht-germanischen Lehnwörter im Englischen	1904	389
Hefermehl	Ernestus	Prolegomenon in Scholia Veterrima Quae sunt de Iliadis Libro (o durchgestrichen) specimen	1905	406
Heidemann	Leo	Die territoriale Entwicklung Lacedämons und Messeniens bis auf Alexander	1904	396
Heidrich	Ernst	Geschichte des Dürer'schen Marienbilder	1905	407
Heidrich	Kurt	Preussen im Kampfe gegen die französische Revolution bis zur zweiten Teilung Polens	1908	450

Hein	Max	Die Kanzeil und das Urkundenwesen der Erzbischöfe von Mainz im frühen Mittelalter	1909	464
Heineken	Hermann	Der Salzhandel Lüneburgs mit Lübeck bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts	1908	443
Heinemann	Fritz	Die Politik des Grafen Brandenburg	1909	466
Heiter	Carolus	De Particiis Gentibus Quae Imperii Romani Saeculis I. II. III. Fuerunt	1909	457
Helst	Ernst	Beiträge zur Frage der technischen Ausgestaltung der deutschen Einkommenbesteuerung	1907	435
Hemleben	Johannes	Die Pässe des Erzgebirges	1911	495
Henderhoff	Julius	Der bergische Volksmann Johann Friedrich Benzenberg. Ein rheinischer Liberaler im vormätzlichen Preussen. 1777 – 1846	1907	433
Hennig	Bruno	Die Kirchenpolitik der älteren Hohenzollern in der Mark Brandenburg und die päpstlichen Privilegien des Jahres 1447	1906	414
Henning	Walther	Die Erinnerungen des Grafen Chaptal an Napoleon I.	1908	437
Hensel	Rudolphus	Vindiciae Platonicae	1906	411
Herbert	Jakob	Ueber Aenderungen an George Sands frühesten Romanen	1902	373
Herchenbach	Hugo	Das Präsens historicum im Mittelhochdeutschen	1910	479
Herkenrath	Emil	Der Fries des Artemisions von Magnesia a. M.	1902	375
Hermens	Willibald	Die Anfänge der klassizistischen Zeichnung in Deutschland	1908	455



Herrmann	Helene	Die psychologischen Anschauungen des jungen Goethe und seiner Zeit	1904	389
Herse	Wilhelm	Kurmainz am Vorabend der Revolution	1907	426
Herzberg	Alexander	Über die Unterscheidung zwischen physischem und psychischem und über den Sinn der Wechselwirkungslehre und des Parallelismus	1913	526
Herzfeld	Ernst	Pasagardae. Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen zur Perischen Archaeologie	1907	431
Herzhoff	Richard	Personificationen lebloser Dinge in der altfranzösischen Literatur des 10. und 12. Jahrhunderts	1904	391
Heveker	Karl	Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg	1906	412
Heymann	James	Die Kausalsätze der deutschen Lyriker im XII. Jahrhundert	1903	380
Heymann	Eduard	Die deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände	1908	450
Heymann	Paul	Helwigs Märe vom heiligen Kreuz	1908	441
Heynen	Walter	Die Quellen des „Sonnenwirts“ von Hermann Kurz	1913	536
Hiller	Georg	Einwanderung und Einwanderungspolitik in Argentinien	1912	512
Hiltebrandt	Philipp	Heinrich von Navarra und Deutschland	1903	386
Hinke	Hans	Auslese und Anpassung der Arbeiter im Buchdruckgewerbe mit besonderer Rücksichtnahme auf die Setzmaschine	1910	480
Hirsch	Siegmund	Das Alexanderbuch Johann Hartliebs	1908	452

Hirschberg	Herbert Erich	Der Centralverein der Bildhauer Deutschlands. Eine monographische Studie aus dem Gewerkschaftsleben	1909	456
Hirschfeld	Theodor	Über das Gerichtswesen der Stadt Rom im 8. und 12. Jahrhundert	1912	523
Hochstetter	Franz	Die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Motive für die Abschaffung des britischen Sklavenhandels im Jahre 1806/1807	1905	404
Hoffmann	Johannes	Die Wormser Geschäftssprache	1902	378
Hoffmann	Abraham	Die Lehre von der Bildung des Universums bei Descartes	1903	388
Hoffmann	Ernestus	De Aristotelis Physicorum libri septimi origine et auctoritate pars prior	1905	400
Hoffmann	Willy	William Cowpers Belesenheit und literarische Kritik	1908	446
Hoffmann	Fritz	Das Partizipium bei Spencer mit Berücksichtigung Chaucers und Shakespeares	1909	462
Hoffmann	Waldemarus	Ad antiquae Atticae comodiae historiam symbolae	1910	473
Hofmeister	Adolf	Markgrafen und Markgrafenschaften im italienischen Königreich in der Zeit von Karl dem Grossen bis auf Otto den Grossen (774 – 962)	1905	403
Hohn	Wilhelm	Die Socialökonomischen Beziehungen charikativer Genossenschaften speciell untersucht an den Nancy-Trierer Borromäerinnen in Deutschland 1810 – 1899	1900	354

Holtzheimer	Hans	Erzherzog Karl bei Wagram. Ein Beitrag zur Beurteilung des Erzherzoges Karl von Oesterreich als Feldherrn	1904	393
Homeyer	Fritz	Stranitzkys Drama vom „Heiligen Nepomuck“	1906	420
Höpken	Eduardus	De Thucydidis Prooemii Compositione	1911	508
Hoppe	Willy	Erzbischof Wichmann von Magdeburg	1908	440
Hörmann	Arthur	Francisco de Enzinas und sein Kreis bis zum Beginne des ersten Wittenberger Aufenthaltes im Jahre 1541	1902	376
Hornemann	Karl	Das Privy Council von England zur Zeit der Königin Elisabeth	1911	506
Hörning	Willy	Die Schreibung der Hs. E des Cursor Mundi	1906	411
Hossfeld	Max	Johannes Heynlin aus Stein. Ein Kapitel aus der Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus	1907	426
Hübener	Erhard	Die deutsche Wirtschaftskrise von 1873	1905	400
Hubert	Curtius	De Plutarchi Amatoria	1903	386
Hübner	Walter	Der Vergleich bei Shakspere	1908	437
Hübner	Arthur	Daniel, eine Deutschordensdichtung	1910	478
Hülsen	Friedrich	Die Besitzungen des Klosters Lorsch in der Karolingerzeit. Ein Beitrag zur Topographie Deutschlands im Mittelalter	1911	505
Hummel	Fritz	Zu Sprache und Verstechnik des Sone des Nausay	1913	526

Hynek	Constantin E.	Ueber die Petroleumindustrie und den Petroleumindustrie	1906	420
Idelson	Wladimir	Beiträge zur Frage der Besteuerung der Versicherung, insbesondere in Deutschland	1905	403
Imelmann	Rudolf	Das altenglische Menologium	1902	377
Ionescu	Dimitrie	Die Agrarverfassung Rumäniens	1908	450
Israel	Wilhelm	König Robert von Neapel und Kaiser Heinrich VII	1903	383
Israël	Rudolf	Der Feldzug von 1704 in Süddeutschland	1913	537
Iwanski	Wilhelm	Geschichte der Grafen von Virneburg von ihren Anfängen bis auf Robert IV. (1383)	1912	520
Jacobi	Max	Das Universum und seine Gesetze in den Lehren des Kardinals Nikolaus von Cusa	1904	396
Jacobi	Dorothea	Die gemeinnützige Bautätigkeit in Deutschland, ihre kulturelle Bedeutung und die Grenzen ihrer Wirksamkeit	1912	523
Jacoby	Felix	De Apollodori Atheniensis Chronicis	1900	360
Jacoby	Günther	Herders Kalligone und ihr Verhaeltnis zu Kants Kritik der Urteilkraft	1906	411
Jacoby	Edgar	De Antiphontis Sophistae Nepi Omoniae Libro	1908	444
Jaeger	Horst	De Cassii Dionis librorum 57. et 58. fontibus	1910	473

Jaeger	Vernerus Guilelmus	Emendationum Aristotelearum Specimen	1911	498
Jaffé	Ernst	Joseph Anton Koch. Sein Leben und sein Schaffen	1904	389
Jahn	Hans	Die Heereszahlen in den Kreuzzügen	1907	422
Jahn	Richard	Die Schlacht bei Worringen am 5. Juni 1288	1909	463
Jankovitsch	Welizar	System der direkten Steuern in Serbien	1904	390
Jeidles	Otto	Das Verhältnis der deutschen Grossbanken zur Industrie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Eisenindustrie	1905	399
Jenny	Ernest	Der Teilbau nebst der Monographie eines Teilbaugrossbetriebs in Russland aus der Zeit von 1891 – 1910	1913	538
Jesse	Wilhelm	Mecklenburg und der Prager Friede 1635	1911	501
Jessen	Karl Detlev	Heinses Stellung zur bildenden Kunst und ihrer Ästhetik	1901	365
Johannessohn	Martin	Der Gebrauch des Kasus und der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta	1910	487
Jollos	Waldemar	Untersuchungen über die wirtschaftliche und soziale Lage der Berliner Metallarbeiter	1910	489
Jones	John D.	Coopers Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae (1685)	1911	508
Jordan	Erich	Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und der preussische Adel bei der Umwandlung der ersten Kammer in das Herrenhaus. 1850 bis 1854	1909	465

Joseph	Isidor	Philosophische Studien zu Bonaventura	1909	461
Jovanovitsch	Jovan U.	Bergbau und Bergbaupolitik in Serbien	1904	394
Jowanowitsch	Jowan B.	Warum hat Friedrich der Grosse an der Schlacht bei Kesselsdorf nicht teilgenommen?	1901	366
Jungfer	Thaddäus	Die Beziehungen der Julimonarchie zum Königreich Polen in den Jahren 1830/1831	1909	457
Junker	Hermann	Über das Schriftsystem im Tempel der Hathor in Dendera	1903	388
Jurk	Johannes	Ramenta Hippocratea	1900	355
Kabel	Paul	Die Sage von Heinrich V. bis zu Shakespeare	1907	430
Kabitz	Willy	Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Fichteschen Wissenschaftslehre aus der Kantischen Philosophie	1901	364
Kaeber	Ernst	Die Idee des europäischen Gleichgewichts in der publizistischen Literatur vom 16. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts	1906	419
Kähler	Bruno	Die Schlacht bei Cannae, ihr Verlauf und ihre Quellen	1912	512
Kahrstedt	Ulrich	Die Politik des Demosthenes	1910	482
Kalbe	Georg	Die deutsch Reichsbank und die Bank von Frankreich	1902	374
Kalinoff	Dimitri	David Ricardo und die Grenzwerttheorie	1906	415
Kalischer	Erwin	Conrad Ferdinand Meyer in seinem Verhältnis zur italienischen Renaissance	1907	427

Kamienski	Lucian	Die Oratorien von Johannes Adolf Hasse	1910	489
Kammerer	Friedrich	Studien zur Geschichte des Landschaftsgefühls in der deutschen Dichtung des frühen achtzehnten Jahrhunderts	1909	461
Kania	Hans Leopold	Das Verhalten des Fürsten Leopold von Anhalt-Dessau vor der Schlacht von Kesselsdorf	1901	367
Karaus	Arthur	Die Sprache der Gesetze des Königs Aethelred	1901	367
Kartzke	Georg	Die Reimsprache des Mirror for Magistrates (1587)	1908	437
Katsch	Michael	Die direkten Staatssteuern in Russland	1912	513
Kaufuss	Otto	Die Strategie Schwarzenbergs am 13., 14. und 15. Oktober 1813	1902	375
Kehr	Karl Andreas	Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung	1900	359
Kehrhan	Traugott	De Sancti Athanasii Quae Fertur Contra Gentes Oratione	1913	531
Keller	Erich	Alexander der Grosse nach der Schlacht bei Issos bis zu seiner Rückkehr nach Ägypten	1904	395
Keller	Karl	Die Besteuerung der Gebäude und Baustellen	1907	424
Kern	Fritz	Dorsualkonzept und Imbreviatur	1906	418
Keup	Erich	Die volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung von Gross- und Kleinbetrieb in der Landwirtschaft auf Grund von Erhebungen in Pommern und Brandenburg	1913	527

Keydell	Rudolfus	Quaestiones Metricae De Epicis Graecis Recentioribus. Accedunt Critica Varia	1911	505
Kiehl	Bruno	Wiederkehrende Begebenheiten und Verhältnisse in Shakespeares Dramen	1904	389
Kiekebusch	Albert	Der Einfluss der römischen Kultur auf die germanische im Spiegel der Hügelgräber des Nierrheins	1908	438
Killing	Joseph	Kirchenmusikalische Schätze der Bibliothek des Abbate Fortunato Santini	1908	450
Kinkeldey	Otto	Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik	1909	463
Kirchner	Erich	Werttheorie und Verteilungslehre in der Sozialökonomik	1913	536
Kirschner	Paul	Die Unzulänglichkeit des privat- und gemeinwirtschaftlichen Organisationsprinzips in der Volkswirtschaft	1908	441
Klausener	Gertrud	Die drei Diamanten des Lope de Vega und die Magelonen-Sage	1907	434
Klein	Johann Baptist	Der Choralgesang der Kartäuser in Theorie und Praxis unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Kartausen	1910	484
Klein	Willi	Der Dialekt von Stokesley in Yorkshire, North Riding	1912	523
Kling	Gustav	Die Schlach bei Nikopolis	1906	417
Klingner	Erich	Luther und der deutsche Volksglaube	1912	523



