

The Sybil Campbell Collection:

How the British Federation of University Women helped rebuild the lives of academic refugee women in the 1930s and 40s.

Presented on 26 February 2008
to the
Centre for the History of Women's Education
University of Winchester

First of all I'd like to thank Joyce and Stephanie for inviting me here today.

I'm not sure how many of you know anything about the British Federation of University Women, or of their connection with Sybil Campbell, whose collection is deposited here. You may have had the opportunity of reading the small article which I contributed to the recent Sybil Campbell newsletter, but just to set the scene I'd like to provide you with a bit of background information about the organization, an outline of the story behind the archive and my research interest before talking about the BFUW's work for refugees.

The BFUW, now known as the British Federation of Women Graduates, is a national organisation that was set up in early 1907 to support university women on matters especially concerning them; their aims included encouraging independent research work by women, facilitating inter-communication and co-operation between the women of different universities, and stimulating the interest of women in municipal and public life.ⁱ Sybil Campbell, who was the Honorary Secretary during the 1920s and 30s, was largely responsible for the fund-raising campaign,ⁱⁱ which enabled the Federation to establish an International Hall of Residence for women students at Crosby Hall in Chelsea.ⁱⁱⁱ For many years this was the very heart of the organisation, and housed the BFUW headquarters, its library and archives. What Sybil Campbell could not have anticipated was the invaluable role that Crosby Hall would play as a reception centre for the increasing numbers of academic women refugees fleeing Nazism in Europe.^{iv} This was how the loss of Crosby Hall as a centre for hospitality between 1940 and 1942 due to wartime arrangements was recorded:

When the Hall had to be closed many letters were received from university women exiles saying how happy they had been in its congenial atmosphere and how kind had been the Warden and sympathetic residents. They felt they had lost a second home and hoped for a re-opening at the earliest possible moment.^v

Fast forward to 1992 when the organisation was forced to move from Crosby Hall. There was no suitable space for the archive in the new home in Bloomsbury and the whole collection was sent to a 'temporary' home in Portsmouth, where the documents languished until 1999/ 2000. Then, at last, a suitable repository was found. The Women's Library at London Guildhall University, seemed, on the face of it, to be an ideal home, even though it was made clear at the time that there would be a delay in cataloguing. However, nearly eight years down the line and the papers remain uncatalogued due to lack of funding for an archivist, and the collection is, to all intents and purposes inaccessible.

There is, I'm glad to say, a glimmer of light in this otherwise dismal tale. Firstly, I was granted access to the partially catalogued refugee papers in 2002 - nine

boxes out of a total of thirty-seven - whilst working on my doctorate, and was able to get a flavour of the content. When I started on my current project in 2005 – a study of ‘Gender and British refugee work in the Nazi era’ – the BFUW refugee committee was near the top of my list of organisations to be included, and I assumed that their papers would be available for further research, and was dumbstruck to find out that this was not the case. Equally shocked, when I imparted the news, were the Federation themselves who were unaware of the *status quo*. All seemed lost until, by chance, in 2005 the Federation discovered some stray refugee case files at the Battersea HQ and I was invited to examine these. As if this wasn’t enough, some months later, when the BFWG Charitable Foundation was preparing to leave its premises in Bloomsbury, London, a treasure trove was found in its strong room – the complete set of Minutes of the Emergency Refugee Committee, along with some additional case files and correspondence.

Explaining how this archive material became separated proved to be quite simple. In 1983, Heather Nash, a visiting Australian academic, must have used the material, along with the Annual reports, to compile her booklet about the Federation’s refugee work in the 1930s and 40s. It appears that the papers were never replaced in the larger archive but were placed with the Crosby Hall archive in Chelsea, then went to the Bloomsbury offices when the Charitable Foundation was set up in 1994 (to provide grants in lieu of accommodation at Crosby Hall after it was vacated by the BFWG in November 1992). The Crosby Hall archive was never sent to the Women's Library, London, but was left at the Bloomsbury offices where it remained undiscovered until last year. Before any decision was made about what the Federation were to do with these papers, they arranged for me to have access to them – and I am very grateful to them for this privilege. The content, which I have still to talk about, is fascinating, illuminating and very significant in many respects.

