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Introduction

If you were to look up Percy Lavon Julian on the Internet, three things would likely catch your eye: 1) He smiles in almost all of his pictures, 2) he is commonly described as a chemist and an activist, and 3) he was a black American in the 20th century, making it rather easy to guess which was the cause of his activism.

If you dig a little deeper and click on the Wikipedia articles, your search engine of choice recommended, you would find that Dr. Percy Lavon Julian was a leading chemist within the field of medicinal chemistry. He discovered, created, and patented chemical procedures that are still being used to synthesize many of the medical products and hormones, we take for granted today, such as cortisone, hydrocortisone, and, steroids, as well as progesterone and testosterone made from soybeans. Historical sources also describe him as a father, a teacher, a gardener with a love for tulips, a stubborn idealist, and a quiet but resolute activist and resistance fighter against the discriminatory laws that suppressed black Americans during the Jim- Crowe era, a man who would not and did not let those laws stop him¹. This is supported not only by statements made by his friends, colleagues, and children, but also attested by the choices he made throughout his life.

Among his most unconventional choices was his decision to study and earn his PhD in Organic Chemistry at the University of Vienna, when, due to his skin color, none of the universities in the United States would permit him to do so. He chose the University of Vienna because of its renowned Chemistry department which specialized in Natural Chemistry², despite not knowing the language and arriving during a time when Austrian Society was becoming increasingly anti-Semitic and xenophobic as the National Socialist Party was gaining traction and popularity³.

And yet, despite all of his achievements, patents, ground-breaking work for the betterment of

¹ Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, Pg. 11

² Bryan A. *Wilson*, Percy Lavon Julian, Pioneer of Medicinal Chemistry Synthesis, in *Labmedicine* Volume 41, November 2010

³ Anton Pelinka, *Austrian Politics: 1918 to 2019* in: *Antisemitism Studies* Vol. 4, No.1 April, 2020 (Indiana University Press 2020) pg.84

society both in the field of chemistry, as well as in politics (which led to him being officially recognized by the American House of Representatives (29.01.2007))⁴, I had never heard of him. Even though I, too, am a black American student at the University of Vienna, who was raised to value the legacy of black people in Europe, I only learned of his existence because a sketch comedy show (Drunk History) filmed a skit about him and posted it on YouTube⁵. As I asked around, I recognized that this was not a personal failing: nobody in my family, nor the majority of people I asked at the University of Vienna knew his name either.

Although his descent into relative obscurity saddened me, it did not surprise me. There is a long tradition, especially within Western history, of the achievements of black scientists, artists and academics being silenced, hidden, accredited to a white person, or entirely destroyed, solely due to the color of their skin. The persecution and discrimination of black people throughout the world has a long history, and unless that history is critically examined, it will very likely also have a long future.

The composer Joseph Boulogne, Chevalier de Saint George, for example, was, among other things- - a black French aristocrat, a master fencer, and a favorite of Queen Marie Antoinette. Finding his story and, subsequently finding out that the majority of his compositions were lost after his death⁶ was a pivotal moment in my life: it became a passion of mine to find and research these concealed narratives of black people who thrived despite their oppression throughout Western history. To then discover that there was such a narrative quite literally echoing within the halls of my university only intensified that passion. Despite the rise in black history awareness in recent years, (mostly due to the Black Lives Matter movement, which became a global phenomenon in the wake of George Floyd's murder in 2020), Dr. Percy Lavon Julian still remains largely unknown among people who are not within the field of chemistry and is often excluded from discussions that focus on black pioneers within their respective fields.

With this paper, it is not only my goal to expound on Dr. Julian's scientific and societal

⁴ House of Representatives: 10th Congress Session, Report 110-4, (USA, 2007-2008) online under <https://www.congress.gov/congressional-report/110th-congress/house-report/4/1>

⁵ Comedy Central, How Percy Julian Became One of the World's Greatest Scientists (feat. Jordan Peele) - Drunk History, online under: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2sif5RI8XBU&t=185s&ab_channel=ComedyCentral

⁶ Emil F. *Smidek*, Joseph Boulogne called Chevalier de Saint- Georges (Lucerne 1946), Pg. 137-139

achievements, but to research and position his unique experience at the University of Vienna within its history. The fundamental basis of this paper will be a file analysis of the documents that chronicle Dr. Julian's time at the University and have been made available by the University of Vienna's Archive. These documents include his matriculation entries, which he filled out in his own hand in German, his PhD Dissertation "*Zur Kenntniss verschiedener Pflanzenalkaloide und über ein neues heterozyklisches freies Radikal*⁷" and the "Rigorosum" file which chronicles his doctoral process. For this file, I will use the traditional method of file analyses used to analyse Austrian administrative documents. While I will not be able to analyse the subject matter of his thesis, as I am not a chemist, I will analyse the secondary information provided by the document and investigate what it can tell us about his academic work environment and relationships. I will also be analyzing the biographical memoir written about Dr. Julian, by his friend and colleague Dr. Bernhard Witkop as a primary source material, as it is part of the archival inventory. All the translations provided within the text and footnotes have been done by me.

According to Dr. Witkop's biography, Dr. Julian loved his time studying at the University of Vienna and fell in love with the city- so much so, that he not only quickly mastered the German language, but also the Viennese dialect in particular⁸. That is not an easy feat, especially within a three-semester time frame. This paper wishes to reflect that affection and solidify his story within the history of the University of Vienna both scientifically and methodically.

⁷ Percy Lavon *Julian*, *Zur Kenntnis Verschiedener Pflanzenalkaloide und über ein Neues Heterozyklisches Freies Radikal* (Ungedr. Diss. Universität Wien 1931)

⁸ Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, Pg. 10

2. Contextualization U.S.A.

2.1. Jim Crow U.S.A

The term “Jim Crow”, originally a character used to mock slaves, refers to a system of laws and regulations of segregation that were embedded within the structure of societal hierarchy in the United States, following the collapse of the Reconstruction era⁹.

2.1.a. Reconstruction

The Reconstruction Era was the period following the Civil War (1861-1865), in which the federal government attempted to pass laws aimed at helping victims of slavery - primarily African Americans¹⁰. While the Northern states had slowly introduced emancipation from 1777 to 1846, emancipation in the Southern states¹¹ had to be enforced by state law, after the North won the Civil War. The Thirteenth Amendment that legalized the abolishment of slavery was written into the United States Constitution in 1865.

In the first paragraph it reads: “*Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction¹²*”. Nonetheless many Southern slave owners, especially plantation owners with large numbers of enslaved people working their lands, refused to follow the law and two additional amendments were needed to ratify this during Reconstruction¹³.

The Fourteenth Amendment, which was written into the Constitution in 1868, made all people born in the United States citizens, stating in its first paragraph that: “*All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive*

⁹ Raymond Gavins, The Cambridge Guide to African American History (New York 2016) pg. 249

¹⁰ Civil Rights, Cornell Law School, online under: https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/civil_rights

¹¹ I.e: Former Confederate States: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Missouri

¹² U.S. Constitution, XIII Amendment, Cornell Law School, online under: <https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxiii>

¹³ Vgl. Raymond Gavins, The Cambridge Guide to African American History pg. 90-91

any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law”¹⁴.

The Fifteenth Amendment, written in 1879, ostensibly gives all citizens of the United States the right to vote. This, of course, excluded, among others, women, children and people who either were or had been incarcerated. It also did not protect against state-issued voter restriction bills, such as the “grandfather clause”, registration reforms or poll taxes, which all but six states used to continue to ban black people from voting until the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965. White women received the vote in 1920¹⁵.

In 1865, Congress established the “Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Land”, commonly known as “The Freedman’s Bureau”, which was tasked with the management of the Southern States’ transition, creating a system of free labor, courts and schools, upholding racial peace and protecting missionary teachers¹⁶. The implementation of this transition was to be overseen by President Andrew Johnson (1808 -1875)¹⁷, President Abraham Lincoln’s (1809-1865)¹⁸ vice president and successor. However, President Johnson was ambivalent towards the rights of black people, having not only owned slaves, but also actively lobbied for his home state of Tennessee to be exempt from the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Thus, the attempt at implementing institutions and laws that would have given freed slaves citizenship and the means to progress themselves further, failed.

President Johnson actively vetoed several bills that would have expanded the “Freedmen’s Bureau¹⁹”, as well as the civil rights of black people, ignored the implementation of “black codes” in many Southern states²⁰ and stated in a letter to the Commissioner of Public Buildings

¹⁴ U.S. Constitution, XIV Amendment, Cornell Law School, online under: aw.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxiv.