Klohss	Karl	Untersuchungen über Heinrich von Kalden, staufischen Marschall, und die ältesten Pappenheimer	1901	368
Klotzsch	Carl	Epirotische Geschichte bis zum Jahre 280 v. Chr.	1910	488
Kluge	Heinricus	Syntaxis Graecae Quaestiones Selectae	1911	494
Knoblauch	Rudolf	Die Rechtsverhältnisse und das Kreditwesen der Lüneburgschen Ritterschaft	1902	379
Knorrek	Friedrich	Das Gefecht bei Arbedo am 29. Juni 1422	1910	482
Knüfer	Carl	Grundzüge der Geschichte des Begriffs Vorstellung von Wolff bis Kant	1911	497
Koch	Waldemar	Die Konzentrationsbewegung in der deutschen Elektroindustrie	1907	424
Koch	Carl	Zeitbloms reifer Stil	1909	458
Kochendörffer	Heinrich	Bonifatius IX., 1389 – 1404	1903	383
Koebner	Richard	Die Eheauffassung des ausgehenden deutschen Mittelalters	1911	502
Koehler	Curtius	De rhetoricis ad C. Herennium	1909	457
Koffka	Kurt	Experimental-Untersuchungen zur Lehre vom Rythmus	1908	454
Köhler	Max	Hobbes in seinem Verhältniss zu der mechanischen Naturanschauung	1902	371
Köhler	Theodor	Die altenglischen Namen in Baedas Historia Ecclesiastica und auf den altnordischen Münzen	1908	447
Köhler	Walther	Die sozialwissenschaftliche Grundlage und Struktur der Malthusianischen Bevölkerungslehre	1913	533

Konnerth	Hermann	Die Gesetzlichkeit der bildenden Kunst. Eine Darlegung der Kunsttheorie Conrad Fiedlers	1908	448
Kopfermann	Paul	Das Wormser Konkordat im deutschen Staatsrecht	1908	449
Kopitsch	Paul	Die Schlacht bei Bicocca. 27. April 1522	1909	461
Köpke	Johannes	Altnordische Personennamen bei den Angelsachsen	1909	469
Korach	Erich	Das deutsche Privatbankgeschäft. Studien zu seiner Geschichte und heutigen Stellung	1910	475
Körnchen	Hans	Zesens Romane	1911	499
Körte	Oswald	Laute und Lautenmusik bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts	1901	365
Köster	Arnold	Die staatlichen Beziehungen der böhmischen Herzöge und Könige zu den deutschen Kaisern von Otto dem Grossen bis Ottokar II.	1911	499
Kotalla	Eduard	Fünfzig babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus der Zeit des Königs Artaxerxes I. (464 – 424 v. Chr.)	1901	366
Kothe	Walter	Der junge Goethe und die Bühne	1910	482
Kotzenberg	Walther	man, frouwe, juncfrouwe. Drei Kapitel aus der mittelhochdeutschen Wortgeschichte	1906	414
Krabbe	Wilhelm	Johannes Rist und das Deutsche Lied	1910	472

Krabbo	Carl Hermann	Die Besetzung der deutschen Bistümer unter der Regierung Kaiser Friedrichs II. (1212 – 1250)	1901	365
Krackow	Otto	Die Nominalcomposita als Kunstmittel im altenglischen Epos	1903	382
Krähe	Ludwig	Carl Friedrich Cramer bis zu seiner Amtsenthebung (1752 – 1794)	1904	397
Krammer	Mario	Rechtsgeschichte des Kurfürstenkollegs bis zum Ausgange Karls IV.	1903	380
Kränsel	Paul	Entwicklung und gegenwärtiger Stand des chinesischen Theehandels	1902	374
Kranz	Waltharius	De Forame Stasimi	1910	487
Krapp	Albert	Die ästhetischen Tendenzen Harsdoerffers	1903	384
Kraus	Wolfgang	Die Strategie des Erzherzoges Carl im Jahre 1796 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schlacht bei Würzburg	1913	529
Krause	Ernestus F.	De Apollodoris comicis	1903	381
Krause	Hermann	Waldfideikommiss	1909	463
Krawutschke	Alfred	Die Sprache der Boëthius-Uebersetzung des Königs Alfred	1902	376
Kriesten	Georg	Ueber eine deutsche Uebersetzung des pseudo-aristotelischen „Secretum Secretorum“ aus dem 13. Jahrhundert	1907	425
Kroegel	Heinrich	Beiträge zum sprachlichen Verständnis der sumerich-akkadischen Beschwörungstexte	1913	529
Kröger	Ernst	MacBeth bis auf Shakespere	1904	391

Krohmer	Wilhelm	Altenglisch in und on	1904	390
Kromolicki	Joseph	Die Practica artis Musicae des Amerus und ihre Stellung in der Musiktheorie des Mittelalters	1909	458
Krone	Walter	Wenzel Müller. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der komischen Oper.	1906	418
Krueger	Hermann	Die freien Interessenvertretungen von Industrie, Handel und Gewerbe in Deutschland insbesondere die Fach-, Zweck	1908	451
Krüer	Friedrich	Der Bindevokal und seine Fuge im schwachen deutschen Praeteritum bis 1150	1912	513
Krüger	Erich	Voltaires Temple du Goût	1902	376
Kühn	Fritz	Die Entwicklung des Bündnispläne Cola di Rienzos im Jahre 1347	1905	406
Kullnick	Max	Studien über den Wortschaft in Sir Gawayne and the grene knyzt	1902	372
Kunze	Johannes	Einige Beiträge zur Kunde des deutschen Privatlebens in der Zeit der salischen Kaiser	1901	368
Kurfess	Alphonsus	De Sallustii In Ciceronem Et Invicem Invectivis	1913	539
Kurth	Friedrich	Der Anteil niederdeutscher Kreuzfahrer an den Kämpfen der Portugiesen gegen die Mauren	1909	458
Kurth	Willy	Die Darstellung des nackten Menschen in dem Quattrocento in Florenz	1912	522
Küthmann	Carl	Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens	1911	493

Lachmanski	Hugo	Die deutschen Frauenzeitschriften des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts	1900	356
Lampe	Karl	Die Schlacht bei Maupertius (19. September 1356)	1908	441
Landé	Dora	Arbeits- und Lohnverhältnisse in der Berliner Maschinenindustrie zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts	1910	487
Landsberg	Hans	Georg Büchners Drama „Dantons Tod“.	1900	353
Lange	Georg	Der Dichter Arndt	1910	475
Lange	Edgar	Die Versorgung der grossstädtischen Bevölkerung mit frischen Nahrungsmitteln unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Marktwesens der Stadt Berlin	1911	504
Langer	Fritz	Zur Sprache des Abingdon Chartulars	1903	387
Lazar	Sima	Der Sozialismus und die Genossenschaftsbewegung	1911	502
Lederer	Franz	Die Ironie in den Tragödien Shakespeares	1907	431
Lederer	Paul	Die Entwicklung der südafrikanischen Union auf verkehrspolitischer Grundlage	1910	475
Leffson	August	Immermanns Alexis	1903	388
Lehr	Waldemar	Pilgrim, Bischof von Passau, und die Lorcher Fälschungen	1909	465
Leichtentritt	Hugo	Reinhard Kaiser in seinen Opern	1901	367
Leisering	Konrad	Die Übersetzungstechnik des Codex Teplensis	1908	441

Leisse	Wilhelm	Wandlungen in der Organisation der Eisenindustrie und des Eisenhandels seit dem Gründungsjahr des Stahlwerkverbandes	1911	502
Leitgeber	Zdzislaw	Über die poetischen Schriften von Vespasian Kochowski	1904	388
Lemcke	Georg	Beiträge zur Geschichte König Richards von Cornwall	1909	458
Lenz	Friedrich	Die romantische Nationalökonomie im Kampfe mit der rationellen Landwirtschaft	1912	513
Leppmann	Franz	Gottfried Kellers „Grüner Heinrich“ von 1854/55 und 1879/80	1902	373
Lerch	Rud	Der Besitzwechsel bei den grossen Gütern in Schleswig-Holstein	1907	432
Leubuscher	Charlotte	Der Arbeitskampf der englischen Eisenbahner im Jahre 1911	1913	537
Leutwein	Paul	Die Leistungen der Regierung in der Südwestafrikanischen Land- und Minenfrage	1911	498
Levy	Emil	Über die theophoren Personennamen der alten Ägypter zur Zeit des neuen Reiches (Dyn. XCIII – XX)	1905	398
Levy	Arthur	Die Philosophie Giovanni Picos della Mirandola. Ein Beitrag zur Philosophie der Frührenaissance	1908	442
Lewent	Kurz	Das altprovenzalische Kreuzlied	1905	401
Lewin	James	Die Lehre von den Ideen bei Malebranche	1912	513
Lewinsohn	Willi	Gegensatz und Verneinung. Studien zu Plato und Aristoteles	1910	476

Lewis	Elizabeth D. L.	Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Baumwollindustrie in den nordamerikanischen Südstaaten	1907	425
Liebknecht	Wilhelm	Zur Geschichte der Werttheorie in England	1902	371
Liedloff	August	Über die Vie Saint Franchois	1910	473
Lienemann	Kurt	Die Belesenheit von William Wordworth	1908	439
Lietz	Frantz	Die Organisation des ländlichen Immobiliarkredit in der Provinz Westpreussen	1910	487
Lionnet	Albert	Die Insurrektionspläne preussischer Patrioten Ende 1806 und Frühjar 1807	1913	541
Lochner	Johannes	Thomas Prischuchs Gedichte auf das Konzil von Konstanz	1905	406
Lohff	Alfred	George Chapmann	1903	382
Lohmann	Hanna	John Woodward. The Life and Tragedy of the Royal Lady Mary Late Queen of Scots	1912	512
Lohre	Heinrich	Zur Geschichte des Volksliedes im 18. Jahrhundert	1901	366
Lokys	Georg	Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Karolingern bis zum Tode Ludwigs II.	1906	409
Lommatzsch	Erhard	System der Gebärden. Dargestellt auf Grund der mittelalterlichen Literatur Frankreichs	1910	484
Löpelmann	Martin	Das Weihnachtlied der Franzosen und der übrigen romanischen Völker	1913	541
Lorenz	Borislav	Die Philosophie André-Marie Ampères	1908	439

Lucas	Fritz	Zwei kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Friedrichs I.	1904	391
Lucht	Paul	Leutlehre der älteren Lazamonhandschrift	1905	402
Lüderitz	Anna	Die Liebestheorie der Provençalen bei den Minnesingern der Stauferzeit	1902	377
Lüders	Marie Elisabeth	Die Fortbildung und Ausbildung der im Gewerbe tätigen weiblichen Personen	1912	517
Lüdtke	Franz	Die strategische Bedeutung der Schlacht bei Dresden	1904	389
Lütcke	Heinrich	Studien zur Philosophie der Meistersänger	1910	484
Luther	Gerhard	Die technische und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des deutschen Mühlengebewerbes im XIX. Jahrhundert	1909	458
Lüttich	Rudolf	Ungarnzüge in Europa im 10. Jahrhundert	1910	477
MacPherson	Charles	Über die Vergil-Übersetzung des John Dryden	1910	485
Mai	Erich	Das mittelhochdeutsche Gedicht von Mönch Felix	1903	382
Maier	Hans	Entstehungsgeschichte von Byrons „Childe Harold's Pilgrimage“. Gesang I und II	1911	500
Malten	Ludolfus	Cyrenarum Origenes	1904	390
Maltzeniau	Constantin	Die Neueren Agrarreformen und die Pachtgenossenschaften in Rumänien	1913	538
Mândrescu	Simion C.	Goethes Relativsatz	1903	387
Mann	Traugott/Trangott	Beiträge zur Kenntnis arabischer Eigennamen	1904	396
Mann	Fritz Karl	Die Volkswirtschafts- und Steuerpolitik des Marschalls Vauban	1913	536



Manthen	Willy	Syntaktische Beobachtungen an Notkers Übersetzung des Martianus Capella	1903	387
Marian	Joan	Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Grundrentennatur. Darstellung und Kritik der Rodbertusschen Theorie der Grundrente	1907	430
Martini	Richard	Die Trierer Bischofswahlen vom Beginn des 10. bis zum Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts	1909	467
Matthaei	Otto	Konrads von Megenberg Deutsch Spaera und die Übersetzungstechnik seiner beiden deutschen Prosawerke	1912	512
Matthesius	Oscar	Russische Eisenbahnpolitik im XIX. Jahrhundert, 1836 – 1881	1903	386
Mauermann	Siefried	Die Bühnenanweisungen im deutschen Drama bis 1700	1910	478
Mayer	Clemens	Studien zur Verwaltungsgeschichte der 1793 und 1795 von Preussen erworbenen polnischen Provinzen	1902	374
Mayer	August L.	Juseppe de Ribera	1907	428
McGlothlin	William J.	die Berner Täufer bis 1532	1902	375
McNeill	Walter Scott	Eine Studie über die Aufgaben der Stadtgeminen in der Wohnungsfrage	1902	376
Meckelein	Richard	Die finnisch-ugrischen, turko-tatarischen und mongolischen Elemente im Russischen	1913	541
Mehl	Richard	Die Braunschweiger Schicht von 1374 und ihre Nachwirkungen in anderen Städten	1909	460

Mehnert	Kurt	Über Lamartines politische Gedichte	1902	377
Meinecke	Ludwig	Michael Altenburg (1584 – 1640)	1903	385
Meinicke	Max	Das Präfix Re- im Französischen	1904	389
Meisl	Curt	Das deutsche Kabelwesen und die deutsche Kabelindustrie	1909	456
Meisner	Heinrich	Die Lehre vom monarchischen Prinzip in der französischen und deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte vornehmlich im Zeitalter der Restauration und des Deutschen Bundes	1913	529
Menadier	Karl	Die Münzen und das Münzwesen bei den Scriptoribus Historiae Augustae	1913	539
Menge	August	Die Schlacht von Aspen am 21. und 22. Mai 1809	1900	359
Mewaldt	Joannes	De Aristoxeni Pythagoricis Sententiis et Vita Pythagorica	1904	394
Meyer	Friedrich	Der Ursprung des jesuitischen Schulwesens, ein Beitrag zur Lebensgeschichte des heiligen Ignatius	1904	389
Meyer	Paul	Der Ausbruch des ersten punischen Krieges	1908	455
Meyer	Wilhelm	Geschichte der Grafen von Ratzeburg und Dannenberg	1910	489
Meyer	Helene	Die Predigen in den Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages	1911	507
Meyer geb. Pollack	Erna	Der Haushalt eines höheren Beamten in den Jahren 1880 – 1906 untersucht an Hand von Wirtschaftsrechnungen	1913	541
Michael	Otto	Der Stil in Thomas Kyds Originaldramen	1905	405