But the story does not end there – for how come the Sybil Campbell Library has electronic copies of these ‘found’ papers? Well, this is down to a chance encounter, my natural curiosity and a very special archive project. The chance encounter happened when I was working in the library of the Society of Friends not long after the treasure trove came to light. I happened to meet a woman there who, I discovered, was working on behalf of the Holocaust Museum in Washington. Her remit was to identify Holocaust and refugee related archive material which was not easily available to researchers, with a view to it being digitally or electronically copied, at the Museum’s expense, so that it could be made more accessible. To cut a long story short, the outcome of this meeting was that, after much negotiating, all the ‘stray’ BFUW papers were electronically copied at the museum’s expense, and a set deposited in the Sybil Campbell library. The originals have been reunited with the rest of the collection at the Women’s Library - but this remains closed to researchers

There is another aspect to this, for Sybil Campbell was, in fact, personally involved in the rescue and welfare of several Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi persecution,^{vi} and was largely responsible for the appointment, in 1938, of Dr Erna Hollitscher, as Secretary to the Refugee Committee. More on Dr Hollitscher later.

I’d like to move on now to look at why the committee was set up. Within weeks of Hitler’s accession to power in March 1933, the BFUW began receiving urgent requests for help from members in Germany who wanted assistance in settling in Britain and finding work in their particular field. In some cases they were looking for temporary help as transmigrants *en route* to, in the main, America, but also to New

Zealand and Australia. As the threat from Nazism grew, so the calls for assistance increased exponentially, and it was not long before those from Germany were supplemented by demands from women academics in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. These requests were, from the outset, dealt with by an ad-hoc committee, but following the annexation of Austria in March 1938, the steady trickle of calls from Europe had become a deluge of requests. and it was decided that a special sub-committee - the Emergency Committee for Refugees - was needed to cope with what was now a crisis.

Notable as a founder member was Professor Edith Morley, a lecturer in English at the University of Reading, who was also responsible for setting up the Reading Refugee Committee,^{vii} and she would appear to have been the only member of Jewish origin. During the life of the committee a total of nineteen BFUW members were involved with the activities, some for long periods of time, others on an occasional basis, but all were dedicated to helping refugees.

Like the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL)^{viii} on which the Refugee Committee modelled itself, the BFUW was concerned with the welfare of its international colleagues. They had a remit to attend to all matters stemming from requests received from their European colleagues, - graduates, academics or professionals who were members of the International Federation of University of Women - regardless of race or religion, but they still had to make decisions about whom they felt they could help. At the first meeting of the new refugee committee, in June 1938, strict rules were laid out in respect of applications: priority was given to cases where academic work ought to be continued, and in all other cases, careful consideration was to be given to the age and probable adaptability of applicants. The ages of those helped ranged from 18 to 66, but the majority were in their 30s and 40s. As for adaptability, the committee were aware of some resistance from the general population to foreign refugees, and were concerned that the women they selected would have a positive impact on the host nation. Every applicant had to complete a full questionnaire which besides providing name, date and place of birth, included detailed information about their educational background and academic qualifications, and remarks on the nature of previous work. Special emphasis was placed on any domestic skills the woman might have for this was an important factor as far as entry and initial employment was concerned. Besides all this, the names of recommenders had to be supplied. During the early months of its existence, the committee did not ask about an applicants religion but this changed by late 1938, following Kristallnacht, the pogrom against Jews that erupted throughout Germany and Austria on the nights of the 9th and 10th November,^{ix} when it became obvious that many more of the women seeking help were Jewish, or of Jewish descent. For example, in May 1939, of 69 new adult applicants, 57 were listed as Jewish.^x Exceptionally, as some of the individual case files and minutes show, husbands and relatives, especially children, were also helped.

The variety of professional credentials which the refugee women had was impressive – a typical list of applicants in October 1938 included 9 medical women, 10 teachers, 7 technical and laboratory assistants, 1 dentist, 2 librarians, 2 art historians, 2 psychologists, 4 scientific researchers, 2 legal women, 1 journalist and 6 secretaries. The majority of them had either medical degrees or PhDs. As for numbers, by May 1939 the committee had received 226 applications and this increased by a further 119 in July 1940. In total, during its existence, the refugee committee helped more than 400 of their international colleagues.