¹⁵ Legislative Milestones. Voting Rights Act of 1965, NAACP, online under: <https://naacp.org/find-resources/history-explained/legislative-milestones/voting-rights-act-1965>

¹⁶ Vgl. Raymond *Gavins*, *The Cambridge Guide to African American History* pg. 109-110

¹⁷ Johnson, Andrew, U.S. Senate Historical Office, online under: <https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/J000116> (31.01.2022)

¹⁸ Lincoln, Abraham U.S. Senate Historical Office, online under: <https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/L000313> (31.01.2022)

¹⁹ David Warren *Bowen*, *Andrew Johnson and the Negro*, (University of Tennessee, 1989) pg. 120

²⁰ Vgl. David Warren *Bowen*, *Andrew Johnson and the Negro* pg. 115-120.

that “*Everyone would and must admit that the white race was superior to the black*”²¹. Perhaps unsurprisingly, race relations only worsened during his administration, and the Freedmen’s Bureau was closed in 1869. The Reconstruction Era formally ended with Plessy V. Ferguson ruling.

2.1.b. Plessy v. Ferguson

The Supreme Court ruling of “Plessy v. Ferguson”²² (May 18, 1896) mandated that “racial segregation laws did not violate the U.S. Constitution as long as the facilities for each race were equal in quality. This mandate came to be known as “separate but equal”²³. In the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, the plaintiff Homer A. Plessy²⁴ (whose first name was not mentioned in the case file), was arrested after refusing to leave the first-class train seat he had purchased that was in a whites only section. Mr. Plessy was travelling through Louisiana which had a state- law known as the Louisiana Separate Car Act, that required that railroad companies provide racially segregated accommodations²⁵. As Mr. Plessy had a primarily white genetic background and a more Caucasian appearance, he thus filed the titular complaint within the Supreme Court against the Hon. John H. Ferguson (whose full name and title was mentioned in the case file), the ruling judge of the Criminal District Court for the parish of Orleans who had sentenced him to prison²⁶.

The conclusion of this ruling was delivered by Justice Brown, who maintained in this statute, that “while the 13th amendment outlawed all forms of involuntary servitude, i.e. slavery, the 14th amendment of the US Constitution - which outlawed the passing of laws that “ deprived any person of life, liberty and or property without due process of law”²⁷” was designated to enforce the political equality of black and white citizens, but not intended to abolish social inequality”²⁸.

²¹ Vgl. David Warren *Bowen*, Andrew Johnson and the Negro, pg. 118

²²US Supreme Court: 163 U.S. 537 Plessy v. Ferguson, No. 210 (Louisiana 1898), online under: <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/163/537>

²³ Harry E. *Grooves*, Separate but Equal--The Doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson. Phylon Vol. 12, No. 1, (Atlanta, 1951), pp. 66-72

²⁴ Mark *Golub*, Plessy as Passing. Judicial Responses to Ambiguously Raced Bodies, In: Law & Society Review; Sep 2005; 39, 3; Social Science Premium Collection, pg. 563

²⁵ Plessy v. Ferguson, Cornell Law School, (1896), online under: https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/plessy_v_ferguson_%281896%29

²⁶ Vgl.US Supreme Court, 163 U.S. 537 Plessy v. Ferguson, No. 210

²⁷ Vgl. Civil Rights, Cornell Law School

²⁸ Vgl.US Supreme Court, 163 U.S. 537 Plessy v. Ferguson, No. 210

Therefore, the 14th amendment did not include segregation and states were free to choose how to implement and police segregation laws among their citizens. In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the statute then further deputized citizens of certain positions, such as train conductors to enforce this segregation. (The only exception to this law were nurses who were attending to children of a different race.) Justice Brown went on to state that “the statute was not explicitly against, nor further stigmatized blacks as second-class citizens” and “that the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it.”²⁹ The sole dissent in this ruling was by Justice Harlan, who pointed out that the law did not exclude white people from black spaces, but solely focused on excluding black people from white spaces.

The effect that *Plessy V. Ferguson* had on civil rights, both legally on paper, as well as in day-to-day life, was and still is immense. Not only did it conceive the calling card of the Jim Crow Era (i.e.: “separate but equal”), it also further codified the “one drop rule”, and deepened the tensions regarding colorism,- as Plaintiff *Plessy* is explicitly described as “a resident of Louisiana, of mixed descent, in proportion of seven- eighths Caucasian and one- eighths African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him, and that he was entitled to every recognition, right, privilege and immunity secured to the citizens of the white race by its constitution³⁰”. Furthermore, it put the onus on black people if they in any way felt oppressed as the law was not “explicitly against them”, therefore condemning any actual act of oppression and/ or disenfranchisement to a mere imagined slight- an argument that is still frequently used in debates concerning racial discrimination towards black people today.

2.1.c. Jim Crow

Following the explicit legalization of systematic segregation provided by *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Jim Crow regulations were expanded and built upon a complex array of institutions, policies and political identities, strengthening the formation of white supremacy as the social-, political and economic hierarchy, that intersected with existing class and gender hierarchies³¹. These

²⁹ Vgl. US Supreme Court, 163 U.S. 537 *Plessy v. Ferguson*, No. 210

³⁰ Vgl. US Supreme Court, 163 U.S. 537 *Plessy v. Ferguson*, No. 210

³¹ Kimberley *Johnson*, *Reforming Jim Crow. Southern Politics and State in the Age before Brown*. (Oxford 2010).
Pg.3

hierarchies were institutionalized within political and bureaucratic structures, which were, in turn, reinforced by a complex system of myths, abuse of authority, prejudice, and psychopathology. During this period citizenship and democratic rights for formerly enslaved black people were stripped, causing mass disenfranchisement. In the years from 1880 to 1930, approximately 3.220 black people were lynched in the Southern states alone³². The implementation of Black Codes and the Ku Klux Klan further terrorized and restricted black people in their freedom to from participate in everyday life. In Northern states, black people were separated by custom in churches, housing, jobs, schools, and streetcars, all while still enduring racialized violence in public. In the Southern states, where 90% of all American black people lived, people were separated legally and conventionally in every aspect of life, morphing into a legalized system of apartheid³³. These state-implemented segregation laws were kept in place until the Supreme Court ruling of *Brown v. Education* overturned the *Plessy* ruling within schools in 1954, and the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned racial discrimination within public institutions and legalized the right to sue if one's civil rights were violated all across the U.S.³⁴.

2.1.d. Resistance

Since the very beginning of the slave trade and the implementation of slavery within the US, there was black resistance against slavery, e.g.in the form of Slave Revolts and the Underground Railroad. Protest thought and institutions evolved and emerged in a more concrete form towards and after the end of the Civil War³⁵. For the most part, these were first spearheaded and furthered by free black men from Northern states. One of these men was Frederick Douglass (1818-1895), an author and prominent abolitionist who, after escaping slavery, travelled the world giving lectures on his experience, despite the constant threat of being recaptured. He would later go on to advise President Lincoln during the Civil War on the inclusion of black soldiers on the front lines.

³² Vgl. Raymond *Gavins*, *The Cambridge Guide to African American History* (New York 2016) pg, 250

³³ Vgl. Raymond *Gavins*, *The Cambridge Guide to African American History* (New York 2016) pg. 249

³⁴ Vgl. Raymond *Gavins*, *The Cambridge Guide to African American History* (New York 2016) pg.60

³⁵ August *Meier*, Elliot *Rudwick*, Francis L. *Broderick*, *Black Protest Thought in the twentieth Century* (New York 1971), pg.19

Similar figures that advanced the political landscape of emancipation and reconstruction were Reverend J. Sella Martin (1832 –1876), George T. Downing (1819-1903), Peter H. Clark (1829 – 1925) and many others. They were emblematic of the highest level of intellectual achievement and professionalism black people could achieve at that time, as they were highly educated, experienced in public affairs and familiar with the means through which they could disseminate knowledge, ideas and opinions. Their very existence was a counterargument to the system in which they lived³⁶

During the war, they gathered to promote the National Convention of Colored Men, which was held in Syracuse, New York from the 4th to the 7th of October 1864. During this conference, they established the “National Equal Rights League”. The League’s goal was to further unify actions and opinions in the fight for equality. They advocated for political and civil rights for black people, while also consolidating terminology and concepts for equality in their “Bill of Wrongs and Rights, Addressed to the American People”³⁷.