Michel	Hermann	Heinrich Knaust. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in Deutschland um die Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts	1903	379
Michniewicz	Bernhard	Stahl und Bismarck	1913	536
Mihaileanu	Petrus	De Comprehensionibus Relativis Apud Ciceronem	1907	435
Mihajlowitsch	Stanoje	Das Grundrentenproblem (Die Grundrente als Einkommen)	1908	440
Misch	Georg	Zur Entstehung des französischen Positivismus	1900	359
Mitscherlich	Waldemar	Eine soziologische Betrachtung über die Entstehung der deutschen Frauenbewegung	1904	392
Mittelhaus	Karolus	De Plutarchi Paeceptis Gerendae Reipublicae	1911	504
Mohr	Friedrich	Die Schlacht bei Rosebeke am 27. November 1382	1906	411
Möller	Georg	Über die in einem späthieratischen Papyrus des Berliner Museums erhaltenen Pyramidentexte	1900	355
Möller	Heinrich	Die Bauern in der deutschen Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts	1902	371
Montgomery	Mary Williams	Briefe aus der Zeit des babylonischen Königs Hammurabi (ca. 2250. v. Chr.)	1901	367
Mordhorst	Otto	Egen von Bamberg und „die geblümete Rede“	1909	469
Moser	Otto	Untersuchungen über die Sprache John Bale's	1902	372
Moteanu	Constantin	Die Ordnung des rumänischen Staatshaushalts	1911	492
Mueller	Max	Die Schlacht bei Benevent 26. Februar 1266	1907	432

Müller	Max	Über Adelungs Wörterbuch. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Sprache	1900	358
Müller	Ernst	Das Itinerar Kaiser Heinrichs III. 1039 – 1056	1901	364
Müller	Paul	Zur Schlacht bei Chotusitz	1905	398
Müller	Artur	Das niederrheinische Marienlob	1907	423
Müller	Paul	Zur Beurteilung der Persönlichkeiten im Feldzuge von 1815	1907	435
Müller	Paul	Die Sprache der Aberdeener Urkunden des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts	1908	451
Müller- Marquardt	Fritz	Die Sprache der alten Vita Wandregiseli	1912	515
Mummenhoff	Wilhelm	Der Nachrichtendienst zwischen Deutschland und Italien im 16. Jahrhundert	1911	497
Münnich	Richard	Johann Kuhnau. Sein Leben und seine Werke	1902	369
Musil	Robert	Beitrag zur Beurteilung der Lehren Machs	1908	440
Nagel	Gottfried	Die Briefe Hammurabis an Sin-Idinnam	1900	360
Neckel	Gustav	Die germanischen relativpartikeln.	1900	355
Nell	Martin	Der Ursprung der ersten deutschen Infanterie, der Landsknechte	1913	529
Nessler	Karl	Geschichte der Ballade Chave Chase	1911	496
Neuburger	Paul	Die Verseinlage in der Prosadichtung der Romantik	1911	502
Neuendorff	Bernhard	Entstehungsgeschichte von Goldsmiths Vicar of Wakefield	1903	388

Neufeld	Abraham	Die führenden Nationalexportländer	1903	386
Neuhaus	Erich	Die fridericianische Colonisation im Netze und Warthebruch	1905	407
Neumann	Fritz	Streikpolitik und Organisation der gemeinnützigen paritätischen Arbeitsnachweise in Deutschland	1906	412
Neurath	Otto	Zur Anschauung der Antike über Handel, Gewerbe und Landwirtschaft	1906	418
Neustadt	Ernestus	De Jove Cretico	1906	419
Nickel	Wilhelm	Sirventes und Spruchdichtung	1907	424
Nicolaus	Max	Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte König Philipps V. von Makedonien	1909	469
Niculescu-Telega	Constantin	Die Wirtschaftspolitik Rumäniens	1902	373
Niemeier	Alfred	Untersuchungen über die Beziehungen Albrechts I. zu Bonifaz VIII.	1900	357
Niethe	Friedrich	Die Schlacht bei Azincourt (25. Oktober 1415)	1906	420
Niewöhner	Heinrich	Der Sperber und verwandte mhd. Novellen	1912	510
Nikel	Emanuel	Die polnischen Mundart des Oberschlesischen Industriebezirks	1908	451
Nobel	Johannes	Beiträge zur älteren Geschichte des Alamkarasastra	1911	508
Noetzel	Guilelmus	De archaismis, quid apud veteres Romanorum poetas scaenics inveniuntur in finibus aut versuum aut colorum in iambum exeuntium	1908	449
Nohl	Herman	Sokrates und die Ethik	1904	395

Nonnenberg (geb. Chun)	Marie	Der französische Philhellenismus in den zwanziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts	1909	468
Obst	Ernst	Der Feldzug des Xerxes	1913	526
Oehlke	Waldemar	Bettina von Arnims Briefromane	1904	395
Oehme	Robert	Die Volksszenen bei Shakespeare und seinen Vorgängern	1908	452
Oehr	Gustav	Ländliche Verhältnisse im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel im 16. Jahrhundert	1903	380
Oesterreich	Traugott K.	Kant und die Metaphysik	1905	400
Oettinger	Bruno	Untersuchungen zur Schlacht von Kesselsdorff	1902	373
O'Hara	Frank	Die Übertragung der Grundrente an die Gesellschaft	1904	394
Oldenburg	Eugen	Die Kriegsverfassung der Westgoten	1909	465
Ortmann	Franz J.	Formen und Syntax des Verbes bei Wycliffe und Purvey	1902	377
Othmer	Wilhelm	Die Völkerstämme von Hispania Tarraconensis in der Römerzeit	1904	396
Otto	Ernst	Typische Schilderungen von Lebewesen, Gegenständlichem u. Vorgängen im weltlichen Epos der Angelsachsen	1901	364
Ottzen	Curt	Telemann als Opernkomponist. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hamburger Oper	1902	373
Paetzel	Walther	Die Variationen in der altgermanischen Alliterationspoesie	1905	405

Palme	Anton	J. G. Sulzers Psychologie und die Anfänge der Dreivermögenslehre	1905	401
Päpke	Max	Das Marienleben des Schweizers Wernher	1908	453
Pauli	Walther	Johann Friedrich Reichardt, sein Leben und seine Stellung in der Geschichte des deutschen Liedes	1902	375
Pauls	Theodor	Beiträge zur Geschichte der ostfriesischen Häuptlinge	1908	442
Pechel	Rudolf	Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Wernickeausgabe	1908	440
Pedott	Joseph	Die deutsche Arbeiterversicherungsgesetzgebung und ihre soziale Bedeutung	1910	473
Pelissier	Robertus	De Solonis Verborum Copia	1911	504
Perels	Ernst	Die kirchlichen Zehnten im karolingischen Reiche	1904	393
Pertsch	Ericus	De Valerio Martiale Graecorum Poetarum Imitatore. Addiecta Est Matissa Interpretationum	1911	502
Peschke	Rudolf	Moltkes Stellung zur Politik bis zum Jahre 1857	1912	510
Petermann	Bruno	Der Streit um Vers und Prosa in der französischen Literatur des XVIII. Jahrhunderts	1913	536
Petersen	Julius	Schiller und die Bühne	1903	383
Petersen	Carl	Ueber den Kurmärkischen Adel im 17. Jahrhundert (Lehnwesen, Geschlechterverfassung, Erziehung und Bildung)	1911	502

Petsch	Reinhold	Verfassung und Verwaltung Hinterpommerns im 17. Jahrhundert	1907	426
Pfannmüller	Ludwig	Die vier Redaktionen der Heidin	1910	487
Pfeiffer	Ernst	Die Revuereisen Friedrich des Grossen, besondern die Schlesischen nach 1763, und der Zustand Schlesiens von 1763 – 1786	1903	386
Pfitzner	Johannes	Die Entwicklung der kommunalen Schulden in Deutschland	1911	495
Pfuhl	Ernestus	De Atheniensium Pompis Scaris	1900	354
Philipp	Hans	Die historisch-geographischen Quellen in den etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla	1911	508
Pick	Hermann	Talmudische Glossen zu Delitzschs Assyrischem Handwörterbuch	1903	379
Pieper	Max	Die Könige Aegyptens zwischen dem Mittleren und neuen Reich	1904	396
Pilder	Hans	Die Russisch-Amerikanische Handelskompanie bis 1825	1909	462
Pinkow	Hans Wilhelm	Der literarische und parlamentarische Kampf gegen die Institution des stehenden Heeres in Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts (1815 – 1848)	1912	525
Plathner	Ludwig	Graf Johann von Nassau und die erste Kriegsschule	1913	533
Platow	Hans	Die Personen von Rostands „Cyrano der Bergerac“ in der Geschichte und in der Dichtung	1902	369
Plessow	Max	Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gray (1726)	1906	411



Pohl	Rudolfus	De Graecorum Medicis Publicis	1905	401
Polak	Léon	Untersuchungen über die Sigfridsagen	1910	473
Praetorius	Ernst	Die Mensuraltheorie des Franchinus Gafurius und der folgenden Zeit bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts	1905	398
Prenzel	Kurt	De Thucydidis libro octavo quaestiones	1903	382
Printz	Wilhelm	Bhasa-Wörter in Nikakantha's Bharatabhavadipa	1910	480
Pritze	Johannes	Beiträge zur Geschichte der preussischen Regierungsverwaltung 1766 – 1786	1912	510
Promnitz	Kurt	Bismarcks Eintritt in das Ministerium	1908	437
Przygodda	Paul	Heinrich Laubes literarische Frühzeit	1910	476
Püschel	Kurt	James Beattie's „Minstrel“	1904	396
Püschel	Alfred	Der Umfang Deutscher Städte im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert	1909	465
Quandt	Franz	Die Schlacht bei Lobositz (1. Oktober 1756)	1909	458
Raab	Friedrich	Die Philosophie von Richard Avenarius	1912	522
Raabe	Alexander	Die Abwanderungsbewegungen in den östlichen Provinzen Preussens	1910	479
Rabehl	Walther	De Sermone Defixionum Atticarum	1906	420
Rabenhorst	Max	Rabenhorst zur naturalis historia des Plinius	1905	399
Rachel	Hugo	Der grosse Kurfürst und die ostpreussischen Stände (1640 – 1688)	1904	396

Raducanu	Jon	Die rumänischen Staatsschulden	1905	403
Ranke	Friedrich	Sprache und Stil im Wälschen Gast des Thomasin von Circlaria	1907	433
Raske	Karl	Der Bettler in der Schottischen Dichtung	1908	453
Rassow	Peter	Die Kanzlei Bernhards von Clairvaux	1913	530
Rathke	Georgius	De Romanorum Bellis Servilibus	1904	390
Rathke	Arthurus	De Apulei Quem Scripsit De Deo Socratis Libello	1911	504
Rauh	Sigismund	Hebräisches Familienrecht in vorprophetischer Zeit	1907	425
Rausch	Ernst	Französische Handelspolitik unter Thiers	1900	357
Rauschnig	Hermann	Musikgeschichte Danzigs	1911	494
Rawitscher	Georg	Die Landarbeiterfrage in Deutsch-Schlesien	1911	497
Recke	Walther	Die Verfassungspläne der russischen Oligarchen im Jahre 1730 und die Thronbesteigung der Kaiserin Anna Ivanova	1911	505
Regen	Erich	Die Dramen Karolinens von Günderode	1910	476
Regensburger	Carl August	Ueber den „Trovador“ des García Gutiérrez, die Quelle von Verdis Oper „Il Trovatore“	1911	503
Reich	Emmy	Der Wohnungsmarkt in Berlin von 1840 – 1910	1912	513
Reiche	Paul	Beiträge zu Artur Langfors Ausgabe des Regret Nostre Dame	1909	468

Reichelt	Heinrich	Die Arbeitsverhältnisse in einem Berliner Grossbetrieb der Maschinenindustrie	1906	416
Reichert	Reinhold	Die Organisation der deutschen Fleischversorgung. Eine kritische Darlegung ihrer Mängel und Fortbildungsmöglichkeiten	1911	490
Reimann	Arnold	Prickheimer-Studien Buch I und II	1900	357
Reimann	Erich Paul	Das Tabaksmonopol Friedrichs des Grossen	1912	521
Reimer	Wilhelm	Der Intensitätsbegriff in der Psychologie. Historisches und Kritisches.	1911	496
Reimers/Engel-Reimers(?)	Charlotte Engel	Die Berliner Filzschuhmacherei	1907	432
Reinhardt	Carolus	De Graecirum Theologia	1910	488
Reiske	Johannes	Franz Freiherr von Gaudy als Dichter	1906	415
Reissmann	Gerhard	Tilos von Culm. Gedicht von sieben Ingesigeln	1910	478
Rescher	Oscar	Studien über Ibn Ginni und sein Verhältnis zu den Theorien der Basri und Bagdadi	1909	463
Reuter	Hans	S. Kierkegaards religionsphilosophische Gedanken im Verhältnis zu Hegels religionsphilosophischem System	1913	540
Richert	Ernst	Die Schlacht bei Guinegate 7. August 1479	1907	425
Richert	Johannes	Geschichte der Lyrik Justinus Kerners	1909	463