Even before Kristallnacht, the work of the refugee committee had increased so much that in September 1938 they agreed to appointment a secretary, but only on a

temporary basis for thirteen weeks – long enough, they were sure, to catch up with the backlog of work and put things in order. The person they chose was Dr Erna Hollitscher, whose photograph in old age is in the collection here. Holly, as she became known, was born in Vienna in 1897, and was a languages graduate of Vienna University, who had found it impossible, after graduating, to get work in her field, and had instead taken secretarial jobs. . A Jewess, she had come to Britain with the help of friends (who had already fled Austria) following the Anschluss in March 1938, and initially worked as an au pair before contacting the BFUW. Sybil Campbell was one of two members who gave her hospitality and friendship – both priceless commodities for a refugee.

It was no accident that Miss Dickson (the first Hon. Sec of the refugee committee) suggested a refugee for the post, for it was obvious that someone with the personal experience of forced migration, combined with excellent translation and secretarial skills, would be best suited to the job. The fact that Holly was Jewish was also important for she had an empathy with the increasing numbers of Jewish academic refugee women who were seeking help, that only a fellow refugee could have.

Holly, who was secretary for the 11 years of the committee's existence(and remained working for the BFUW for 19 years) soon became the lynchpin of the organisation, and she not only dealt with an extraordinary amount of work, but she took a personal interest in almost every case,. For example, very often she would hear of a job vacancy and then match this up to a suitable applicant who, in many instances, had contacted her months before, and would have been forgotten by a less intuitive person. Nor did she hesitate to use her own contacts to find employment or hospitality for a refugee if she thought it would help. Her duties also included visiting refugees in hospital periodically. ^{xi} Given this workload it is all the more remarkable that she was able to reply to correspondence as quickly as she did, for she rarely took more than two days to answer a letter. And when you consider that in the first 7 months of her employment a total of 1450 letters were written, interviews took place off and on all day, the telephone rang constantly, to say nothing of the committee work and the visits to the chief Refugee Committees' Headquarters, you can get an idea of the astonishing volume of work involved. Amongst other official events, Dr Hollitscher always attended the Annual Conference of Refugee Workers, and this would have given her an added opportunity of meeting others working in the field. Networking was a very important tool in her armoury, and names that appear with regularity include those of Bertha Bracey and Miss Cadbury, both prominent members of the refugee committee of the Society of Friends, as well as Esther Simpson, ^{xii} the secretary and driving force behind the SPSL.

Financing the refugee committee was an immensely important issue, for this inevitably influenced both the numbers of women who could be helped and the nature and extent of the assistance they were given. There were in fact three main sources of income – alongside donations from private individuals as well as local BFUW associations, generous amounts of money were made available from gifts from the sister organisation in America, besides which the British Government repaid grants which the committee made to Austrian and German refugees. In 1941- 42 this amounted to £ 382 7s 3d. ^{xiii} By June 1947 available figures show that over £2800 was received in the form of private gifts. This was almost matched by money sent from America from 1940 onwards. ^{xiv} The first tranche of money, £1000, was sent in September 1940, followed by a further £1000 in December 1940 and yet another £1000 in May 1941, and these sums enabled the Executive Committee to give local associations permission to make payments of up to £10 without referral to them. Dr

Hollitscher was similarly authorised, giving all concerned a greater freedom to deal with emergencies, of which there were many.^{xv} But the committee would not stand for any nonsense from applicants who either did nothing to help themselves or, like a Dr C., behaved ‘somewhat casually both with regard to her own future and to the efforts made on her behalf’.^{xvi}

To put this financial help into context, the first sub-committee report in May 1939 recorded that, with the help of several local associations, 6 young students from Czechoslovakia were studying for university degrees which they hoped would, in the future, enable them to help with the reconstruction of a free Czechoslovakia. An Austrian medical woman specialist in child psychology was given a grant to enable her to work for a B.Sc (Oxon) and an Austrian chemist was given a grant towards retraining at the Chelsea Polytechnic.^{xvii} From Nottingham, it was noted that a Dr Winternitz had begun her studies at Hammersmith that she undertook, being exceptionally careful to try and match clothing to the age and particular requirements of the recipient.