This was the first of many advocacy movements and thought processes to come. The “New Negro” movement was another such force for change. Emerging in the 1890’s, black people began to contemplate and debate on who the new black person would be and what role they would play in society, now that they were forever freed from slavery and refused to be kept within “The Negro’s Place”. This movement was predominantly pushed by the new generation of black people that had been born and raised post emancipation³⁸.

The “Niagara Movement” was founded in 1905, when 25 prominent black leaders within the community met at the Niagara Falls in Canada to discuss and organize opposition movements to white racism and violence, vowing to fight for civil and voting rights, the abolishment of Jim Crow and lynching, as well as the betterment of educational and economic opportunities for black people. This movement was led by W.E.B. Du Bois (1868 –1963), a scholar from Atlanta University, the first black person to earn a PhD from Harvard University and a prominent

³⁶ Elsie M. Lewis, *The Political Mind of the Negro, 1865-1900*; in *The Negro in the South since 1865*, Ed: Charles E. Wynes (Alabama 1965), pg 22

³⁷ Elsie M. Lewis, *The Political Mind of the Negro, 1865-1900*, pg.23

³⁸ Vgl. Raymond Gavins, *The Cambridge Guide to African American History* (New York 2016) pg.212

philosopher on race and “the black man’s plight”. He was in opposition to Frederick Douglass’s opinion that black people should strive to fully integrate themselves into white society, as well as in opposition to Booker T. Washington (1856- 1915), the founder and president of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School, whose opinion was that Southern black people should compromise their rights in exchange for legal justice and education³⁹. The Niagara Movement published “The Moon” and “Horizon” newspapers and extended to approximately 30 branches with 400 members. Today, it is seen as the predecessor to the Citizen’s Equal Rights Association, the Afro- American League and the NAACP⁴⁰.

The most prominent instrument of resistance was and still is the NAACP. To this day is known as the oldest, largest, and most significant civil rights organization. The NAACP, or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was founded on February 12th, 1909, in response to the Springfield Riots of Illinois in 1908.

The Springfield Riots occurred in mid-August 1908 in Springfield, Illinois, President Lincoln’s birthplace, after two black men had been accused of assaulting white women. In response, an angry mob of white people gathered around the police station demanding they be given over in order to be lynched. When they were told that the two men had already been moved to jail, they replied by way of violence and the rampaging of black-owned homes and businesses. During the course of their rampage, six innocent black people were shot, two were lynched, hundreds of thousands of dollars’ worth of property were destroyed and approximately two thousand black people had to leave their devastated homes behind⁴¹.

Horrified by this tragedy, William Walling (a wealthy southern socialist settlement worker), Mary White Ovington (a socialist humanitarian) and Dr. Henry Moskowitz (a social worker) organized a meeting, where they decided to launch a conference at which to discuss a campaign to advocate for racial justice. They issued an advertisement, that read: “*We call upon all believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the*

³⁹ Civil Rights Leaders. W.E.B. Du Bois, NAACP, online under: <https://naacp.org/find-resources/history-explained/civil-rights-leaders/web-du-bois>

⁴⁰ Vgl. Raymond *Gavins*, *The Cambridge Guide to African American History*, pg.213

⁴¹ Karlson *Yu*, *Springfield Race Riot, 1908* (June 29, 2008), online under: <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/springfield-race-riot-1908/>

*voicing of protests and the renewal of struggle for civil and political liberty*⁴².” The group expanded when the members of the Niagara Movement, including W.E.B. Du Bois, were invited to join and approximately 60 people attended the conference. Between May 31 and June 1st the National Negro Conference met in New York and decided that all participating factions would be merged into one organization, “The National Committee for the Advancement of the Negro Race”. They later changed the name to “The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People”. Their mission was and to this day, is: “*To ensure the political, educational, equality of minority group citizens of States and eliminate race prejudice. The NAACP works to remove all barriers of racial discrimination through democratic processes.*”⁴³ The NAACP opened its national office in New York City in 1910 and have since established over 2200 branches all across the United States, from which they continue to offer legal help, scholarships, voting registration help, as well as other services to this day.

2.2. HBCU’s and Early Black Academics

It was during this time that various counter-, and parallel institutions were established by other members of the slowly developing black professional class. Seemingly in line with Plessy V. Ferguson ruling, separate schools and universities for black students were established. While the Freedman’s Bureau built schools and Universities for black people, due to a lack of state funding and violent backlash from enraged white people who did not want their tax dollars to be used to educate black people, however these schools were not only few and far between, but also severely lacking in materials, teachers, as well as a set curriculum.

Instead, black and white philanthropists came together to create the private institutions that are now commonly referred to as Historically Black Colleges and Universities or HBCUs. The first of these universities had humble beginnings: Virginia State University, for instance was founded in a former slave jail in 1882, Spelman College in a church basement in 1881 and Atlanta University in a train car in 1865⁴⁴. Despite such humble beginnings, the continued establishment of advanced educational facilities (such as the “National Medical Association” in 1895, “The

⁴² Peter M. Bergman, *The Chronological History of the Negro in America*, (New York, 1969) pg. 357

⁴³ Our History, NAACP, online under: <https://naacp.org/about/our-history>

⁴⁴ Vgl. Raymond Gavins, *The Cambridge Guide to African American History*, pg.128

National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses” in 1908 and the “National Bar Association”) managed to facilitate the creation of an educated, professional class of black people that was closed off from but ran parallel to white society⁴⁵.

These institutions provided a safe haven for black people, offering not only an opportunity to develop professional skills, but also a strong sense of identity and an awareness of their positions within their communities. The social sphere of highly educated black people was tightly interwoven, as relationships and networks were constantly forged and expanded in order to debate and create strategies of resistance. Ironically, their enforced parallel existence only served to strengthen these bonds. In most Southern states, black people were not permitted to stay overnight in public hotels. Thus, while on vacation or on business trips black individuals were forced to find either a black owned hotel or stay at another, local black person’s house, resulting in a continuous interweaving of the black community across state lines.

While most black professionals were most likely motivated by personal advancement, their positions within society often put them in the unique position of representing the entire black American population in the face of white supremacy. While they were small in number, their rarity also lent them a certain level of influence in multiple areas of American society. Black lawyers in particular had to commute between white and black society, as black courts were not permitted. For decades, it was these black lawyers and the NAACP who worked together in tandem to change laws (like the aforementioned *Plessy v. Ferguson* case), as well as to advocate for incarcerated black people to have a fair trial⁴⁶. Professions in the medical, legal, and educational fields made up the majority of the professional class and served as a conservative counterpart to the world of black entertainment, another sphere that also straddled the line between white and black parallel societies. Opportunities for climbing the ranks within academia and the military were severely limited and, for many, nigh impossible.

HBCUs did provide educational facilities for professions for which a higher level of education was needed but encouraged the practicality that comes with a vocational degree, such as

⁴⁵ Darlene Clark *Hine*, *Black Professionals and Race Consciousness: Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 1890-1950*, in: *The Journal of American History* (United States, March 2003), pg: 1279

⁴⁶ Darlene Clark *Hine*, *Black Professionals and Race Consciousness*, pg.1280

medicine, education, and law. Professions that depended upon a certain level of competition or collaboration with ostensible colleagues from outside the bubble of black professionalism, were often out of reach, as their white counterparts or representatives from within these fields tended to bar black people from entering the institutions or outright refused to work with black people. This led to ideological tensions within the black community, as to what they were fighting for- to be able to succeed within one's own niche ('Separate but Equal') or was the goal to dismantle the barriers of Jim Crow? In the end, the faction determined to end Jim Crow succeeded, and integration within these professional fields was legalized⁴⁷.

While this was a massive milestone, many of the elder generation lament this professional integration, as it resulted in the closing down of black schools - as black students were now forced to integrate into white schools, where many of the students and teachers met them with severe hostility. This phenomenon echoed across other professional fields as well, having a particularly negative effect on black patients, who were now being treated by white doctors, who did not take their concerns seriously. To this day black women are three times more likely to die in childbirth than white women⁴⁸.