Richter	Werner	Liebeskampf und Schaubühne 1670	1910	478
Richter	Gustav Theodor	Spinozas philosophische Terminologie	1912	515
Richter	Gretrud	Die Anfänge der romanischen Philologie und die deutsche Romantik	1913	540
Ritter	Arthur	Über die Zuverlässigkeit der Ort-, Zahl- und Zeitangaben in den kriegsgeschichtlichen Werken Friedrichs des Grossen	1911	503
Ritter Borosini von Hohenstern	Victor	Wirtschaftliche Zustände im Mesabi-Gebiet in Minnesota unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Stadt Eveleth und der Bergarbeiter	1905	404
Roeder	Günther	Die Präposition r in der Entwicklung der aegyptischen Sprache	1904	390
Roediger	Max	Die Bedeutung des Suffixes ment	1904	392
Röhmer	Richard	Priestergestalten im englischen Drama bis zu Shakespeare	1909	471
Rohrbeck	Walter	Die Organisation der Hageversicherung vornehmlich in Deutschland	1909	460
Roloff	August	Abt Jerusalem und die Gründung des Collegium Carolinum zu Braunschweig	1911	490
Roman	Frederick W.	Die deutschen gewerblichen und kaufmännischen Fortbildungs- und Fachschulen und die industriellen und kommerziellen Schulen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika	1910	483
Roosval	Johnny	Schnitzaltäre in schwedischen Kirchen und Museen aus der Werkstatt des Brüsseler Bildschnitzers Jan Borman	1903	379

Roscher	Max	Die Kabel des Weltverkehrt hauptsächlich in volkswirtschaftlicher Hinsicht	1911	491
Rosenberg	Arthur	Untersuchungen zur römischen Zenturienverfassung	1911	500
Rothschild	Ernst	Kartelle, Gewerkschaften und Genossenschaften nach ihrem inneren Zusammenhang im Wirtschaftsleben	1912	517
Rotter	Curt	Der Schnaderhüpfel-Rhythmus. Vers- und Periodenbau des ostälpeischen Tanzliedes	1909	469
Rühl	Ernst	Grobianus in England	1904	390
Runge	Emil	Die Landpolitik der ehemaligen südafrikanischen Burenrepubliken	1906	419
Runge	Otto	Die Metamorphosen-Verdeutschung Albrechts von Halberstadt	1908	441
Runkel	Fredinand	Die Schlacht bei Adrianopel	1903	380
Ruperti	Fritz	Bischof Stephan von Metz (1120 – 1162)	1911	496
Rupf	Paul	Die Zauberkomödie vor Shakespeare	1908	451
Rusch	Adolfus	De Serapide et Iside in Graecia cultis	1906	420
Rygiel	Stefan	Puteanus und die Polen	1913	541
Sachs	Curt	Das Tabernakel mit Andrea's del Verrocchio Thomasgruppen an or san Michele zu Florenz	1904	389
Sachs	Albertus	De Tragicorum Graecorum Carminibus Astrophis et Nuntiorum Orationibus	1909	463
Sakaroff	Nikola	Die industrielle Entwicklung Bulgariens	1904	395

Salomon	Alice	Die Ursachen der ungleichen Entlohnung von Männer- und Frauenarbeit	1906	389/415
Salomon	Richard	Studien zur Normannisch-Italienischen Diplomatie	1907	433
Sander	Gustav H.	Das Moment der letzten Spannung in der englischen Tragödie bis zu Shakespeare	1902	377
Sander	Arnold Hans	Die Reimsprache in William Stewarts Chronicle of Scotland in der mittelschottische Dialekt	1906	416
Sannemann	Friedrich (Pastor)	Die Musik als Unterrichtsgegenstand in den evangelischen Lateinschulen des 16. Jahrhunderts	1903	385
Sass	Ernst	L'Estoire Joseph	1906	412
Sasse	Max	Die Handelspolitik der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika nach ihrer Unabhängigkeitserklärung gegenüber England und Frankreich (1776 – 1830)	1908	454
Satz	Siegmund	Die Politik der deutschen Staaten vom Herbst 1805 bis zum Herbst 1806 im Lichte der gleichzeitigen deutschen Publizistik	1908	454
Saudé	Emil	Die Grundlagen der literarischen Kritik bei Joseph Addison	1906	410
Sauerlandt	Max	Über die Bildwerke des Giovanni Pisano	1903	387
Schacht	Heinrich	Der gute Pfarrer in der englischen Literatur bis zu Goldsmiths Vicar of Wakefield	1904	389
Schalles	Ernst August	Heines Verhältnis zu Shakespeare	1904	390

Schapper	Gerhard	Die Hofordnung von 1470 und die Hof- und Zentralverwaltung der Mark Brandenburg zur Zeit Kurfürst Albrechts	1911	490
Scherk	Otto	Über den französischen Akzent	1912	518
Schewe	Karl	Schopenhauers Stellung zur Naturwissenschaft	1905	407
Schill	Adolf	Die Einführung des Landratsamtes in Cleve-Mark	1909	466
Schlegel	Otto	Beiträge zur Untersuchung über die Quellen und die Glaubwürdigkeit der Beispielsammlung in den Pseudo-Aristotelischen Ökonomika	1909	461
Schleising	Kurt	Die neueren Veränderungen in der Grundbesitzverteilung in der Niederlausitz	1911	492
Schlieper	Hans	Emanuel Swedenborgs System der Naturphilosophie besonders in seiner Beziehung zu Goethe-Herderschen Anschauungen	1901	362
Schlössinger	Max	Ibn Kaisân's Kommentar zur Mo'allaqa des 'Amr ibn Kultûm	1902	369
Schmeidler	Bernhard	Der dux und das comune Venetiarum	1902	373
Schmidt	Robert	Architektur und Raumbehandlung Venezianischer Gnadenbilder	1903	384
Schmidt	Erich	Deutsche Volkskunde im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation	1904	394
Schmidt	Guilelmus	De Anonymi Laurembergiani Introductione Anatomica	1905	403
Schmidt	Karl	Margareta von Anjou vor und bei Shakespeare	1905	407
Schmidt	Kurt	Die Tätigkeit der preussischen Freibattaillone in den ersten beiden Feldzügen des siebenjährigen Krieges (1757 – 58)	1911	498

Schmidt	Wilhelm	Der Begriff der Persönlichkeit bei Kant	1911	
Schmidt	Hermann	Das Eisenbahnwesen in der asiatischen Türkei	1913	541
Schmitz	Paul	Die Entstehung der Preussischen Kreisordnung vom 13. Dezember 1872	1910	487
Schmoller	George	Der Feldzug von 1706 in Italien	1909	465
Schneider	Fedor	Studien zu Johannes von Victring	1902	377
Schneider	Herrmann	Friedrich Halm und das spanische Drama	1909	457
Schneider	Oswald	Bismarck und die preussisch-deutsche Freihandelspolitik	1910	479
Scholz	Erhard	Der absolute Infinitiv Shakespeare	1908	442
Schönebeck	Erich	Tieck und Solger	1910	478
Schott	Paulus	Posidippi epigrammata collecta et illustrata	1905	407
Schotte	Walther	Das rechtliche-politische Verhältnis von Fürstentum und Ständen in der Mark Brandenburg unter der Regierung Joachims I.	1910	478
Schrader	Gerhardus	De Ciceronis Nominum Propiorum Usu Quaestiones Selectae	1902	377
Schreiber	Georg	Kurie und Kloster im zwölften Jahrhundert	1909	463
Schröder	Kurt Rudolf	Textverhältnisse und Entstehungsgeschichte von Marlowes Faust	1909	462
Schroeder	Kurt	Platonismus in der englischen Renaissance vor und bei Lyly	1907	436
Schroeder	Carl	Der deutsche Facetus	1909	461



Schubert	Paul	Die Reichshofämter und ihre Inhaber bis um die Wende des 12. Jahrhunderts	1913	534
Schuchardt	Richard	Die Negation im Beowulf	1910	475
Schuette	Marie	Der schwäbische Schnitzalter	1903	384
Schuler	Matthias	Die Besetzung der Deutschen Bistümer in den drei rheinischen Kirchenprovinzen in den ersten Jahren Papst Bonifaz VIII (1295 – 1298)	1909	469
Schultz	Franz	Joseph Görres als Herausgeber, Litterarhistoriker, Kritiker im Zusammenhange mit der jüngeren Romantrik	1900	356
Schultze	Johannes	Die Urkunde Lothers III.	1905	400
Schulz	Friedrich	Die Hanse und England von Eduards III. bis auf Heinrichs VIII. Zeit	1911	497
Schulz	Ernst	Die Englischen Schwankbücher bis herab zu „Dobson's Drie Bobos“ (1607)	1912	514
Schulz	Walther	Das Germanische Haus in der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit	1912	523
Schulze	Konrad	Die Satiren Halls, ihre Abhängigkeit von den altrömischen Satiriken und ihre Realbeziehungen auf die Shakespeare-Zeit	1910	483
Schulze	Hans	Zur Geschichte des Grundbesitzes des Bistums Brandenburg	1912	512
Schulze	Bruno	Exmoor Scholding und Exmoor Courtship	1912	522
Schumacher	Joseph	Studien zur Farce Pathelin	1911	506
Schünemann	Max	Die Hilfszeitwörter in den englischen Bibelübersetzungen der Hexapla	1902	370

Schünemann	Georg	Zur Geschichte des Dirigierens	1908	448
Schütz	Roland	Die Prinzipien der Philosophie Schleiermachers	1908	446
Schwarz	Max	Johann Christian Bach (1735 – 82). Seine Leben und seine Werke, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Symphonien und Kammermusik, nebst eine Kataloge seiner sämtlichen Kompositionen und zwei noch nicht veröffentlichten Briefen	1901	364
Schwarz	Richard	Grossbritanniens Handelspolitik in Ost-Indien	1910	477
Schwarzschild	Otto	Die Grossstadt als Standort der Gewerbe mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Berlin	1907	428
Schwatzkopff	Werner	Rede und Redeszene in der deutschen Erzählung bis Wolfram von Eschenbach	1908	454
Schwebs	Paul	Die brandenburgische Marine im Seekriege 1676	1907	436
Schwenke	Elsbeth	Friedrich der Grosse und der Adel	1911	496
Schwerdtfeger	Walter	Die Schlacht bei Malplaquet	1912	514
Senftner	Georg	Sachsen und Preussen im Jahre 1741	1904	397
Seyffert	Wolfgang	Schillers Muselalmanach	1912	525

Sherzer	Jane B.	The Jle of Ladies, herausgegeben nach einer HS des Marquis von Bath Longleat, dem MS audit. 10303 des Britischen Museums und Speghts Druck von 1598	1902	376
Sicker	Eugenius	Quaestiones Plautinae Praecipue Ad Originem Duarum Recensionum Pertinentes	1906	418
Sieburg	Erich	Die Vorgeschichte der Erbförster-Tragödie von Otto Ludwig	1903	381
Siedersleben	Erich	Die Schlacht bei Ravenna (11. April 1512)	1907	432
Siegling	Wilhelm	Die Rezensionen des Caranavyhuha	1906	413
Sievers	Richard	Thomas Deloney. Eine Studie über Balladenliteratur der Shakspere-Zeit. Nebs Neudruck von Deloney's Roman „Jack of Newbury“	1903	385
Sievers	Paul	Die Accente in althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Handschriften	1906	414
Silbermann	Adalbert	Ernst Schulzes Bezauberte Rose	1902	372
Sixtus	Johannes	Der Sprachgebrauch des Dialektschriftstellers Frank Robinson zu Bowness in Westmorland	1911	507
Skalweit	August	Die ostpreussische Domänenverwaltung unter Friedrich Wilhelm I. Und das Retablissement Litauens	1906	410
Skribanowitz	Hermann	Pseudo-Demetrius I.	1913	542
Smidt	Wilhelm	Das Chronicon Beneventani monastrerii S. Sophiae	1910	477

Smith	Francis	Römische Heeresverfassung und Timokratie	1906	414
Söhring	Otto	Werke bildender Kunst in altfranzösischen Epen	1900	353
Sommeregger	Franz	Agrarverfassung der Landgemeinde und Landeskulturpolitik seit der Grundentlastung	1912	525
Sommermeyer	Julius	Preussen und die Campagne von 1794 gegen Frankreich	1905	401
Sonnenberg	Georg	Sozialpolitische Ausgaben im Budget des Reiches dreier Einzelstaaten (Preussen, Bayern, Baden) und dreier grosser Städte (Berlin, Breslau, Köln)	1912	517
Speter	Max	Lavoisier und seine Vorläufer	1910	477
Spiefhoff	Arthur	Beiträge zur Analyse und Theorie der allgemeinen Wirtschaftskrise	1905	398
Spiero	Ella	Florians Fabeln in ihrem Verhältnisse zu den Fabeln La Fontaines	1912	519
Spranger	Eduard	Die erkenntnistheoretischen und psychologischen Grundlagen der Geschichtswissenschaft	1905	400
Sprockhoff	Paul	Althochdeutsche Katechetik	1912	522
Sprotte	Otto	Zum Sprachgebrauch bei John Knox	1906	415
Stabenow	Hans	Die Schlacht bei Soor.	1901	366
Stäbler	Hanns	Geschichte Esslingens bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts	1913	528
Stachel	Paul	Seneca und das deutsche Renaissancedrama	1905	403