It is hard to imagine the trauma experienced by those who were fleeing hospital as a preliminary to qualifying to practice as a gynaecologist in Britain – the cost to the committee of the two year course was roughly £100, which was a considerable drain on the resources.^{xviii} In many instances the universities themselves contributed by covering the cost of fees. This was the case with a refugee under the wing of the Hull local association, a group which had very limited resources but managed, from their annual collection of £17, to cover the other expenses of a refugee who was taking a Biology course at University College. The South Western Association had taken on responsibility for Miss Marianne Koenigstein, a chemistry student from Vienna. They had helped her obtain research work at the University College of the South West and she had completed a thesis on a subject in micro – chemistry.^{xix} The Bangor branch had collected £30 and some of the money went towards the support of a refugee medical student to enable her to complete her training in Liverpool.^{xx} Her tuition fees were waived, presumably met by the university itself. The East Surrey branch used some of the £1,260 it had raised with the help of various Town organisations to pay for trainees at local hospitals and on farms. Many of the grants were made for miscellaneous purposes – pocket money was given to some during training, others received small amounts towards maintenance or during illness, and then there were grants given to cover emergencies and occasional railway fares.

The Annual Report for 1940-41 was an optimistic one for those academic refugees seeking training. 15 grants were made to applicants for educational expenses, including a biology student from Vienna who had left Austria before taking her final exams, and was now taking an English degree and a Czech student attending the London School of Economics: there were a further two Viennese students, one of whom was training as a radiologist and the other a teacher who had received a scholarship at a London training college. There were also an architect and a pharmacist who were both re-qualifying in Britain. At the other end of the scale four refugees were receiving secretarial training.^{xxi} 1941-42 saw an increase in the numbers of such grants with 25 refugees benefiting. Amongst them were two German girls who were studying languages and hoped to become teachers, and an art historian who was studying for a PhD. A further two architects were re-qualifying, thanks to the enlightened attitude of the^{xxii} Royal Institute of British Architects. RIBA had its own refugee committee^{xxiii} and was the one professional body which, as early as June 1939, recognised the admissibility of refugee architects in general even though there were only 25 with work permits in a profession of 12,000 registered architects.^{xxiv}

1944-45 saw an increase in the numbers of refugee women taking training courses in social work, with small grants being made towards their fees.^{xxv} But what is most heartening is to read of the academic achievements recorded in the annual report that year – two students achieved 2nd class honours degrees in History with German at Cambridge, whilst another was awarded a second class honours in Zoology. A scientist who had obtained her BSc the previous year, went on to receive her MSc, and a psychologist was awarded her PhD at the University of London. There was also an architect who passed the special exam and was able to register with RIBA and an historian who was awarded a prestigious Silver Medal by the London School of Economics. Financial help was invaluable when it came to professional registration fees, as was the case with Dr Edith Mahler, a dentist who arrived under the sponsorship of a committee member in 1938. Following a pattern familiar to Dr Hollitscher, Dr Mahler worked as an au pair in a Rescue Home, before seeking the support of the BFUW in applying for admission to the Dental Register. In a decision which was initially kept confidential, perhaps so as not to set a precedent, the refugee committee members agreed to pay the £60 registration fee if the application was successful.^{xxvi}

Other generous but occasional donations came from New Zealand and South Africa. The Canada Association was notable for the clothes and toy parcels which it sent to the BFUW – as the Annual Report for 1942-43 noted:

The continual flow of useful and charming gifts from Canada has enabled this committee to increase the help they give by supplying clothing to those in need [...] owing to the small income of the parents, the purchase of clothes means a real hardship, and those provided by our Canadian Federation are a godsend.^{xxvii}