3. Contextualization Austria

3.1. The University of Vienna during the Interwar Period

After the end of the First World War in 1918 and the subsequent fall of the monarchy, Vienna and its University faced an identity crisis, as a large part of Vienna's population/ the University's students could no longer be considered "Austrian" per se. Despite this turmoil, the University of Vienna at the turn of the century was still one of the best and biggest in the world, boasting an enviable medical and chemical department that attracted students from all over the world⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ Vgl. Darlene Clark *Hine*, *Black Professionals and Race Consciousness*, pg.1292

⁴⁸, *Minority Health and Health Equity. Working Together to Reduce Black Maternal Mortality*, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention online under: <https://www.cdc.gov/healthequity/features/maternal-mortality/index.html>

⁴⁹ Linda *Erker*, *Die Universität Wien im Austrofaschismus: Österreichische Hochschulpolitik 1933 bis 1938*, ihre

However, because of the aforementioned identity crisis, the social atmosphere within the University of Vienna found itself becoming increasingly polarized, mirroring society at large. It began with the further ostracization of Jewish students by German nationalist and Catholic students, followed by them fervently rejecting the enrollment of any more Jewish students.

These new Jewish students had enrolled in larger numbers during and immediately after the First World War, emigrating from Eastern European countries that had previously belonged to the Austrian Empire. Despite this, or perhaps in response to this, the student body, as well as the Faculty at the University became increasingly German nationalistic and/ or Catholic⁵⁰.

Social- democratic students tried to counteract this increase in power by proposing legislative measures to ensure the egalitarianism of the student body. In February of 1919, the socialist student body president Leo Spritzer put forward the motion that the University constitution (which upheld an internal hierarchy) be removed, seeking to provide a more egalitarian approach to determining who has a say in university matters. This motion was strongly repudiated by the University's professors, who were in charge of executive decision-making within the faculties, motivating professors to further suppress any left wing/, socialist movements, that had sought to imitate the Workers'- and Soldier's Unions that were gaining popularity at the time.

This perceived threat of Jewish and leftist students taking over the majority of the few available student admission spots and educational resources was used as an argument by right-wing and antisemitic student groups to bolster their hate campaigns. To further consolidate their efforts these students founded "Die Deutsche Studentenschaft" (The German Students Union) in 1919. This organization was for all "German" students studying at German-speaking Universities in Europe that identified as being either German nationals, ethnically German, or Catholic, which then later on also permitted students of the National Socialist party⁵¹. Jewish students were not permitted, as they were not a part of the "German People", therefore making racism, antisemitism, and the perceived notions of ethnic superiority the basis of this entire organization. By 1923 they were recognized as the main representative body for the entire student population

Vorbedingungen und langfristigen Nachwirkungen (Wien 2021) pg. 33

⁵⁰ Vgl. Linda Erker, Die Universität Wien im Austrofaschismus, pg. 34

⁵¹ Original Text: deutschnationale, deutschvölkische, katholische und nationalsozialistische

among all universities within Austria⁵².

While the German Student Union was establishing its dominion over all student representation at the University of Vienna, general voting rights were being implemented in Austria for the first time. Women were permitted to attend University lectures- first at the Philosophical Faculty in 1897, then the Medical Department in 1900 and they were permitted to attend lectures concerning legal and social sciences from 1919 onward. While parts of the Austrian Government were making strides towards democracy, students at the University of sought to undermine attempts at the same procedures being adopted within their halls, reveling in the University's autonomous position. Many of the professors and faculty members either tolerated or fully supported these measures.

Despite the oath they had sworn to serve the new government, many of them resented the new Republic. Many universities in Austria, including the University of Vienna, were socially characterized by a German nationalist view of history. This political ideology became visible when the University celebrated the anniversary of the proclamation of the German Empire in 1871, whilst ignoring the anniversary of the founding of the Republic, as well as other such instances. The most infamous and to this day still relevant, German Nationalist ideological symbol was the inauguration of the so called "Siegfried Kopf"- monument in 1923, located in the "aula" (main hall) of the University of Vienna.⁵³ Ostensibly a monument honoring the fallen soldiers- of the First World War, the "Head of Siegfried" was stylized to celebrate the heroism of dying in battle, while also referring to the fraternal homicide of the Nibelungen saga, thus alluding to the antisemitic "Stab-in-the-Back" mythos, which claims that Austria lost the war due to Jewish interference.

By 1922, the Student Union had put forward the motion to implement a "Numerus Clausus" or a limit to the number of Jewish students, with the argument that this was the only way to secure

⁵² Vgl. Linda Erker, Die Universität Wien im Austrofaschismus, pg. 35

⁵³ Mitchel G. Ash, Die österreichischen Hochschulen in den politischen Umbrüchen der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, In: Säuberungen an österreichischen Hochschulen 1934 - 1945: Voraussetzungen, Prozesse, Folgen. HG. Johannes Knoll, (Wien 2017) pg 41

the academic future of the Austrian youth⁵⁴. They were inspired by the Numerus Clausus that had been implemented in Hungary that same year.⁵⁵ At the time, a young Engelbert Dollfuß (1892 – 1934), the future Chancellor of Austria who would assume dictatorial powers from 1932-1934, was an active member of the German Student Union and journalist for the right-wing Catholic newspaper “Reichspost”. In his articles, Dollfuß called for the maximum number of Jewish students permitted to the University to never exceed 10%, in reflection of the Jewish population of Vienna. As a representative of the Austrian German Students Union, he attended the 51st International Conference of the Catholic German Student Fraternities (“Cartellverband”) in Regensburg, where he petitioned for an Aryan paragraph, a clause within a statute that would have explicitly excluded students of any nationalities other than “Aryan” from the University. This request was denied by the German Students Unions located in Germany⁵⁶. However, the University of Vienna’s Senate was able to put restrictive measures in place, that would limit the number of students admitted from Eastern Europe.

The increase in antisemitism within the student body of the University of Vienna during the 1920’s reverberated throughout the faculty and was also a major factor in the decline in hiring and habilitating any additional Jewish professors. The headmaster at the time, Karl Diener (1862 –1928), further lamented the fact that the University could not legally implement a numerus clausus for Jewish professors, due to habilitation regulations stating that only scientific qualifications were to be the deciding factor ⁵⁷; *“It is in the positively shocking invasion of such racially and quintessentially foreign elements, whose culture, education and morals are so far below those of the native German Student Body, that the true damage this cancer has wrought is evident within the academic state of affairs. The dismantling of eastern Jews must be given top priority within the annual planning of every rector of a German University. The advancing levantinization (ie: the influence of Eastern European Jews) of Vienna must be stopped, at least within the higher education facilities⁵⁸”*

⁵⁴ Vgl. Linda Erker, Die Universität Wien im Austrofaschismus, pg. 36

⁵⁵ Vgl. Mitchel G. Ash, Die österreichischen Hochschulen in den politischen Umbrüchen der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, (Wien 2017) pg.37

⁵⁶ Vgl. Linda Erker, Die Universität Wien im Austrofaschismus, pg. 36

⁵⁷ Vgl. Mitchel G. Ash, Die österreichischen Hochschulen in den politischen Umbrüchen der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, pg. 40

⁵⁸ Original Text: „In der geradezu erschreckenden Invasion solcher rassen- und wesensfremder Elemente, deren Kultur, Bildung und Moral tief unter jener der bodenständigen deutschen Studentenschaft stehen, liegt der wahre

This led to a steady decline in filled professorships in the 1930's, adding to the absence of many professors from former Austrian territories who had left the University of Vienna after 1918 to help establish universities and teach in these newly founded countries⁵⁹. Many professors were also dismissed due to their pan-Germanic or German-nationalist political views. In addition to the ideological turmoil, the University was severely lacking in funds, and was thus forced to reduce the number of available chairs and teaching positions within the faculties⁶⁰. In 1922 the university introduced changes to the statute from 1873, which largely effected personnel matters, in changing the legal status of some of the faculty members and strengthening the representation of assistant professors⁶¹.

In the early 1930's Austria was faced with an economic collapse of the state budget, thus leading to shortages within the state budget, this also greatly diminished the financial situation of the universities. After the fall of the monarchy, the University of Vienna had made numerous attempts to reform its financial system, but had ultimately failed to implement any of them, either due to interior political disagreements, or other Austrian universities and higher education facilities vehemently protesting against them, since such reforms would have an affect them as well.