Stade	Paul	Das Deutschtum gegenüber den Polen in Ost- und Westpreussen. Nach den Sprachzählungen von 1861, 1890 und 1900	1908	446
Staiger	Robert	Benedict von Watt. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des bürgerlichen Meistergesangs um die Wende des XVI. Jahrhunderts	1908	449
Stallwitz	Karl	Die Schlacht bei Ceresole	1911	494
Starick	Paul	Die Belesenheit von John Keats und die Grundzüge seiner literarischen Kritik	1910	480
Stark	Adolf	Syntaktische Untersuchungen im Anschluss an die Predigten und Gedichte Olivier Maillards (1430 – 1502) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des ersten Auftretens des neufranzösischen Sprachgebrauchs	1903	388
Starzenski	Graf Alexander	Die kommunalen Anleihen in England und Wales	1913	536
Stech	Bruno	Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum	1912	514
Stecher	Gotthelf	Jung Stilling als Schriftsteller	1912	525
Stehmann	Wilhelm	Die mittelhochdeutsche Novelle vom Studentenabenteuer	1907	432
Stein	Otto	Die strategische Bedeutung der Schlacht bei Dresden	1911	492
Steinacker	Joseph	Die Verschuldung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes im rechtsrheinischen Bayern	1903	388
Steinberg	Moses Wulf	Das obligatorische Schiedsgerichtswesen in Neuseeland	1912	515
Steindamm	Johannes	Die Besteuerung der Warenhäuser	1903	385

Steinhausen	August	Die Güterparzellierung und das Vordringen des Kleinbauerntums im Kreise Langensalza	1908	451
Steinmetzer	Franz	Die Schenkungsurkunde des Königs Melisihu an einen Sohn Marduk-Aplam-Iddina	1909	462
Steinthal	Fritz Leopold	Geschichte der Augsburger Juden im Mittelalter	1911	495
Stengel	Edmund	Die Immunitäts-Urkunden der Deutschen Könige vom 10. und 12. Jahrhundert	1902	377
Stengel	Walter	Kunsthistorische Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie der Taube und des Hl. Geistes	1903	387
Stephan	Fridericus	Quomodo poetae Graecorum Romanorumque carmina dedicaverint	1910	475
Sternberg	Kurt	Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte des kantischen Denkens bis zur Grundlegung des Kriticismus	1909	459
Steuer	Friedrich	Zur Kritik der Flugschriften über Wallensteins Tod	1904	391
Stewart	Caroline T.	Grammatische Darstellung der Sprache des St. Pauler Glossars zu Lukas	1901	362
Stoelzel	Ernst	Die Behandlung des Erkenntnisproblems im Platonischen Theätet	1908	447
Stoessel	Erich	Die Schlacht bei Sempach	1905	405
Stolze	Wilhelm	Zur Vorgeschichte des Bauernkrieges	1900	359
Stolze	Max	Zur Lautlehre der altenglischen Ortsnamen im Domesday Book	1902	374

Strache	Hans	De Arii Didymi In Morali Philosophia Auctoribus	1909	467
Stracke	Albert	Die Bevölkerungsverhältnisse des Fürstentums Waldeck auf Agrargeschichtlicher Grundlage	1907	436
Stratilesco	Eleonora	Die physiologische Grundlage des Seelenlebens bei Fechner und Lotze	1903	382
Strauss (mit deutschem Doppel-S)	Bruno	Der Übersetzer Nicolaus von Wyle	1911	507
Stubbe	Adolf	Organisation und Arbeitsteilung des amerikanischen Bankwesens	1906	415
Stursberg	Otto	Das Caitanyacaritamrta des Krsnadasa Kaviraja. Eine altbengalische Lebensgeschichte Caitanyas	1907	432
Süssbier	Karl	Sprache der Cely-Papers einer Sammlung von englischen Kaufmannsbriefen aus den Jahren 1475 – 1488	1905	398
Süssheim	Karl	Preussische Annexionsbestrebungen in Franken 1791 – 1797, ein Beitrag zur Biographie Hardenbergs	1902	370
Svan	Thekla	Zur schwedischen Handelspolitik	1908	451/452
Swart	Friedrich	Agrarverfassung und Erbrecht in Ostfriesland	1904	395
Swearingen	Grace Fleming	Die englische Schriftsprache bei Coverdale	1904	392
Sydow	Max	Burkhart von Hohenfels und seine Lieder	1901	365

Sydow	Georg	Theorie und Praxis in der Entwicklung der französischen Staatsschuld seit dem Jahre 1870	1902	376
Tacke	Alfredus	Phaedriana	1911	503
Taube	Friedrich Wilhelm	Ludwig der Aeltere als Markgraff von Brandenburg (1323 – 1351)	1900	353
Täubler	Eugen	Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus	1904	395
Taxweiler	Richard	Angelsächsische Urkundenbücher von kentischem Lokalcharakter	1906	419
Teuchert	Hermann	Laut- und Flexionslehre der Neumärkischen Mundart	1907	425
Thamm	Walter	Das Relativpronomen in der Bibelübersetzung Wyclifs und Purveys	1908	439
Theis	Johannes	Altbabylonische Briefe	1913	542
Theissen	Guilelmus	De Sallustii, Livii, Taciti Digressionibus	1912	514
Thiele	Waltharius	De Severo Alexandro Imperatore	1908	437
Thom	Reinhard	Die Schlacht bei Pavia (24. Februar 1525)	1907	425
Thürnau	Carl	Geister in der englischen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts	1906	409
Tiedemann	Ernst	Passional und Legenda aurea	1909	460
Tiedemann	Hans	Tacitus und das Nationalbewusstsein der deutschen Humanisten Ende des 15. und Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts	1913	527
Tils	Wilhelm	Das Konsumvereinswesen in Deutschland	1913	538
Timmermann	Walter	Entlöhnungsmethoden in der Hannoverschen Eisenindustrie	1906	411



Tischer	Gerhard	Die aristotelischen Musikprobleme	1902	376
Tomfohrde	Theodor	Die Heringsfischerei an der Bohus-Län-Küste von 1556 – 1589	1909	468
Topp	Erich	Die Schlacht an der Elster. 15. Oktober 1080	1904	397
Tumparoff	Nicola	Goethe und die Legende	1910	473
Tzenoff	Gantscho	Wer hat Moskau im Jahre 1812 in Brand gesteckt?	1900	354
Ungeheuer	Michael	Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der luxemburgischen Eisenindustrie von 1879 bis zur Gegenwart	1910	483
Ungnad	Arthur	Über Analogiebildungen im Hebräischen Verbum, Beiträge zur vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen	1903	383
Ursu	Ion	Die auswärtige Politik des Woywoden der Moldau Peter Rares. (Erste Regierung 1527 – 1538)	1907	423
Valaori	Julius	De vocabulis αα, αε, αν, αο, αω apud Homerum non contractis	1902	372
Van der Kop	Anna Catharina Croiset	Altrussische Übersetzungen aus dem Polnischen	1907	430
Vietzke	Alexander	Die transzendente Deduktion der Kategorien in der ersten und in der zweiten Auflage der Kritik der reinen Vernunft	1911	496
Villaret	Oskar	Hippocratis De Natura Hominis Liber ad Codicum Fidem Recensitus	1911	507

Vogel	Walther	Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (799 – 911)	1906	409
Vogelsang	Friedrich	Die Klagen des Bauers (aus Papyrus 3023 und 3025 der königlichen Museen zu Berlin)	1904	394
Vogt	Richard	Das Adjektiv bei Christopher Marlowe	1908	452
Volkmann	Johannes	Die Bildarchitekturen vornehmlich in der italiänischen Kunst	1900	354
Vollert	Konrad	Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Facetiensammlungen des XV. Und XVI. Jahrhunderts	1911	505
Vollgraff	Guilelmus	De Ovidi Mythopoeia	1901	361
Vollmer	Johannes	Schwäbische Monumentalbrunnen	1906	416
von Allesch	Gustav	Über das Verhältnis der Ästhetik zur Psychologie	1909	470
von Beckerath	Erwin	Die preussische Klassensteuer und die Geschichte ihrer Reform bis 1851	1912	514
von Bloedau	Carl August	Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus und seine Vorgänger	1906	409
von Caemmerer	Hermann	Das Regensburger Religionsgespräch im Jahre 1546	1901	367
von der Osten-Sacken	Paul	Livländisch-Russische Beziehungen während der Regierungszeit des Grossfürsten Witowt von Litauen (1392 – 1430)	1908	451
von Heckel	Rudolf	Das päpstliche und sicilische Registerwesen in vergleichender Darstellung	1906	417

von Hofmann	Walther	Zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Kanzlei	1904	393
von Jaworski	Thaddaeus	Jan Smolik. Seine Schriften und Übersetzungen.	1903	386
von Lettow Vorbeck	Max	Zur Geschichte des Preussischen Correspondenten von 1813 – 14	1911	496
von Löwis (of Menar)	August	Der Held im Deutschen und Russischen Märchen	1912	512
von Ungern- Sternberg	Roderich	Über die wirtschaftliche und rechtliche Lage der St. Petersburger Arbeiterschaft	1909	464
von Villkoff	Alexander	Die Lage der russischen Bauernwirtschaft	1905	408
von Wiese und Kaiserswaldau	Leopold	Beiträge zur Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der Rohzinkfabriation	1902	375
Wackernagel	Martin	Darstellung und Idealisierung höfischen Lebens in den Holzschnittwerken Kaiser Maximilians I.	1905	402
Wackwitz	Friedrich	Entstehungsgeschichte von D. Defoes „Robinson Crusoe“	1909	463
Waetzeldt	Wilhelm	Hebbel und die Philosophie seiner Zeit	1903	388
Wagner	Moritz	Zur Vorgeschichte der gesetzlichen Arbeiterversicherung Deutschland	1903	379

Wagner	Reinhard	Die Syntax des Superlativs im Gotischen, Altniederdeutschen, Althochdeutschen, Frühmittelhochdeutschen, im Beowulf und in der älteren Edda	1909	469
Wagner	Kurt	Das brandenburgische Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen zur Zeit des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles (1470 – 86)	1911	497
Waldschmidt	Wolfram	Andrea del Castagno	1900	358
Walek	Tadeusz Bronislaw	Die delphische Amphiktyonie in der Zeit der aitolischen Herrschaft	1911	509
Walter	Erwin	Entstehungsgeschichte von W. M. Thackerays „Vanity Fair“	1908	447
Walter	Hans	Die innere Politik des Ministers von Manteuffel und der Ursprung der Reaktion in Preussen	1910	479
Wapler	Paul	Die Geschichtlichen Grundlagen der Weltanschauung Schopenhauers	1905	400
Warnack	Max	Die Entwicklung des Deutschen Banknotenwesens	1905	398
Weber	Hans	Der Kampf zwischen Innocenz IV. und Kaiser Friedrich II. bis zur Flucht des Papstes nach Lyon	1900	359
Wegeleben	Theodor	Die Rangordnung der römischen Centurionen	1913	530
Wegner	Paul	Die Mittelalterliche Flussschiffahrt im Wesergebiet	1913	530
Weigert	Louis	Grammatische Bemerkungen zur Sprache Cervantes	1906	417

Weigert	Martin	Die Socialpolitischen Einrichtungen im Berliner Braugewerbe. Ihre Entwicklungsgeschichte und Wirksamkeit	1907	436
Weiglin	Paul	Gutzkows und Laubes Literaturdramen	1910	479
Weil	Gotthold	Die Behandlung des Hamaz-Alif im arabischen besonders nach der Lehre von Az-Zamahsari und Ibn Al-Anbari	1905	401
Weller	Alfred	Die frühmittelhochdeutsche Wiener Genesis nach Quellen, Übersetzungsart, Stil und Syntax	1912	517
Wellmann	Erich	Abstammung, Beruf und Heeresatz in ihren gesetzlichen Zusammenhängen	1907	428
Wendland	Hans	Martin Schongauer als Kupferstecher	1906	416
Wendorff	Franziscus	Ex usu convivali Theognideam syllogem fluxisse demonstratur	1902	376
Wenkebach	Ernestus	Quaestiones Dioneae	1903	382
Wenz	Paul	Die Kuppel des Domes Santa Maria del Fiore zu Florenz	1901	364
Wernicke	Siegfried	Die Prosadialoge des Hans Sachs	1913	538
Westermann	Guilelmus	De Hippocratis in Galeno Memoria Quaestiones	1902	375
Westphal	Max	Die deutsch-spanischen Handelsbeziehungen	1903	380
Wiedenfeld	Kurt	Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Sibirischen Bahn	1900	358
Wiener	Fritz	Naogeorgus im England der Reformzeit	1907	423
Wilkens	Thies	Friedrich Wilhelm III. und die Konvention von Tauroggen	1909	459

Wille	Erich	Die Schlacht im Othée. 23. September 1408	1908	452
William	Iohannes	Diogenis Oenoandensis Fragmenta	1907	427
Willkomm	Hans Werner	Über Richard Johnsons Seven Champions of Christendom (1596)	1911	500
Willwersch	Matthias	Die Grundherrschaft des Klosters Prüm	1912	517
Wilms	Wilhelm	Grossbauern und Kleingrundbesitz in Minden-Ravensberg	1913	537
Wilson	Albert Edgar	Gemeinwirtschaft und Unternehmensformen im Mormonenstaat	1907	425
Winter	Ludwig	Die Schlacht von Platää	1909	459
Wischnitzer	Marcus	Die Universität Göttingen und die Entwicklung der liberalen Ideen in Russland im ersten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts	1906	411
Wiske	Friedrich	Über Georges Gourdots Gedichtsammlung „Chansons de Geste“ und ihre Quellen	1905	405
Witte	Guilelmus	De Nicolai Damasceni Fragmentorum Romanorum Fontibus	1900	353
Wodsak	Felix	Die Schlacht bei Kortryk	1905	408
Wolbe	Eugen	Quellenstudien zu John Home's „Douglas“	1901	368
Wolff	Hans	Die Holländische Landschaftsradiierung des XVII. Jahrhunderts	1909	460
Wolff	Karl	Schillers Theodizee bis zum Beginn der Kantischen Studien	1909	467
Wolff	Viktor Ernst	Lieder Robert Schumanns in ersten und späteren Fassungen	1913	540