Again, there are many instances in the case files where refugees express their gratitude for the garments and gifts which Dr Hollitscher distributed amongst those in need, for this was yet another task their homes, families and established academic and professional careers to settle in a new country, albeit one which offered sanctuary but within a very different cultural milieu and with a different language. This made the acquisition of English a priority and was an important aspect of the educational facilities provided by the BFUW. The minutes are full of references to the need to organise English classes, as public provision for this was sadly lacking.^{xxviii} For example, University College in Southampton were one of many places around the country offering refugee women free tuition in English in 1938 / 1939.^{xxix} The question of English classes was specifically raised by the BFUW refugee committee again in late 1942, for it seems that, by then, many language schools had closed down due to lack of pupils.^{xxx} However, there was still a need amongst the academic women refugees for such tuition, and the BFUW pursued the Home Office and Ministry of Labour to issue permits for private lessons. Despite their initial reluctance the Home Office eventually conceded in May 1943, and agreed that they were prepared to make exceptions in very special cases and issue a few permits.^{xxxi}

As if the lack of English skills were not enough, the transition from Europe to Britain was compounded by the fact that the women refugees were rarely able to secure employment commensurate with their qualifications, or indeed in their field of experience. There were several reasons for this: for the majority of refugees the key to entry into Britain was a work permit (an income was essential as they could not take money out of their countries yet they needed to be financially independent to get into Britain) and for most of the women seeking refuge, residential domestic service posts in private households were the one area of work for which Home Office permits were

available due to the shortage of home labour. The other factor was the lack of academic and professional posts on offer, largely because the middle-class British professional groups such as doctors, dentists, ^{xxxii} lawyers and academics demonstrated strong anti-alien hostility and pressurised the government from as early as 1933 to limit admissions. ^{xxxiii} Added to this was the fact that foreign qualifications were not generally recognised in Britain: in nursing, for example, the highest grade that a fully trained refugee nurse could be employed at, without going through the prescribed British training, was assistant nurse. ^{xxxiv}

Nursing was the other main area of employment for refugee women, academics included, and at the request of the Home Office, the Central Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, based at Bloomsbury House, London, set up two specialist sub-committees in late 1938, one for domestics, the other the Nursing and Midwifery Dept. They devised a scheme in Summer 1939 whereby women refugee doctors were to be sent to midwifery training schools for two years followed by a further two years work in rural districts. ^{xxxv} In London, the London County Council's Hospital and Medical Services Committee agreed to support the Nursing and Midwifery Department's scheme to the extent of accepting two candidates for probationer training at each of 37 training schools under the committee's management. One of the conditions of acceptance was the ability to speak English. ^{xxxvi} It was also possible for a very small number of refugee women doctors (two a year) to train as midwives, thanks to the initiative of London's General Lying in Hospital who proposed 'a scheme to train Austrian refugees as midwives', an idea which was then taken up by the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh. ^{xxxvii} Scotland was, in fact, more adaptable as far as the re-qualifying of refugee doctors was concerned than England, for North of the border the exam requirement for clinical study, which had been reduced from 3 years to 2, could be fulfilled more quickly in Scotland. A few BFUW women refugee doctors were referred to Edinburgh, ^{xxxviii} so that they were able to re-qualify more speedily.

The implementation of defence regulations in June 1940 caused a headache for the committee when it became apparent that many of their refugee women had been forced to leave protected areas at short notice and had to go to places where they could not find work, with the result that they were penniless. The committee agreed to help as far as possible but had very limited funds at their disposal. Their minuted response was to say that 'if refugees were debarred from earning their living they should be given adequate Government assistance or be interned.' ^{xxxix}

The relationship between the committee and government offices did not always run smoothly. The minutes of December 1941 record how a Survey of Foreign Professional Women was first mooted, and how the opinion of the Home Office was subsequently sought in July 1942. Dr Hollitscher's involvement was quite evident, as was her contact with Esther Simpson of the SPSL, who seemed keen to undertake a similar survey of the men whom her committee had helped. However, by December 1942, and as the minutes describe, the initially favourable response of the Home Office had soured and the advice was that no such survey should be undertaken, reflecting the official concern that a register could be used for post-war purposes: their hope was that most refugees would want to leave Britain after the war and return to their homelands. In the event, the Refugee Committee decided to proceed with the survey regardless, and Dr Hollitscher was asked to 'amplify the existing register of the Refugee Committee, with a view to the probable needs of reconstruction'.¹ To do this, she conducted personal interviews to establish the attitude of the majority of registered foreign graduates to the idea of staying, emigrating or returning home. 1944

saw the Survey Committee recommending the compiling and distribution of a leaflet on the contribution of foreign women graduates in Britain to the war effort – perhaps as part of an attempt at making life easier for those who wanted to stay post-war.