These economic uncertainties helped the National Socialist German Students Union (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund, NSDStB), which had been founded in 1926, to quickly gain momentum and influence. Their main goal was to break the alliance, and thus: the influence, of the Catholic and German Nationalists within the German Students Union. By 1931, they had become the most influential student representative party. Their political tactics and influence at the University made waves within society even outside of the academic sphere as

Krebsschaden unserer akademischen Verhältnisse. Der Abbau der Ostjuden muss heute im Programm jedes Rektors einer deutschen Hochschule einen hervorragenden Platz einnehmen. Der fortschreitenden Levantisierung Wiens muss wenigstens an den Hochschulen Einhalt geboten werden.“, in: Reichspost, Morgenblatt, 10.12.1922, Das Memorandum der deutschen Studentenschaft. (Wien 1922)

⁵⁹Vgl. Mitchel G. Ash, Die österreichischen Hochschulen in den politischen Umbrüchen der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, pg. 36

⁶⁰ Hansjoerg Klausinger, Academic Anti-Semitism at the Austrian School: Vienna 1918-1945 In: International Atlantic Economic Society, (March 2014), online under: <https://epub.wu.ac.at/3983/1/wp155.pdf>, pg. 200

⁶¹ Vgl. Linda Erker, Die Universität Wien im Austrofaschismus, pg. 37

well, as members of the NSDStB would often assault students that they estimated to be Jewish. Due to these violent attacks, university lectures and buildings would be closed down occasionally. Ultimately, however, NSDStB students were supported by the professors and rectors that were in office during that time, such as Wenzeslaus Gleispach (1876-1944, rector 1929/1930), Hans Ueberbergs (1877-1962, rector 1930/31) and Othenio Abel (1875-1946, rector 1932/33)⁶².

After Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) was appointed Chancellor of Germany in February 1933, celebrations were held by the NSDStB. The Austrian government, now an Austrofascist dictatorship led by Engelbert Dollfuß, tried to counteract the rise in national socialism by implementing regulations against NSDAP members for reneging on their oath to serve the Austrian government in May of 1933. By September, the government had issued a declaration stating that there was no evidence necessary to reassign or enforce a leave of absence of any given University faculty member. This caused an uproar amongst faculty members and protests against the governmental interference in the academic sphere were led by the aforementioned rectors. By October, all of them had been forced to retire. The battle against the Republican “Schutzbund” (Federal Guard) in February 1934 and the national socialist coup known as the July Putsch that led to the assassination of Dollfuß, caused multiple severe disciplinary regulations to be enforced, which in turn led to the incarceration of numerous students and professors who were accused of having participated in the Putsch.

A year after the Putsch the Hochschulermächtigungsgesetz of July 1935 came into effect, which conceded full right of intervention to the government and the Ministries within schools and universities in Austria, thus taking all autonomy from these educational institutions⁶³. This led to the implementation of disciplinary measures against students, faculty members and professors, the further diminishment of faculty positions, as well as the dismissal of all members of the Social Democratic party. After the “Juliabkommen” agreement between the Austrian Government and Nazi Germany was signed in 1936, all previously retired and suspended Nazi

⁶² Vgl. Mitchel G. Ash, *Die österreichischen Hochschulen in den politischen Umbrüchen der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, pg. 43-44

⁶³ Vgl. Mitchel G. Ash, *Die österreichischen Hochschulen in den politischen Umbrüchen der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, pg. 45

sympathizing faculty members were rehired, as a sign good will⁶⁴.

3.2. Student Exchange Programs at the University of Vienna

Percy Lavon Julian was not the only American studying at the University of Vienna, nor was he the first black person. The majority of American students studying in Vienna were introduced to the idea and brought over through a study program by the “Institute of International Education” which was founded in 1919 and is located in New York to this day⁶⁵. Together with the “Österreich-Amerikanische Gesellschaft” (Austro- American Society) and the Austro – American Institute of Education, they implemented language learning courses for U.S students at the University of Vienna. This program was the first incarnation of the Summer School of the University of Vienna, with its primary goal being the introduction of Austria’s society and culture to American students⁶⁶.

This program soon expanded and lured both male and female American students, predominantly graduate students from various universities in New York to study abroad at the University of Vienna even outside of the Summer School Program and enrolling in a variety of courses⁶⁷. After World War II, the Summer School program was revived and supported by the U.S. Ambassador to Austria, Mr. John G. Erhardt. In 1949, the program was officially handed over to the jurisdiction of the University of Vienna, thus putting the University in control over the curriculum, as well as administrative matters. Promotional matters were taken care of by the Institute of International Education, while the funding was provided by the U.S. Government through the Austro- American Society.

This was not, however, the first foreign student exchange program to have been initiated by the University of Vienna, the most established of its predecessors was an exchange program with Egypt. Starting as early as the 1820’s students were sent from Egypt to the University of Vienna

⁶⁴ Vgl. Mitchel G. *Ash*, Die österreichischen Hochschulen in den politischen Umbrüchen der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, pg. 46

⁶⁵ 2022 Institute of International Education, Inc, Commemorating a Century, online under: <https://www.iie.org/en/Why-IIE/History> (27.02.2022)

⁶⁶ Franz- Stefan *Meissel*, Anniversary Edition. 70 Years Sommerhochschule of the University of Vienna 1949-2019 (Wien 2019) pg. 16

⁶⁷ Archiv der Universität Wien/Philosophische Nationalien/ Studentenblätter 1929/30, 202, Hi-J

as part of a “Studienmission” or “study missions” program initiated by the Egyptian Governor and Reformer Muhammad Ali. The impetus for this program were the socio-political tensions between Europe and Egypt caused by France’s invasion at the turn of the 19th century by Napoleon⁶⁸. In order to elevate and advance their children’s social standing in face of increased European economic and military presence and pressure to implement European modernization and reformation within Egyptian government, students were sent to various European institutes of higher education either through such programs or privately, out of their own pocket.

This relationship between the University of Vienna and Egyptian Students was upheld through a variety of iterations throughout the 19th century up until World War II. At the beginning of the 20th century, these Egyptian students increasingly combined their studies in Vienna with political activism in response to British colonial politics in their home country⁶⁹. By 1923 a group of Arabic oriented students created “Die Ägyptische Fahne⁷⁰”, a newspaper that proclaimed itself to be “the instrument of the Egyptian National Party within Austria” and was distributed among university students in Graz, Innsbruck and Vienna. Although its publication was short-lived and the newspaper was no longer in print by 1925, the spirit of the movement carried on through the founding of multiple associations for Egyptian and Arabic students in Austria, based in Graz.

It took until 1932 for a similar association to be founded in Vienna. The Islamic Cultural Association⁷¹ first held its meetings in Café Stadelmann in the 9th district, before moving to Café Arkaden, which was located directly behind the University of Vienna’s main building⁷². By then, these associations had lost most of their identity as primarily political activist groups and instead focused on serving the Muslim community both in cultural and religious practices. The Association was forced to dissolve in 1939, due to new laws imposed by the National Socialist Party.

⁶⁸ Marcel *Chahrour*, Vom Morgenhauch aufstrebender Cultur durchweht. Ägyptische Studenten in Österreich 1830-1945, in: Walter *Sauer* (Hg.), Von Soliman bis Omofuma. Geschichte der afrikanischen Diaspora in Österreich 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2007), pg. 131

⁶⁹ Vgl, Marcel *Chahrour*, Vom Morgenhauch aufstrebender Cultur durchweht, pg.143

⁷⁰ Translation: The Egyptian Flag

⁷¹ Original Text: Islamischen Kulturbund

⁷² Vgl, Marcel *Chahrour*, Vom Morgenhauch aufstrebender Cultur durchweht, pg.144

4. Biography

4.1. Early Life

Dr. Percy Lavon Julian was born the eldest of six children (three boys, Percy, James and Emerson, and three girls, Mattie, Irma and Elisabeth⁷³) “*at the corner of Jeff Davis Avenue and South Oak Street*⁷⁴” in Montgomery Alabama on the 11th of April 1899, as the son of James L. Julian, a postal worker and elementary school teacher Elisabeth Lena Addams. His family was devoutly religious, and the children were raised in the tradition of the Methodist church. The leading figure in Percy’s life was his paternal great-grandfather Cabe. He, like his children had been born into slavery⁷⁵ and like many black families, had used the bible and spiritual songs as ways of instilling certain values, such as pride in hard work, the importance of education, respect for authority and the fear of God as the source of all practical wisdom, into their children.⁷⁶ While great-grandfather Cabe and his children were still working on a cotton farm by the time Percy was already a child, they had managed to give Percy’s father a formal education, who, in turn was able to become a federal employee, thus elevating the social and economic status of the entire family. This, in and of itself, was an immense achievement as just one generation prior Percy’s grandfather had had two of his fingers chopped off for having learned to write as a slave⁷⁷.