Wolters	Fritz	Studien über Agrarzustände und Agrarprobleme in Frankreich von 1700 – 1799	1903	386
Woltmann	Arnold	Der Hochmeister Winrich von Kniprode und seine nordische Politik	1901	368
Wreszenski	Walter	Der Hohepriester des Amon	1904	389
Wroblewski	Leonhard	Über die altenglischen Gesetze des Königs Knut	1901	365
Wulf	Erich	August Wilhelm Schlegel als Lyriker	1913	538
Zechlin	Erich	Lüneburgs Hospitäler im Mittelalter	1907	433
Zeck	Ernst	Der Publizist Pierre Dubois, seine Bedeutung im Rahmen der Politik Philipps IV. des Schönen und seine literarische Denk- und Arbeitsweise im Traktat „De recuperatione Terre Sancte“	1911	493
Zickel	Martin	Die scenarischen Bemerkungen im Zeitalter Gottscheds und Lessings	1900	354
Ziesemer	Walther	Nicolaus von Jeroschin und seine Quellen	1906	419
Zimmermann	Waldemar	Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Angestellten im preussischen Staatsbetrieb	1902	375
Zimmermann	Robert	Die Quellen der Mahanarayana-Upanisad und das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Rezensionen zueinander	1913	540
Zingler	Johannes	De Cicerone Historico Quaestiones	1900	353
Zippel	Otto	Entstehungs- und Entwicklungsgeschichte von Thomsons „Winter“	1907	426

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Zipse	Wilhelm	Die Anleihen der deutschen Reichspost und der preussischen Eisenbahnen als Beispiele privatwirtschaftlicher Staatsanleihen	1911	492
Zopf	Walter	Zum Sprachgebrauch in den Kirchen-Urkunden von St.-Mary und Hill-London	1910	485
Zweig	Emil	Die russische Handelspolitik seit 1877	1906	416

## Columbia University

### 1871-1899

Last Name	First Name	Title	Year	Call Number
Arnold	William	Ancient-Babylonian temple records in the Columbia university library	1896	CXO Ar6
Baldwin	Charles	The inflections and syntax of the Morte d'Arthur of Sir Thomas Malory; a study in fifteenth-century English	1894	CXO B19
Bancroft	Frederic	A sketch of the negro in politics, especially in South Carolina and Mississippi.	1885	CWO B22
Bates	Frank	Rhode Island and the formation of the Union	1899	CWO B31
Bayles	George	The Officer of Mayer in the United States	1895	CWO B34
Beatty	Arthur	Browning's verse-form	1897	CXO B38
Berg	Joseph	The influence of the Septuagint upon the Pe Sitta Psalter.	1896	n/a
Bernheim	Abraham	History of the Law of Aliens	1885	CWO B45



Bernstein	Ludwig	The order of words in Old Norse prose, with occasional references to the other Germanic dialects	1897	CXO B452
Bijur	Nathan	History of Charter of NYC 1692-1857	1883	CWO B48
Bishop	Cortland	Elections in American Colonies	1893	CWO B54
Black	George	History of municipal ownership of land on Manhattan Island, to the beginning of sales by the commissioners of the sinking fund in 1844C	1889	CWO B56
Bondy	William	Separation of Governemental Powers	1893	CWO B64
Bowen	John	The conflict of the East and West in Egypt	1886	CWO B67
Brandt	Francis	Friedrich Edward Beneke	1895	CXO B73
Breckenridge	Roeliff	The Canadian banking system 1817-1890	1894	CWO B74
Breese	Burtis	On inhibition	1899	CXO B74
Bullowa	Ferdinand	History of the Theory of Sovereignty	1895	CWO B87
Burke	William	History and functions of central labor unions	1899	CWO B91
Butler	Nicholas	A study in the history of logical doctrine	1884	n/a
Chadsey	Charles	The struggle between President Johnson and Congress over reconstruction	1896	CWO C34
Chandler	Frank	Romances of roguery; by Frank Wadleigh Chandler ... Part I: The picaresque novel in Spain	1899	CXO C36
Clarke	Charles	A chapter of the Eastern question	1889	n/a

Cole	Laurence	The basis of early Christian theism	1898	CXO C67
Cooper	Frederic	Word formation in the Roman sermo plebeivs	1895	CXO C78
Crook	James	German wage theories	1898	CWO C882
Crowell	John	The logical process of social development	1897	CWO C886
Cushing	Harry	History of the transition from provincial to commonwealth government in Massachusetts	1896	CWO C95
Dexter	Edwin	Conduct on the Weather	1899	150 D5244
Dodge	Daniel	The syntax of the subjuncture in the Egils saga	1886	n/a
Douglas	Charles	Financial history of Massachusetts from the organization of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the American Revolution	1892	CWO D74
Drake	Allison	The authorship of the West Saxon gospels	1894	CXO D78
Dunning	William	The Constitution of the United States in civil war and reconstruction, 1860-1867	1885	CWO D92
Dunscomb	Samuel	Bankrupcy	1894	CWO D922
Earle	Mortimer	Original manuscript in Latin. Reprinted in part in English under the title "A Sikyonian Statue," in American Journal of Archaeology vol. s, p. 292-303	1889	MS#0376 <sup>892</sup>
Eckoff	Wm	Kant's Inaugural Dissertation of 1770	1894	CXO Ec5
Egbert	James	Pindar	1885	n/a

<sup>892</sup> This thesis is available within the regular library of Columbia University.

Emerick	Charles	An analysis of agricultural discontent in the United States	1897	CWO Em2
Emery	Henry	Speculation on the stock and produce exchange of the United States	1896	CWO Em3
Fairlie	John	The centralization of administration in New York state	1898	CWO F16
Fenton	John	Theory of the social compact and its influence upon the American Revolution	1891	CWO F36
Germann	George	National legislation concerning education	1899	CXO G31
Goss	John	History of the tariff administration in the United States from colonial times to the McKinley administrative bill upon the American Revolution	1891	CWO G69
Grieve	Lucia	Death and burial in Attic tragedy	1898	CXO G87
Griffing	Harold	On Sensations	1894	CXO G872
Hall	Frederick	Sympathetic strikes and sympathetic lockouts	1898	CWO H14
Hammond	Matthew	The cotton industry	1897	CWO H18
Hertz	Joseph	The ethical system of James Martineau	1894	CXO H44
Herzog	Felix	The railroad transportation question, and the objections to specific legislation as a cure for railroad abuses (unfinished)	1883	CWO H44
Hourwich	Isaac	Economics of the Russian Village	1883	CWO H81
Humphreys	Willard	Government and education in the United States	1890	CWO H88
Johnson	Allen	The intendant as a political agent under Louis XIV	1899	CWO J62
Jones	Adam	Early American philosophers	1898	CXO J713

Joy	Edmund	Right of the territories to become states of the union	1892	CWO J84
Keasbey	Lindley	Diplomatic History of Nicaragua Canal	1890	CWO K21
Knapp	Charles	De usu atque elocutione Auli Gellii	1890	CXO K72
Leipzigiger	Harry	The Philosophy of the New Education	1888	n/a
Linehan	Daniel	A Criticism of Kant's Synthetic A Priori Judgments	1888	n/a
Littlejohn	John	The political theory of the schoolmen and Grotius	1896	CWO L73
Lorenz	Daniel	The Theology of Kant	1891	n/a
Luqueer	Frederic	Hegel as educator	1896	CXO L97
MacVannel	John	Hegel's doctrine of the will	1898	CXO M25
Maltbie	Milo	English local government of to-day	1897	CWO M29
Margolis	Max	Commentarius Isaacids-quateuus ad textum Talumdis investigandum adhiberi possit, tractatu erublim ostenditur	1891	CXO M33
McCrea	Nelson	The state, as conceived by Plato and Aristotles	1888	n/a
McLean	James	Essays in the financial history of Canada	1894	CWO M22
Menken	Percival	Regulation of the Liquor Traffic	1891	CWO M52
Moldenke	Alfred	Babylonian contract tablets in the Metropolitan museum of art	1893	CZO M733
Molenaer	Samuel	Li livres du gouvernement des rois: Together with introduction and notes and full-page facsimile	1899	CXO M734

Mott	Lewis	The system of courtly love studied as an introduction to the Vita nuova of Dante	1896	CXO M85
Neal	John	Disunion and restoration in Tennessee	1899	CWO N25
Noble	Frank	Taxation in Iowa	1897	CWO N66
Odell	George	Simile and metaphor in the English and Scottish ballads	1893	CXO Od2
Olcott	George	Studies in the word formation of the Latin inscriptions, substantives and adjectives	1899	CXO OL1
Osgood	Herbert	Socialism and Anarchism	1889	CWO OS3
Parsons	Elsie	Educational legislation and administration of the colonial governments	1899	CXO P25
Peters	Thomas	A picture of town government in Massachusetts Bay Colony at the middle of the seventeenth century as illustrated by the town of Boston	1890	CWO P44
Popper	William	The censorship of Hebrew books	1899	CXO P81
Pott	William	Modern Ethics	1886	n/a
Radau	Hugo	Early Babylonian history down to the end of the fourth dynasty of Ur	1898	CXO R12
Rambaut	Thomas	A sketch of the constitutional history of Canada	1884	CWO R14
Ripley	William	The financial history of Virginia, 1609-1776	1893	CWO R48
Rogers	James	The language of Aeschylus compared with the language of the Attic inscriptions prior to 456 B. C	1894	CXO R63
Rosewater	Victor	Special Assessments A Study in Municipal Finance	1893	CWO R72
Satterlee	Herbert	Political History of Province of New York	1885	CWO Sa8

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Seligman	Edwin	Medieval Guilds in England	1885	n/a
Shepherd	William	History of proprietary government in Pennsylvania	1896	CWO Sh4
Sites	Clement	Centralized administration of liquor laws in the American commonwealth	1899	CWO Si8
Spahr	Charles	The taxation of labor	1886	CWO Sp1
Spinqarn	Joel	A history of literary criticism in the renaissance	1899	CXO Sp4
Stanton	Stephen	Behring Sea Dispute	1890	CWO St24
Stark	Francis	The abolition of privateering and the Declaration of Paris	1897	CWO St22
Tamblyn	William	The establishment of Roman power in Britain	1898	CXO T15
Uffowrd	Walter	Fresh air charity in the United States	1897	CWO Uf3
Walker	Francis	Double Taxation in the United States	1895	CWO W15
Walther	Hugo L.	Syntax of cases in Walther von der Vogelweide	1886	n/a
Washington	William	The formal and material elements of Kant's Ethics	1898	CXO W27
Wasson	Edmund	The case uses in Anglo-Saxon	1888	n/a
Weber	Adna	The growth of cities in the nineteenth century	1899	CWO W38
Webster	William	Recent centralizing tendencies in state educational administration	1897	CWO W39
Weil	Robert	The Legal Status of the Indian	1888	CWO W42
West	Gerald	Status of the negro in Virginia during the colonial period	1890	CWO W52
West	Max	The Inheritance Tax	1893	CWO W522

Whiton	Helen	The coordinate and subordinate conjunctions in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde	1898	CXO W61
Whitten	Robert	Public administration in Massachusetts	1898	CWO W61
Wilcox	Delos	Municipal government in Michigan and Ohio	1896	CWO W64
Wilde	Norman	Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi	1894	CXO W64
Williams	Stephen	Relation between the federal and cantonal governments in Switzerland	1883	CWO W67
Wood	Frederick	History of Taxation in Vermont	1894	CWO W85
Woodward	Benjamin	Palatal consonants in English by Benjamin Duryea Woodward	1891	CXO W87
Young	Clarence	Erchia, a deme of Attica	1891	CXO Y8

### 1900-1913

Last Name	First Name	Title	Year	Call Number
Abelson	Paul	The seven liberal arts, a study in mediaeval culture	1906	CWO Ab3
Ackerman	William	The administration of public school textbooks in the United States.	1902	n/a
Agger	Eugene	The Budget in the American Commonwealths	1907	CWO Ag3
Albright	Victor	The Shaksperian stage	1909	CXO AI1
Alexander	Carter	Some present aspects of the work of teachers' voluntary associations in the United States	1911	CXO AI25
Alexander	Hartley	The problem of metaphysics and the meaning of metaphysical explanation: an essay in definitions	1913	CXO AI2

Alexander	Luther	Participal substantives of the -ata type in the Romance languages, with special references to French	1911	CXO AI27
Anderson	Benjamin	Social Value, A Study in Economic Theory Critical and Constructive	1912	CWO An26
Anspacher	Abraham	Tiglath Pileser III	1912	CXO An8
Appleton	Floyd	Church philanthropy in New York; a study of the philanthropic institutions of the Protestant Episcopal church in the city of New York	1906	CWO Ap5
Arai	Tsuru	Mental fatigue	1912	QP42h1 .Ar1 <sup>893</sup>
Arner	George	Consanguineous marriages in the American population	1908	CWO Ar6
Arnold	Morris	The soliloquies of Shakespeare; a study in technic	1911	CXO Ar632
Arnold	Felix	The psychology of association	1905	CXO Ar63
Bachman	Frank	n/a	1902	n/a
Bagnell	Robert	Economic and moral aspects of the liquor business and the rights and responsibilities of the state in the control thereof	1911	CXO B145
Bair	Joseph	The practice curve. A study in the formation of habits.	1903	CXO B16
Baldwin	Florence	The Bellum civile of Petronius	1910	CXO B192