I'd like to give you a brief outline of two individual cases from the collection. The first is that of Dr Dora Kulka, a Jewish chemist who was trying to leave Austria in mid 1938.^{xl} The BFUW arranged for Miss Cadbury to interview her in Vienna, and then, with the help of the SPSL at home, managed to get the Home Office to issue a permit for her to enter Britain, which she did before the outbreak of the Second World War. The refugee committee then continued to try and find suitable scientific work for her in a brewery.^{xlii} Because of the situation *vis-à-vis* her parents, who became stateless in early 1939 and were awaiting expulsion from Czechoslovakia, she became one of a number of cases marked as 'special' in the minutes. In this instance, even though helping the family was outside the scope of the committee, they were willing to assist indirectly by giving Dr Kulka financial help with living expenses.^{xliii} Dr Kulka was, it seems, amongst the more fortunate academic refugees – she managed to get her parents, but not her sister, into Britain, and through the generosity of an anonymous member of the BFUW, received a grant substantial enough to support her parents. Workwise, she secured a teaching job in the bacteriological department of a Birmingham laboratory, supplementing her income by teaching and coaching.^{xliiii} Later she, like many other academic refugee women, was more than happy to make a donation to the committee by way of repayment.^{xliv}

Another 'specially difficult case', was that of the Drs Kimelmans. Both she and her husband were doctors of medicine whom the Home Office at first refused to admit, but finally were persuaded to grant a permit which came at the very last moment before the husband was put in a concentration camp for the third and last time.^{xlv} The BFUW took responsibility for bringing the whole family to Britain, but the initial plan was for them to obtain visas for America. This proved to be problematic, not least of all because of the expense involved, and by the time the visas were issued, the family had decided to delay their departure. Meanwhile, the husband was interned in Huyton camp, Liverpool. The minutes record in detail how the committee took a close interest in the son's education, paying his school fees, dental and medical bills, and urging his parents to try and find work for him once he obtained his school certificate. The family continued to need the financial and welfare support of the refugee committee up until the end of December 1942. By then, as the minutes note, the parents had both been appointed as school dental surgeons in Essex. Like Dr Kulka, they were extremely grateful for all the help the committee had given them.

In conclusion, the work undertaken by the BFUW Emergency Committee for refugees was extraordinary, and as far as I can tell from my research, unique. It certainly satisfied the objective set out in the IFUW's charter, which was 'to promote understanding and goodwill between university women of all nations, regardless of race, religion or political creed'. Its work for the benefit of refugees put it into close contact with their counterpart groups in Europe, North America, Australasia and South Africa as well as the network of local groups at home. Thus as for the individuals involved, the women committee members reacted in the best of humanitarian traditions and provided a truly supportive network for their international members. Similarly, the strength of character of the refugees, and their resourcefulness and determination to make a new life for themselves is ever present in the papers.

¹ For an overview of the early history of the BFUW see Carol Dyhouse 'The British Federation of University Women and the Status of Women in Universities, 1907-1939', in *Women's History Review*, 4 (4) (1995), pp.465-85.

² Sybil Campbell (1889–1977) a graduate of Girton College, Cambridge, made legal history as one of ten women admitted at Middle Temple in November 1922, when women were first called to the English Bar. For a biography see Sybil Oldfield, 'Campbell, Sybil (1889–1977)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: OUP, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61344>, accessed 4 May 2007]

³ Crosby Hall, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea originally stood in Bishopsgate, where it was the Great Hall of the 15th century Crosby Place. Shakespeare was familiar with this former city mansion, and wrote it into 'Richard 2I' as the scene of Gloucester's plotting. The building was occupied by Richard while he was Duke of Gloucester. Later it was owned by Sir Thomas More. The Hall was moved stone by stone from Bishopsgate to Chelsea in 1910 in order to rescue it from proposed demolition. After the 1914–18 war it was incorporated in the buildings erected for the BFUW in 1925. See Sondheimer, pp. 44–46

⁴ J.H.Sondheimer, *History of the British Federation of University Women, 1907-1957* (London, 1957) pp.47-8.