After the Civil War, education for black children was a topic of great debate in the Southern States. While former slaves saw education as pivotal for their aspirations of becoming citizens and improving their social standing, many of them hoped to establish a nation-wide universal school system for their children, the limits of their own education and socio-economic mobility meant that they found themselves at odds with what they were able to implement. Any attempt at implementing a state school tax was shut down by white politicians and lawmakers who rejected

⁷³ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg7

⁷⁴ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.3

⁷⁵ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.8

⁷⁶ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.5-6

⁷⁷ WM *Cobb*, Percy Lavon Julian Ph.D ScD., LL.D., L.H.D. 1899-?, In: Medical History, Journal of the National Medical Association, 1971, Vol. 63, No.2, online under:

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2609845/pdf/jnma00504-0097.pdf>, pg.144

the idea that taxes paid by everyone should pay for black, as well as for white children⁷⁸.

While Northern, Midwest and Western states created land grant schools, after the passing of the Morrill Act of 1862 in the Senate⁷⁹, which allowed each state to sell 30 thousand acres⁸⁰ of land in order to build new schools and universities, Southern states initially declined the offer. When these states did implement the Act during the extension of the bill in 1890, it was in order to build new schools for white children. This was further aggravated by elite white ante-bellum planters refusing to support any public education bill, including those meant for poorer white children, as they held the opinion that education was only meant for those who were privileged enough to afford it⁸¹.

While public schools were built in the South by the Freedman's Bureau, without government support, funding and a general lack of agents on the ground, they had to rely heavily on volunteer support until, ultimately having to shut down their school program in 1872⁸². They left nearly three thousand elementary schools- which went until age 14 (or eighth grade), sixty-one "normal schools"-which trained students to become teachers, and eleven black universities and colleges. Funding for these public schools came from State funds, and so whenever democratic party members were elected to legislative power, these funds were often immediately diverted into tax funds for white schools and the salaries of black teachers decreased. In addition to systemic pressures, white landowners and mobs would often attack and burn down these school in protest⁸³. Black communities were therefore forced to financially support and help build these schools on their own and thus raised money in order to buy land for schoolhouses to be built, as well as pay for the teachers' salaries. This led to wealthier urban black communities being able to afford schooling for their children, while poorer rural communities still had to rely on Northern aid and Republican missionaries.

⁷⁸ Peter *Schmidt*, *Sitting in Darkness*. New South Fiction, Education, And the Rise of Jim Crow Colonialism 1865-1920 (University of Mississippi, 2008), pg.36

⁷⁹ United States Senate: Act of July 2, 1862 (Morrill Act), Public Law 37-108, Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1996; General Records of the United States Government; National Archives group 11, online under: https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/civil_war/MorrillLandGrantCollegeAct_FeaturedDoc

⁸⁰ Approx. 12140.569 hectares.

⁸¹ Vgl. Peter *Schmidt*, *Sitting in Darkness*, pg. 37

⁸² Vgl. Raymond *Gavins*, *The Cambridge Guide to African American History* (New York 2016) pg. 110

⁸³ Vgl. Peter *Schmidt*, *Sitting in Darkness*, pg. 38

Due to Percy's father being a federal employee and living in the city of Montgomery, the Julian's were able to afford and encourage the education of all six of their children, aiming to enable them to become college-educated, which had been beyond their own reach⁸⁴. After finishing grade school in 1912 at age thirteen, Percy went on to the State Normal School in order to further his education and receive his teaching credentials. After graduating the Normal School in 1916 then moved to Greencastle Indiana and took the exams in order to enroll in De Pauw University⁸⁵. As his previous education still lagged behind white students who were able to go to high school, he had to enroll as a sub-freshman and take additional classes at a near-by high school until his junior year⁸⁶. This had been the first time Percy had ever come into contact with white people and those that welcomed him, left a lasting impression, he stated that: *"I soon learned to smile and act like I believed they all liked me, whether they wanted to or not."*⁸⁷

This turned out to be a valuable survival skill, as he was not permitted to live on campus, nor was he given meals and only one dinner in town was willing to serve him⁸⁸. He found lodgings in the attic of the fraternity Phi Beta Kappa and paid for his education by working as a waiter and digging ditches during the day, whilst taking night classes. His hard work paid off, as he not only received his Bachelor of Arts in chemistry in 1920, but also became a member of Phi Beta Kappa and was elected valedictorian. After his graduation, the rest of the family then also moved to Greencastle and all five of his siblings graduated from De Pauw⁸⁹. His sister Mattie was the first black woman to ever receive a degree and graduate from said university⁹⁰. While Percy's father had hoped that he would study medicine instead of chemistry (as he feared the consequences that the lack of opportunity and systematic suppression in the world of academia would have on his son), both of Percy's brothers fulfilled their father's wish in his stead and

⁸⁴ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.7

⁸⁵ Percy L. Julian, Curriculum Vitae, Rigorosenakt 1931, in: Archiv der Universität Wien/ Philosophischen Promotionsprotokoll/M 34.5

⁸⁶ American Chemical Society, A National Historic Landmark. Synthesis of Physostigmine (Depauw University 1999)

⁸⁷ William Montague *Cobb*, First Percy L. Julian Memorial Lecture, DePauw University, April 28, 1977

⁸⁸ Bryan A. Wilson, Percy Lavon Julian, Pioneer of Medicinal Chemistry Synthesis, in *Labmedicine* Volume 41, November 2010, pg.1

⁸⁹ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.7

⁹⁰ Depauw Libraries, Archives and Special Collections; Percy Lavon Julian family papers, MSD-1920-003, online under: <https://depauw.libraryhost.com/repositories/2/resources/137>

became physicians⁹¹.

Although he had hoped to further his education and receive the fellowship that would allow him to continue studying at De Pauw as a graduate student, he was denied this path by his teachers who informed him that there were no further opportunities for people of his color, as no white students would want to share a lab with him and would most likely sabotage his work⁹². Furthermore, they informed him, that no white schools would hire him a teacher and that he should teach at a black college as a Master's degree was not required for that⁹³.

Percy thus went to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, a historically black college where he worked as an assistant at the chemistry department until 1922⁹⁴. At Fisk, he received the Austin Fellowship in Biophysics and Organic Chemistry, which enabled him to enroll in the Master's program at Harvard University.

The first record of a black person at Harvard is a statement given in 1639 by the wife of the university's first head, wherein she admits that a slave had fallen asleep on a student's bed⁹⁵. For centuries black people had only been permitted on the grounds of Harvard University as the property of students. After Emancipation black people worked as janitors, waiters and custodians in the student halls. The first black student to enter Harvard was Beverly G. Williams, who attended preparatory classes in 1847. The first black students properly enrolled at Harvard on a university level attended Harvard Medical School in 1850, but the first black Harvard graduates did not emerge until 1869. They were Edwin C.J.T. Howard in Medicine, George L. Ruffin in Law and Robert T. Freeman at the Dental School⁹⁶.

While they had originally been permitted to live on the university campus in the freshman dorms, as this was compulsory for all first years, this was rescinded in 1921 by the University President at the time, Abbott Lawrence Lowell. Black students were told to find off-campus housing or to

⁹¹ Vgl. WM *Cobb*, Percy Lavon Julian Ph.D ScD., LL.D., L.H.D. 1899-?, pg.143

⁹² Vgl. WM *Cobb*, Percy Lavon Julian Ph.D ScD., LL.D., L.H.D. 1899-?, pg.144

⁹³ Jeff C. *Young*, *Inspiring African-American Inventors: 9 Extraordinary Lives* (Illinois, 2009), pg.89

⁹⁴ Percy L. *Julian*, Curriculum Vitae, Rigorosenakt 1931, in: Archiv der Universität Wien/ Philosophischen Promotionsprotokoll/M 34.5

⁹⁵ Randall *Kennedy*, *Blacks at Harvard: A Documentary History of African-American Experience At Harvard and Radcliffe*. (New York, 1993), pg. 1, online under: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qfrzr>.

⁹⁶ Randall *Kennedy*, *Blacks at Harvard*, pg.3, online under: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qfrzr>

commute from home instead. Lowell's reasoning for this decision, as he wrote to a father of one of the black students who had had his housing accommodations revoked, was that while the University owed it to black men to give them an education, they did not owe them the enforced cohabitation of white and black students. He was of the opinion that the presence of black students in the dorms would only spark racial conflict⁹⁷. It took two years, a massive protest campaign spearheaded by the three black freshman who had been excluded that year, as well as an official condemnation from the Harvard alumni that were part of the NAACP, for the "Harvard Board of Overseers" to unanimously overrule Lowell's decision in the spring of 1923.