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Ball	Margaret	Sir Walter Scott as a critic of literature	1908	MICROFLM F b8867
Ball	Allan	The satire of Seneca on the apotheosis of Claudius, commonly called the Apokolokyntōsis	1903	CXO B21
Banks	Enoch	The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia	1905	CWO B223
Bard	Harry	The city school district statutory provisions for organization and fiscal affairs	1910	CXO B23
Bates	Ernest	A study of Shelly's drama The Cenci	1908	CXO B31
Bean	Charles	n/a	1912	n/a
Beckwith	Homes	German Industrial Education and Its Lesson for the United States	1913	CWO B384
Bellinger	Franz	Jesus Hominum Salvator: a cantata for soli (tenor or soprano, alto, baritone), mixed chorus and orchestra	1910	n/a
Bennett	Charles	Formal discipline	1905	CXO B43
Berglund	Abraham	The U.S. Steel Corporation	1907	CWO B452
Betts	George	The distribution and functions of mental imagery	1909	CXO B462
Bewer	Julius	The history of the New Testament canon in the Syrian church	1900	CXO B46
Binder	Rudolph	Feeling as the principle of individuation and socialization	1903	CXO B51
Blakey	Leonard	The sale of liquor in the South; the history of the development of a normal social restraint in southern commonwealths	1912	CWO B58

Blan	Louis	A special study of the incidence of retardation	1911	CXO B59
Bonham	Milledge	British consuls in the Confederacy	1912	CWO B643
Bonser	Frederick	The reasoning ability of children of the fourth, fifth and sixth school grades	1911	CXO B643
Boyd	William	The ecclesiastical edicts of the Theodosian code	1906	CWO B69
Bradsher	Earl	Mathew Carey, editor, author and publisher; a study in American literary development	1911	CXO B72
Braun	Wilhelm	Types of weltenschmerz in German poetry	1903	CXO B732
Breitwieser	Joseph	Attention and movement in reaction time	1911	CXO B746
Brewster	Alice	n/a	1913	n/a
Brisco	Norris	The Economic Policy of Robert Walpole	1907	CWO B77
Broome	Edwin	A historical and critical discussion of college admission requirements	1902	CXO B79
Brown	Marianna	Sunday-school movements in America	1902	CXO B81
Brown	Samuel	The secularization of American education as shown by state legislation, state constitutional provisions and state Supreme court decisions	1912	CXO B815
Brown	Warner	Time in English verse rhythm; an empirical study of typical verses by the graphic method	1908	CXO B812
Brummer	Sidney	Political history of New York state during the period of the civil war	1911	CWO B835
Bruner	Frank	The hearing of primitive peoples; an experimental study of the auditory acuity and the upper limit of hearing of whites, Indians, Filipinos, Ainu and African pigmies	1908	CXO B83

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Buckingham	Burdette	Spelling ability, its measurement and distribution	1913	CXO B85
Burke	William	History and Functions of Central Labour Unions	1900	CWO B91
Burks	Jesse	Exact methods in city school administration.	1905	n/a
Burnham	Ernest	Two types of rural schools, with some facts showing economic and social conditions	1912	CXO B935
Bush	Wendell	Avenarius and the standpoint of pure experience	1905	CXO B96
Canfield	Leon	The early persecutions of the Christians	1913	CWO C16
Canfield	Dorothea	Corneille and Racine in England; a study of the English translations of the two Corneilles and Racine, with especial reference to their presentation on their presentation on the English stage	1904	CXO C16
Capen	Edward	The historical development of the poor law in Connecticut	1904	CWO C17
Castle	Cora	A statistical study of eminent women	1913	CXO C272
Chaddock	Robert	Ohio before 1850; a study of the early influence of Pennsylvania and southern populations in Ohio	1908	CWO C342
Chamberlain	Will	Education in India	1900	CXO C35
Chapin	Robert	Report on the Standard of Living of Workingmen's Families in New York City	1909	CWO C36
Chapin	Francis	Education and the mores; a sociological essay	1911	CWO C366
Chase	Lewis	The English Heroic Play	1903	CXO C38

Chen	Huanchang	The System of Taxation in China in the Tsing Dynasty, 1644-1911	1911	CWO C42
Chickering	Edward	An introduction to Octavia praetexta	1911	CXO C434
Clark	Walter	A Study on the History of Economics	1904	CWO C54
Clark	John	n/a	1911	n/a
Clark	Victor	Studies in the Latin of the middle ages and the renaissance; submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the Faculty of philosophy, Columbia university	1900	CXO C54
Clark	Olynthus	The politics of Iowa during the civil war and reconstruction	1911	CWO C5455
Cobb	Palmer	The influence of E.T.A. Hoffman on the tales of Edgar Allan Poe	1908	CXO C63
Coffman	Lotus	The social composition of the teaching population	1911	CXO C653
Coker	Francis	Organismic theories of the State	1910	320.1 C667 <sup>894</sup>
Cole	Percival	Herbart and Froebel: an attempt at synthesis	1907	CXO C672
Coleman	Herbert	Public education in upper Canada	1908	CXO C674
Conant	Martha	The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century	1908	CXO C74

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Conaway	Horace	The first French republic; a study of the origin and the contents of the declaration of the rights of man, of the constitution, and of the adoption of the republican form of government in 1792	1903	CWO C74
Cook	Elizabeth	Literary influences in colonial newspapers, 1704-1750	1912	CXO C775
Cooley	William	The individual; a metaphysical inquiry	1909	CXO C77
Corwin	Edward	Workmen's Insurance in Belgium	1911	CWO L589
Cosenza	Mario	Official positions after the time of Constantine	1906	CXO C82
Courbsault	Jesse	The learning process; or, Educational theory implied in theory of knowledge	1907	CXO C83
Cru	Robert	Diderot as a disciple of English thought	1913	CXO C88
Cubberley	Ellwood	School funds and their apportionment; a consideration of the subject with reference to a more general equalization of both the burdens and the advantages of education	1905	CXO C89
Culler	Arthur	Interference and adaptability; an experimental study of their relation with special reference to individual differences	1912	CXO C895
Cushing	Mary	Pierre Le Tourneur	1909	CXO C958
Danton	George	The nature sense in the writings of Ludwig Tieck	1907	CXO D23
Dashiell	John	The philosophical status of value	1913	CXO D26
Davenport	Frederick	Primitive traits in religious revivals: a study in mental and social evolution	1905	CWO D27
Davidson	Israel	Parody in Jewish literature	1902	CXO D28

Davis	Michael	Gabriel Tarde, an essay in sociological theory	1906	CWO D29
Davis	William	The civil war and reconstruction in Florida	1913	CWO D298
Davison	Ellen	Some forerunners of St. Francis of Assisi	1907	CWO D293
Deahl	Jasper	Imitation in education, its nature, scope and significance	1906	CXO D343
Dearborn	Walter	The psychology of reading: an experimental study of the reading pauses and movements of the eye	1905	Z250.A4 D34 1906 <sup>895</sup>
Dennis	Alfred	Eastern problems at the close of the eighteenth century	1901	CWO D42
Deroulhac	Joseph	n/a	1906	n/a
Dewalsh	Faust	Grillparzer as a poet of nature	1910	CXO D512
Dhalla	Maneckji	The Nyaishes; or Zoroastrian litanies, Avestan text with the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Persian and Gujarati versions, edited together and translated with notes by Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla. Khordah Avesta, part 1.	1908	CXO D53
Dilla	Harriette	The politics of Michigan, 1865-1878	1912	CWO D5815
Downer	Charles	Frédéric Mistral, poet and leader in Provence	1901	CXO D75
Drake	Durant	The problem of things in themselves	1911	CXO D787
Dubois	Elizabeth	The influence of a stress accent in Latin poetry	1906	CXO D85
Earhart	Lida	Systematic study in elementary schools	1908	CXO Ea7

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Eaves	Lucile	A history of California labor legislation, with an introductory sketch of the San Francisco labor movement	1910	CWO Ea78
Eiselen	Frederick	Sidon; a study in Oriental history	1907	CXO Ei8
Elkus	Savilla	The concept of control	1908	CXO EL54
Elliott	Edward	Some fiscal aspects of public education in American cities	1905	CXO EI5
Elson	Charles	Wieland and Shaftesbury	1913	CXO E17
Erskine	John	The Elizabethan lyric	1903	CXO Er8
Fansler	Dean	Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose	1913	CXO F21
Farnsworth	William	Uncle and nephew in the Old French chansons de geste; a study in the survival of matriarchy	1903	CXO F237
Farrington	Frederice	The public primary school system of France, with special reference to the training of teachers	1904	CXO F24
Fisher	Edgar	New Jersey as a royal province, 1738 to 1776	1911	CWO F535
Fitz-Gerald	John	Versification of the cuaderna vía as found in Berceo's Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos	1906	CXO F57
Fitzpatrick	Edward	The educational views and influence of De Witt Clinton	1911	CXO F583
Fleming	Walter	Civil war and reconstruction in Alabama	1904	CWO F62
Flick	Alexander	Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution	1901	CWO F64

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Flom	George	Scandinavian influence on Southern Lowland Scotch. A contribution to the study of the linguistic relations of English and Scandinavian	1900	CXO F65
Ford	Guy	Hanover and Prussia, 1795-1803	1904	CWO F75
Foster	William	Administration of the college curriculum	1911	CXO F813
Foster	Walter	Studies in archaism in Aulus Gellius	1912	CXO F81
Frachtenberg	Leo	no CV in master thesis	1910	COA F06 v.4
Franzen-Swedelius	Bernard	De usu accusativi cum infinitivo coniuncti apud Livium	1908	CXO F852
Friedman	Harry	The Taxation of Corporations in Massachusetts	1908	CWO F91
Froeberg	Sven	The relation between the magnitude of stimulus and the time of reaction	1908	CXO F92
Fry	William	New Hampshire as a royal province	1908	CWO F94
Gephart	William	Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West	1909	CWO G29
Gilbert	James	Trade and Currency in Early Oregon. A Study in the Commercial and Monetary History of the Pacific Northwest	1907	CWO G37
Gildersleeve	Virginia	Government regulation of the Elizabethan drama	1908	CXO G38
Gillian	John	The Dunkers; a sociological interpretation	1906	CWO G41
Glass	Meta	The fusion of stylistic elements in Vergil's Georgics	1913	CXO G46
Glasson	William	History of military pension legislation in the United States	1900	CWO G46



Goodsell	Willystine	The conflict of naturalism and humanism	1910	CXO G627
Gorfinkle	Joseph	The eight chapters of Maimonides on ethics (Shemonah peraḳim), a psychological and ethical treatise	1909	CXO G67
Graves	Frank	Peter Ramus and the educational reformation of the sixteenth century	1912	CXO G78
Gray	Louis	Indo-Iranian phonology, with special reference to the middle and new Indo-Iranian languages	1900	CXO G79
Gray	Henry	Emerson; a statement of New England transcendentalism as expressed in the philosophy of its chief exponent	1905	CXO G792
Greenslet	Ferris	Joseph Glanvill; a study in English thought and letters of the seventeenth century	1900	CXO G85
Grendon	Felix	The Anglo-Saxon charms	1909	CXO G865
Groat	Georges	Trade Unions and the Law in New York, A Study of some Legal Phases of Labor Organizations	1905	CWO G89
Guthrie	William	Socialism Before The French Revolution, A History	1907	CWO G98
Haas	George	The Daśarūpa; a treatise on Hindu dramaturgy, by Dhanamjaya, now first translated from the Sanskrit with the text and an introduction and notes	1909	CXO H11
Hall	Henry	Idylls of Fishermen, A History of the Literary Species	1912	CXO H14
Hall	Walter	British radicalism, 1791-1797	1913	CWO H149
Hall	Arthur	Crime in its relations to social progress	1901	CWO H142

Hamilton	Francis	The perceptual factors in reading; a quantitative study of the psychological processes involved in word perception	1908	CXO H182
Hamilton	George	The indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia trojana	1903	CXO H18
Haney	John	Registration of city school children; a consideration of the subject of the city school census	1910	CXO H193
Harvitt	Helen	Eustorg de Beaulieu, a disciple of Marot, 1495(?)-1552	1913	CXO H26
Harrison	John	Platonism in English poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries	1903	CXO H24
Hartmann	Jacob	The Gøngu-Hrólfssaga, a study in Old Norse philology	1912	CXO H25
Hartmann	Henry	n/a	1912	n/a
Hartshorne	Hugh	Worship in the Sunday school; a study in the theory and practice of worship	1913	CXO H252
Haskell	Juliana	Bayard Taylor's translation of Goethe's Faust	1908	CXO H27
Hatch	Leonard	Government Industrial Arbitration	1906	CWO H28
Hauhart	William	The reception of Goethe's Faust in England in the first half of the nineteenth century	1909	CXO H29
Hawort	Paul	The Hayes-Tilden disputed presidential election of 1876	1907	CWO H31
Hayes	Carlton	An introduction to the sources relating to the Germanic invasions	1909	CWO H32
Haynes	George	The Negro at Work in New York City, A Study in Economics Progress	1912	CWO H333
Helmrich	Elsie	The history of the chorus in the German drama	1912	CXO H365

Henderson	Ernest	A study of memory for connected trains of thought	1903	CXO H38
Henderson	Joseph	Admission to college by certificate	1912	CXO H383
Henmon	Vivian	The time of perception as a measure of differences in sensations	1905	CXO H392
Hennett	Florence	n/a	1912	n/a
Higginson	James	Spenser's Shepherd's calender in relation to contemporary affairs	1912	823Sp3 W6 <sup>896</sup>
Hill	Robert	The public domain and democracy; a study of social, economic and political problems in the United States in relation to Western development	1910	CWO H554
Hillegas	Milo	A scale for the measurement of quality in English composition by young people	1912	CXO H556
Hirst	Gertrude	The cults of Olbia	1902	CXO H61
Hoadley	Harwood	The authenticity and date of the Sophoclean Ajax, verses 1040-1420	1909	CXO H65
Holbrook	Richard	Dante and the animal kingdom	1902	CXO H69
Holland	Ernest	The Pennsylvania state normal schools and public school system	1912	CXO H71
Hollingworth	Harry	The inaccuracy of movement with special reference to constant errors	1909	CXO H72
Horwitz	Solomon	n/a	1913	n/a
Hubbell	George	Horace Mann in Ohio; a study of the application of his public school ideals to college administration	1902	CXO H86