⁵ BFUW Annual Report, 1939-1940. p.21.

⁶ Sybil Oldfield, 'Campbell, Sybil (1889–1977)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004)

^{vii} Cheryl Law, 'Morley, Edith Julia (1875–1964)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48617>, 6 May 2007).

^{viii} William Beveridge, *A defence of free learning* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

^{ix} For an assessment of Kristallnacht see S.Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews. The Years of Persecution 1933-39* (London, 1997).

^x BFUW Refugee Committee Minutes, 12 May 1939, pp.10-15.

^{xi} BFUW Refugee Sub Committee Minutes, 23 Feb 1944.

^{xii} Sybil Oldfield, 'Simpson, Esther (1903–1996)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). R.M. Cooper,(ed.) *Refugee Scholars Conversations with Tessa Simpson* (Leeds, 1992).

^{xiii} BFUW Annual Report, 1941-42, 17.

^{xiv} Nash, *Refugees and the British Federation of University Women*), p. 9.

^{xv} *Ibid.*, p. 10.

^{xvi} BFUW Refugee Sub Committee Minutes, 18 December 1940, p. 2.

^{xvii} BFUW Annual Report, 1939-40, p. 22.

^{xviii} BFUW Annual Report, 1939-40, p. 27.

^{xix} BFUW Annual Report, 1939-40, p. 28.

^{xx} BFUW Annual Report, 1938- 9, p. 23.

^{xxi} BFUW Annual Report, 1940–1, p. 19.

^{xxii} BFUW Annual Report, 1941-2, p. 18.

^{xxiii} Papers of RIBA Refugee Committee, Box 1.

^{xxiv} *The Star*, 28 June 1939.

^{xxv} BFUW Annual Report, 1944–5, pp. 19 ff.

^{xxvi} BFUW Refugee Committee Minutes, 19 Sept. 1938, p. 3.

^{xxvii} BFUW Annual Report, 1942-43. p. 17.

^{xxviii} See BFUW Annual Report, 1938–9, 24; 1939-40, pp. 25, 27.

^{xxix} See BFUW Annual Report, 1938–9, p. 27.

^{xxx} BFUW Refugee Committee Minutes, 19 Dec 1942.

^{xxxi} BFUW Refugee Committee Minutes, 13 May 1943.

-
- ^{xxxii} For the blackballing of refugee dentists see J.S.Zamet, 'Aliens or Colleagues? Refugees from Nazi Oppression 1933-45', *British Dental Journal* (2006) 201, pp. 397 – 437.
- ^{xxxiii} J.Stewart, 'Angels or Aliens? Refugee Nurses in Britain 1938-42', *Medical History*, 47, (2) April 2003, p. 151.
- ^{xxxiv} Stewart, 'Angels or Nurses', p. 159.
- ^{xxxv} Stewart, 'Angels or Nurses', p. 165.
- ^{xxxvi} Stewart, 'Angels or Nurses', p. 159.
- ^{xxxvii} *Nursing Mirror and Midwives Journal*, 18 March 1939, p. 839.
- ^{xxxviii} Dr Bertha Andratschke-Fried, List of new Applicants, BFUW Refugee Committee Minutes, 12 May 1939, p. 10.
- ^{xxxix} BFUW Minutes 24 June 1940.
- ^{xl} BFUW Refugee Sub Committee Minutes, 17 June 1938; 20 July 1938.
- ^{xli} BFUW Refugee Sub Committee Minutes, 19 Sept. 1938.
- ^{xlii} BFUW Refugee Sub Committee Minutes, 17 Feb 1939.
- ^{xliii} BFUW Refugee Sub Committee Minutes, 16 Dec 1939.
- ^{xliv} In 1942 she made a donation of £ 52 as part-repayment of a grant. See BFUW Refugee Sub Committee Minutes, 30 March 1942.
- ^{xlv} BFUW Refugee Sub Committee Minutes, 20 Jan 1939, p.12.