During this same time, Percy was studying at Harvard and received his Master's degree in 1923. Due to the Harvard Fellowship for Studies in Biophysics and Organic Chemistry, Percy was able to further his studies under Dr. Elmer Peter Kohler (1865-1938), a professor who would spend 26 years of his life teaching organic chemistry and who had been a part of the chemical division of the war department during World War I⁹⁸. During this period Percy focused his research on the chemistry of conjugated unsaturated systems⁹⁹. According to his CV, Percy started working researching under Dr. Kohler in 1924, but had also been working in the Collis P. Huntington Memorial Hospital for Cancer Research from 1922 to 1923, although this is unfortunately not corroborated elsewhere. The Hospital was demolished in 1969.

Unfortunately, much like De Pauw Harvard, was unwilling to offer Percy a position that would enable him to pursue his PhD research further, as they did not want to offend southern students by hiring a black teacher and faculty member¹⁰⁰. Instead, according to his CV, he received another teaching position, this time at Howard University. While employed at Howard he was known for being an enthusiastic and magnetic lecturer, who loved to discuss research problems and would often continue debating them with his associates and colleagues after closing time at his own house during dinner¹⁰¹.

⁹⁷ Nia L. *Orakwue*, Tamar *Sarig*, *Compelled to Coexist: A History on the Desegregation of Harvard's Freshman Housing*, Nov.4.2021, in: *The Crimson*, online under: <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2021/11/4/housing-desegregation/>

⁹⁸ , Elmer P. Kohler, May 25, 1938, *New York Times* pg.23, online under:

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1938/05/25/98140652.html?pageNumber=23>

⁹⁹ Vgl. Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.7

¹⁰⁰ Vgl. WM *Cobb*, Percy Lavon Julian Ph.D ScD., LL.D., L.H.D. 1899-?, pg.144

¹⁰¹ Vgl. WM *Cobb*, Percy Lavon Julian Ph.D ScD., LL.D., L.H.D. 1899-?, pg.145

According to his biography by Dr. Witkop, Percy first taught chemistry at West Virginia State College from 1926 to 1927 before moving on to Howard. Both of these institutions are historically black colleges. Howard University was founded in 1867 as a private black college. To this day Howard still boasts the highest amount of black academics and graduates. West Virginia State College was founded in 1891 as one of the land grant universities for black students established under the Morrill act of 1890. It was during his employment at Howard University, that Percy Julian received the General Education Board Fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation¹⁰². The Rockefeller Foundation is a private foundation, that was founded in 1913 by John D. Rockefeller (1839 –1937), who, at the time, was the richest man in the world. Today the foundations' goal is to fund “*science-based solutions for eliminating diseases, securing nutrition advancing equity and ending energy power*”¹⁰³. This fellowship enabled Percy to continue his studies anywhere in the world. After hearing about Dr. Ernst Späths (1886 -1946) research on alkaloids and the advanced laboratories that focused on organic chemistry that he worked in, Percy chose to study under him and travelled to Vienna. He enrolled at the University of Vienna in the winter semester of 1929¹⁰⁴.

4.2. Dr. Julian's Life and Education at the University of Vienna

In Dr. Witkops Biography of Dr. Julian, he adds that another reason why Percy chose Vienna and its University, was “*the historic tradition of the world's musical capital, the elegance, the proverbial Viennese charm, the opera, and der Heurige*”. Although in this case, I must conclude that these are either Dr. Witkops own feelings towards Vienna or what aspects Dr. Julian generally praised the most about during his time in Vienna, as the very next sentence is: “*Percy never elaborated on his method of selection*”¹⁰⁵. He goes on to describe Percy recounting instances from his youth that had always made him curious about Europe and the “old world”.

Despite this possible additional sentimental co- motivation, Dr. Späths lab and the reputation of the organic chemistry department at the University of Vienna, specifically when it came to

¹⁰² Vgl. Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.8

¹⁰³ The Rockefeller Foundation, A Legacy of Making Opportunity Universal, online under: <https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/>

¹⁰⁴ Archiv der Universität Wien/Philosophische Nationalien/ Studentenblätter 1929/30, 202, Hi-J, „Julian“

¹⁰⁵ Vgl. Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.9

research in the field of alkaloids, would have been reason enough. The history of Organic Chemistry Department at the University of Vienna begins in 1849, when Dr. Joseph Redtenbacher (1810–1870), the chair of Chemistry at the University in Prague, was instructed to establish an Institute for Chemistry at the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna¹⁰⁶. His research on fatty acids and the fermentation process of glycerin helped him further with his research on cholesterol and bile¹⁰⁷. He gave rise to a long lineage of scholars, many of which made such pivotal discoveries in the world of organic chemistry, that they fundamentally changed the field entirely. One example would be Professor Heinrich Hlasiwetz (1825–1875), who discovered phloroglucinol in phloretin which can be isolated from the bark of fruit trees. His successor at the University of Vienna, Ludwig Barth von Barthenau (1839–1890), along with his student Michael Kretschy isolated the alkaloids picrotin and picrotoxinin from Indian cocculus. Barth's successor, in turn, was Hugo Weidel (1849–1899), whose research in nicotine-containing biochemicals and his discovery of the formula of berberine acid in 1879 marked milestones in early Austrian alkaloid chemistry¹⁰⁸. Alkaloids are specific chemicals within nature that have powerful pharmacological effects and include substances such as caffeine, nicotine, cocaine, morphine, etc¹⁰⁹.

The two most renowned chemists teaching at the University of Vienna during Dr. Julian's time were Dr. Hofrat Rudolph Wegscheider and Dr. Ernst Späth. Dr. Wegscheider (1859–1935), a former PhD student of Ludwig Barth's, focused on kinetic chemistry and is considered to be the founder of physical chemistry and was already viewed as one of the most influential chemists of the 20th century by 1927¹¹⁰. Dr. Ernst Späth was born the son of Alois and Maria Späth in 1886 in the town of Bärn in what is today known as the Czech Republic. Due to his mother's influence, he did not follow in his father's footsteps and become a smith, but instead chose to further his education by going to a secondary school for applied sciences. After taking additional exams in Greek and Latin, he was able to enroll in the Natural Sciences Department at the University of

¹⁰⁶ Rudolf Werner *Soukup*, On the occasion of the 100th anniversary: Ernst Späth and his Mescaline Synthesis of 1919 In: *Monatshefte für Chemie - Chemical Monthly* (29. April 2019) pg.949

¹⁰⁷ Ernst *Späth*, *Geschichte der Chemie in Österreich. Vortrag, gehalten in der feierlichen Sitzung der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien am 1. Juni 1927* (Wien 1927) pg. 5-6

¹⁰⁸ Rudolf Werner *Soukup*, On the occasion of the 100th anniversary: Ernst Späth and his Mescaline Synthesis of 1919, pg. 950

¹⁰⁹ Vgl. Bryan A. *Wilson*, *Percy Lavon Julian, Pioneer of Medicinal Chemistry Synthesis*, pg.2

¹¹⁰ Vgl. Ernst *Späth*, *Geschichte der Chemie in Österreich.*, pg. 11

Vienna in 1906. By 1909 he had published his first scientific paper with Dr. Wegscheider as his doctoral supervisor. He finished his doctoral thesis in July of 1910, and by 1913, he was researching new ways of synthesizing reagents and published his findings in 1914. Despite serving in World War I in the Adriatic Sea, he nonetheless managed to publish another paper in 1916 on new derivatives of opianic acid together with Dr. Wegscheider. He habilitated and married his childhood sweetheart Anna Amalia Schmarek in 1917, he received the title of extraordinary professor in 1921 and, by 1924, he had become a fully-fledged professor, as well as the Director of the second Chemical Institute at the University of Vienna. In 1926 he was elected a fellow to the Austrian Academy of Sciences. In the year 1932/33 he acted as dean of the philosophical faculty and in 1937/38 he was elected rector of the University of Vienna¹¹¹. For his work in organic chemistry, he was awarded the Ignaz Lieben Prize in 1920 and is most recognized for being the first to synthesize nicotine and identifying minor tobacco alkaloids. In March 1938 the Austrian Ministry of Education Oswald Menghin (1888–1973) instructed Dr. Fritz Knoll to take over Späth's position as Acting Rector. Späth stayed on as the General Secretary at the Austrian Academy of Sciences until 1945 and then was elected President of the Academy in October of that same year. He died unexpectedly during a journey to Zürich in September of 1946¹¹².