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Hughan	Jessie	The Present Status of Socialism in America	1911	CWO H873
Hughes	Percy	The concept action in history and in the natural sciences	1904	CXO H87
Humphrey	Edward	Politics and religion in the days of Augustine	1912	CWO H882
Hunt	May	n/a	1912	n/a
Hutchinson	James	n/a	1913	n/a
Inglis	Alexander	The rise of the high school in Massachusetts	1911	CXO In43
Jackson	Lambert	The educational significance of sixteenth century arithmetic from the point of view of the present time	1906	CXO J132
Jackson	George	The development of school support in colonial Massachusetts	1909	CXO J12
Jackson	Katherine	Outlines of the literary history of Colonial Pennsylvania	1906	CXO J13
Jacobs	Philip	German sociology	1910	CWO J16
Jacobstein	Meyer	The Tobacco Industry in the United States	1907	CWO J15
Jenkins	Hester	Ibrahim Pasha, grandvizir of Suleiman the Magnificent	1912	CWO J416
Jessup	Walter	The social factors affecting special supervision in the public schools of the United States	1911	CXO J498
Johnson	Alvin	Rent in Modern Economic Theory	1903	CWO J63
Johnson	William	Russia's educational heritage; teacher education in the Russian Empire, 1600-1917	1902	CXO J639
Johnson	Margaret	The argument of Aristotle's Metaphysics	1907	CXO J62

Jones	Arthur	The continuation schools in the United States	1907	CXO J714
Jones	Elmer	The influence of bodily posture on mental activities	1908	CXO J715
Jones	Thomas	The sociology of a New York city block	1904	CWO J71
Kandel	Isaac	The training of elementary school teachers in Germany	1910	CXO K134
Keep	Austin	The library in colonial New York	1911	CWO K25
Kells	Lucas	Typical methods of thinking in science and philosophy	1910	CXO K295
Kemp	William	The support of schools in colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts	1913	CXO K32
Kent	Ernest	The constructive interests of children	1903	CXO K41
Keyes	Charles	Progress through the grades of city schos; a study of acceleration and arrest	1911	CXO K523
Keys	Alice	Cadwallader Colden; a representative eighteenth century official	1906	CWO K52
Kilpatrick	William	The Dutch schools of New Netherland and colonial New York	1912	CXO K55
Kind	John	Edward Young in Germany; historical surveys, influence upon German literature, bibliography	1906	CXO K27
Kingsbury	Susan	An introduction to the records of the Virginia company of London, with a bibliographical list of the extant documents	1905	CWO K61
Kinosita	Yetaro	The Past and Present of Japanese Commerce	1902	CWO K62
Kirby	Thomas	Practice in the case of school children	1913	CXO K632

Knickerbocker	William	Creative Oxford, its influence in Victorian literature	1911	CXO K742
Knight	Edgard	The influence of reconstruction on education in the South	1913	CXO K744
Koenig	Nicholas	The history of the governors of Egypt	1908	CXO K81
Kohn	Lucile	De vestigiis Aeschyli apud Sophoclem Euripidem Aristophanem	1909	CXO K82
Kramer	Stella	The English craft guilds and the government; an examination of the accepted theory regarding the decay of the English craft guilds	1905	CWO K86
Krans	Horatio	Irish Life in Irish Fiction	1903	CXO K86
Laigle	Mathilde	Le livre des trois vertus de Christine de Pisan et son milieu historique et littéraire	1912	CXO L14
Lamb	Edwin	The social work of the Salvation army	1910	CWO L165
Langdon	Stephen	Building inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian empire, part 1, Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar	1904	CXO L25
Lau	Robert	Old Babylonian temple records	1905	CXO L36
Lauber	Almon	Indian slavery in colonial times within the present limits of the United States	1913	CWO L36
Lavell	Cecil	The evolution of Greek moral education	1911	CXO L38
Leiserson	William	Unemployment in the State of New York	1912	CWO L534
Leland	Abby	The educational theory and practice of T.H. Green	1911	CXO L537
Leonard	William	Byron and Byronism in America	1904	CXO L55

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Levine	Louis	The labor movement in France; a study in revolutionary syndicalism	1912	CWO L575
Lichtenberger	James	Divorce; a study in social causation	1910	CWO L61
Lindsay	Frederic	Kerubim in Semitic religion and art	1912	CXO L645
Lingley	Charles	The transition in Virginia from colony to commonwealth	1910	CWO L645
Lipsky	Abram	Rhythm as a distinguishing characteristic of prose style	1907	CXO L66
Livingston	Albert	I sonetti morali ed amorosi / di Gian Francesco Busenello (1598-1659)	1911	CXO L76
Lomer	Gerhard	The concept of method	1910	CXO L838
Loomis	Lodise	Medieval Hellenism by Louise Ropes Loomis	1907	CXO L87
Loshe	Lillie	The early American novel	1908	CXO L89
Lowenthal	Esther	The Ricardian Socialists	1912	CWO L953
Luckey	George	Professional training of secondary	1901	CXO L96
Macurdy	Grace	The chronology of the extant plays of Euripides	1903	CXO M13
Marsh	Howard	The diurnal course of efficiency	1905	CXO M35
McClure	Matthew	A study of the realistic movement in contemporary philosophy	1912	CXO M132
McConaughy	James	Teachers in the United States	1913	CXO M133
McMahon	Robert	The Technical History of White Lecythi	1907	CXO M22
Meeker	Royal	History of Shipping Subsidies	1906	CXO M47

Merchant	Ely	A Comparison of American and European Waterways with Special Reference to the Factors Influencing the Development of Water Transportation	1912	CWO M535
Mereness	Newton	Maryland as a proprietary province	1902	CWO M54
Meriam	Junius	Normal school education and efficiency in teaching	1905	CXO M54
Merriam	Charles	History of the theory of sovereignty since Rousseau	1900	CWO M55
Messenger	James	The Perception of number	1903	CXO M56
Meyer	Martin	History of the city of Gaza from the earliest times to the present day	1907	CXO M57
Miles	Dudley	The Influence of Molière on Restoration Comedy	1910	CXO M593
Miller	James	Rural schools in Canada; their organization, administration and supervision	1913	CXO M61
Miller	Barnette	Leigh Hunt's relations with Byron, Shelley and Keats	1909	CXO M616
Moffett	Samuel	The Americanization of Canada	1907	CWO M72
Moore	Henrietta	Early literary activity in New York	1905	n/a
Moore	Justin	Sayings of Buddha, the Iti-Vuttaka; a Pali work of the Buddhist canon for the first time translated	1908	CXO M78
Morgan	Charlotte	The rise of the novel of manners; a study of English prose fiction between 1600 and 1740	1910	CXO M822
Mosher	Joseph	The exemplum in the early religious and didactic literature of England	1911	CXO M854



Muller	Henri	Origine et histoire de la préposition "à" dans les locutions du type de "faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un,"	1912	CXO M91
Murray	William	The making of the Balkan state	1910	CWO M962
Muzzey	David	The spiritual Franciscans	1907	CWO M98
Myers	Alexander	The Old Testament in the Sunday-school	1912	CXO M99
Myers	Garry	A study in incidental memory	1913	CXO M992
Nesbit	William	Sumerian records from Drehem	1913	CXO N367
Nicholson	Anne	The concept standard; a historical survey of what men have conceived as constituting or determining life values	1910	CXO N518
Norsworthy	Naomi	The psychology of mentally deficient children	1904	CXO N81
Odum	Howard	Social and mental traits of the Negro: research into the conditions of the Negro race in southern towns: a study in race traits, tendencies, and prospects	1910	CWO Od84
Ogburn	William	Progress and uniformity in child-labor legislation	1912	CWO Og1
Ogden	Charles	De infinitivi finalis vel consecutivi constructione apud priscos poetas Graecos	1909	CXO Og2
Oliver	Edmund	Roman economic conditions to the close of the republic	1905	CWO OI4 Q
Ornstein	Martha	The rôle of the scientific societies in the seventeenth century	1913	CWO Or6
Page	Ralph	The letters of Alcuin	1909	CWO P14
Parmelee	Maurice	Inebriety in Boston	1909	CWO P24

Patterson	Frank	The middle English penitential lyric; a study and collection of early religious verse	1911	CXO P278
Paul	Harry	John Dennis, his life and criticism	1911	CXO P283
Payne	Bruce	Public elementary school curricula; a comparative study of representative cities of the United States, England, Germany and France	1905	CZO P29
Periam	Annina	Hebbel's Nibelungen, its sources, method and styl	1906	CXO P41
Phillips	Ulrich	Georgia and state rights; a study of the political history of Georgia from the Revolution to the Civil War, with particular regard to federal relations	1902	CWO P54
Pickhardt	Ernest	De Aeschyli Imaginibus.	1904	n/a
Pletcher	Nuba	Some chapters from the history of the Rhine country	1907	CWO P71
Plum	Harry	The Teutonic order and its secularization; a study in the Protestant revolt	1906	CWO P73
Podard	Harold	n/a	1908	n/a
Poffenhergen	Albert	Reaction time to retinal stimulation, with special reference to the time lost in conduction through nerve centers	1912	CXO P75
Pope	Jesse	The clothing industry in New York	1913	CWO P81
Porter	George	Ohio politics during the civil war period	1911	CWO P833
Porterfield	Allen	Karl Lebrecht Immermann; a study in German romanticism	1911	CXO P833
Poteat	Hubert	Repetition in Latin poetry, with special reference to the metrical treatment of repeated words	1912	CXO P84

Price	William	The symbolism of Voltaire's novels, with special reference to Zadig	1911	CXO P932
Putnam	Bertha	Catastrophe and social change, based upon a sociological study of the Halifax disaster	1909	CWO P98
Rabenort	William	Spinoza as educator	1911	CXO R112
Radin	Max	The legislation of the Greeks and Romans on corporations	1910	CXO R11
Ramsdell	Charles	Reconstruction in Texas	1910	CWO R147
Rapeer	Louis	School health administration	1913	CXO R18
Raper	Charles	North Carolina, a royal province 1729-1775; the executive and legislature	1902	CWO R18
Redmond	Daniel	The leather glove industry in the United States	1913	CWO R24
Reeder	Rudolph	The historical development of school readers and method in teaching reading	1900	CXO R25
Reiley	Katharine	Studies in the philosophical terminology of Lucretius and Cicero	1909	CXO R27
Remy	Arthur	The influence of India and Persia on the poetry of Germany	1901	830.9 R28 <sup>897</sup>
Rins	Frank	n/a	1902	n/a
Ristine	Frank	English tragicomedy, its origin and history	1910	CXO R496
Robbins	Charles	Teachers in Germany in the sixteenth century; conditions in Protestant elementary and secondary schools	1912	CXO R53

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Robinson	Benjamin	The largeness of the imagery in the Deutero-Isaiah	1906	CXO R564
Robison	Clarence	Agricultural instruction in the public high schools of the United States	1911	CXO R565
Roe	Frederick	Thomas Carlyle as a critic of literature	1909	CXO R62
Roe	David	n/a	1912	n/a
Ruediger	William	The field of distinct vision, with special reference to individual differences and their correlations	1907	CXO R83
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Ruutz-Rees	Caroline	Charles de Sainte-Marthe (1512-1555)	1910	CXO R946
Sandiford	Peter	The training of teachers in England and Wales	1910	CXO Sa53
Sapir	Edward	The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon	1909	CXO Sa6
Saunders	Catharine	Costume in Roman comedy	1909	CXO Sa8
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Scisco	Louis	Political nativism in New York state	1901	CWO Sci75
Scott	Izora	Controversies over the imitation of Cicero as a model for style, and some phases of their influence on the schools of the renaissance	1910	CXO Sco85

Scott	George	A physiological study of the changes in <i>Mustelus canis</i> produced by modifications in the molecular concentration of the external medium	1913	CZO Sco8
Segall	Jacob	Corneille and the Spanish drama	1903	CXO Se3
Shepherd	Robert	Turgot and the Six Edicts	1903	CWO Sh42
Shotwell	James	A study in the history of the eucharist	1903	CWO Sh8
Sies	Raymond	Teachers' pension systems in Great Britain	1913	CXO Si1
Simpson	Benjamin	Correlations of mental abilities	1912	CXO Si58
Sims	Newell	A Hoosier village; a sociological study with special reference to social causation	1913	CWO Si586
Smith	Winifried	The Commedia Dell 'Arte, A study in Italian Popular Comedy	1912	CXO Sm68
Smith	William	South Carolina as a royal province 1719-1776	1903	CWO Sm5
Smith	Preserved	Luther's table talk; a critical study	1907	CWO Sm52
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Snider	Guy	The taxation of the gross receipts of railways in Wisconsin	1907	CWO Sn3
Snow	Louis	The college curriculum in the United States	1903	CXO Sn6
Snowden	Albert	The industrial improvement of schools of Wuerttemberg	1908	CXO Sn64

Soule	Frederick	An American village community; a sociological study of village association in view of the problem, what does the local community do to itself to increase its group efficiency?	1911	321.2 So83 <sup>898</sup>
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Stern	Nathan	The Jewish historico-critical school of the nineteenth century	1901	CXO St4

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Stevens	Romiett	The question as a measure of efficiency in instruction; a critical study of class-room practice	1912	CXO St474
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Taylor	Rupert	The political prophecy in England	1911	CXO T216
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2018  
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Tood	John	Reaction to multiple stimuli	1912	CXO T56
Tsu	Andrew	n/a	1912	n/a
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Williamson	Charles	The finances of Cleveland	1907	CWO W673
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Wise	Stephen	The improvement of the moral qualities; an ethical treatise of the eleventh century by Solomon ibn Gabirol, printed from a unique Arabic manuscript, together with a translation, and an essay' on the place of Gabirol in the history of the development of Jewish ethics.	1901	n/a
Wissler	Clark	The correlation of mental and physical tests	1901	CXO W76
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