Edwin Mosettig was a close friend of Percy's and the brother of Erich Mosettig (1898-1962); both brothers studied with Dr. Julian at the University of Vienna in Dr. Späth's lab. According to Edwin, when Percy arrived at the laboratories of the second Chemistry Institution on Währingerstraße 38 (which today holds the Institute of Analytical Chemistry) for the first time, he brought a treasure trove with him. Dr. Julian had shipped large crates of laboratory equipment to the labs before his arrival, most of which had not been available in Austria at that time. The items included made-to-order glassware, electric stirrers and ground glass equipment, the extravagance of which reminded Edwin of "the story of the arrival of the three kings from the bible, casting Percy as the black king of course¹¹³". During their time at Dr. Späth's lab, Edwin Mosettig and Josef Pickl (1904–1989) were closest with Percy and the three men spent most of their free time together. Joined by other members of the Mosettig family, they would often go on outings to the Danube to swim and play tennis, as well as go on skiing trips in the

¹¹¹ Vgl. Rudolf Werner *Soukup*, On the occasion of the 100th anniversary. Pg 951

¹¹² Vgl. Rudolf Werner *Soukup*, On the occasion of the 100th anniversary. Pg 952

¹¹³ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.10

countryside¹¹⁴. Edwin and Erich's mother was a famous pianist who gave Percy free piano lessons and also occasionally accompanied him and his friends to the opera and the theatre. Dr. Julian's first opera was "The Magic Flute" by Mozart.

It was through this friendship with the Mossetig family that his German improved, to the point of also becoming quite fluent in the Viennese Dialect and able to invite his friends over for dinner and academic conversations like those he had enjoyed at Howard. In his apartment in Liechtensteinstraße 45a (in the 9th district, a short walking distance from the University), he would often play the piano and sing gospel songs for his friends. His friend group did not only consist of his colleagues from the lab, but also of members of the Viennese Jewish community with whom he had commiserating discussions and debates¹¹⁵. This would have been the first time in his life that he was able to have conversations with such a diverse group of people, both ethnically and ideologically, at his own home. His rhetorical prowess became widely known among certain circles and he was even invited to give a representation on the radio on the 15th of April 1931. The speech was called "Europa kennt den Neger nicht", in which he introduced the character and academic achievements of black Americans, using his family history as an example¹¹⁶, as well as giving a brief summary of some of the interactions and exchanges Europe had had with them¹¹⁷. His speech was reported on in three different newspaper articles, one of which features a photograph of him giving said speech¹¹⁸.

It was on one of his many walks with the Mossetig's in the Viennese forest that he came across the flower *Corydalis Cava*, commonly known as "Hohler Lerchensporn" and was inspired to research the alkaloids contained within it, as the plant was known to treat pain and tachycardia, a condition where your heart beats too quickly¹¹⁹. This research would ultimately form the basis of the first half of his doctoral thesis: „*On the knowledge of various plant alkaloids and on a new heterocyclic free radical*”, wherein he isolated certain new alkaloids from *Corydalis Cava*.

¹¹⁴ Vgl. Bryan A. *Wilson*, Percy Lavon Julian, Pioneer of Medicinal Chemistry Synthesis, pg.2

¹¹⁵ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.12

¹¹⁶, Aus der Radio Woche 18. April 1931, Die Arbeiter Zeitung,

¹¹⁷ Ein Neger spricht in Wien, 17.April 1931, Neues Wiener Journal

¹¹⁸ Woche Radio- Wien". April 1931, Radio Wien, 24

¹¹⁹ Vgl. Bryan A. *Wilson*, Percy Lavon Julian, Pioneer of Medicinal Chemistry Synthesis, pg.2

specifically, d-canadine, d-tetrahydro-coptisine and hydro-hydrastinine.¹²⁰ He finished his thesis and received his doctorate degree in Chemistry in July 1931¹²¹, thus making him the second black American to ever receive a doctorate in Chemistry¹²². While Dr. Späth was very strict in his grading of the paper, he described Dr. Julian as “*an extraordinary student, the likes of which I had yet to see within my career as a teacher*”¹²³. In a letter from Dr. Pickl to Dr. Witkop, on the occasion of writing Dr. Julian’s biography, he described his time in Vienna as a pivotal moment for Dr. Julian’s personal development. For the first time, Percy was completely at ease. He was friends with all fifteen other graduate students in the lab and was noticed for his neatness, cleanliness, and unstoppable work ethic, while also being known for his uninhibited contagious laugh¹²⁴. Dr. Julian and Dr. Pickl both left Vienna for America in September of 1931 on “The Queen Elisabeth”, but this would not be their last time in Vienna. Austria had clearly become a home in Dr. Julian’s heart as the following November, he gave his commencement speech at Howard titled “The Present Day Austria and American Individualism¹²⁵” and not even a year after his graduation, he returned to Austria for a bike tour through Carinthia and Styria.

4.3. Dr. Julian’s Life after his Time in Vienna

After leaving Vienna both Dr. Julian and Dr. Pickl both received positions as professors at Howard University and worked together as research partners. Their goal was to synthesize the drug physostigmine, an alkaloid found in the Calabar bean, so that it could be used as an anti-glaucoma agent and promote fluid drainage within the eyes¹²⁶. They worked at Howard University for two years before being “forced to leave due to some unfortunate intrigue”- as Dr. Witkop writes¹²⁷. On June 4th, 1932, the private letters that Dr. Julian had sent to his friend and assistant Dr. Shohan had been summarized and published in “The Afro-American” newspaper.

¹²⁰ R. Wegscheider, Beurteilung der Dissertation, in: Archiv der Universität Wien/ Philosophischen Promotionsprotokoll/M 34.5 (University of Vienna, 1931)

¹²¹ Archiv der Universität Wien/ Philosophischen Promotionsprotokoll/M 34.5 (University of Vienna, 1931)

¹²² The first was St. Elmo Brady, who received his degree in 1916 from the University of Illinois

¹²³ Original Text: “Ein außerordentlicher Student, wie ich ihn aus meiner Laufbahn als Lehrer niemals hatte“ in: Vgl. Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.13. The above quote has been retranslated.

¹²⁴ Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.14

¹²⁵ Staff, Hilltop, "The Hilltop 11-05-1931": Dr. Percy Julian delivers Honor’s Day Address (Howard University, 1931). Pg. 13, online under: https://dh.howard.edu/hilltop_193040/13

¹²⁶ Vgl. Bryan A. Wilson, Percy Lavon Julian, Pioneer of Medicinal Chemistry Synthesis, pg.3

¹²⁷ Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.14

Wedge between a multitude of columns, the article read: *“Julian Letters Draw a Veil from HU. Letters from Julian to Dr. Jacob Shohan were made public this week. Members of the faculty at Howard are mentioned familiarly and some derisively in the letters, which deal with a variety of subjects from wine, pretty Viennese women, music and dances to chemical experiments and plans for a new chemical building. President Johnson is favorably mentioned in the letters which say uncomplimentary things about Dr. Emmet Scott, Dean Edward P. Davis and instructor Cooper of the chemistry department. [...] Robert (Bob)Thompson, another assistant is referred to as “so damned punctual and orderly and laboring away into the middle of the night to help me.’ Subsequently Dr. Julian recommended the dismissal of Mr. Thompson and Dr. Shohan as well and both have been forced to resign. Mr. Thompson is suing Dr. Julian for alienating the affections of his wife and Dr. Julian is suing Mr. Thompson for libel.¹²⁸”* The paper continued reporting on this issue on the 18th of June, revealing, over the course of multiple articles, more of the contents of Dr. Julian’s letters in greater detail, as well as the fall-out of their publication.

“JULIAN -SHOHAN LETTERS COVER A WIDE RANGE: Washington- “Damn” and “hell” came easy to Dr. Percy Julian, head of the department of chemistry at Howard University whose letters from Austria to Dr. Jacob Shohan, his white assistant were published originally in the Afro two weeks ago. The letters struck Washington like a thunderclap. The administration was embarrassed. Dr. Julian has been asked to resign. New regulations concerning dismissal of professors adopted April 8, 1932. All over the campus these letters have stirred one wise crack after another. Excerpts from the letters follow: April 4, 1930: “If my bank account will allow it, I shall take advantage of the fifty percent discount in fares to run down to Italy next week or the week after. Although the lab is closed Prof. Spaeth and I are working together to attempt to locate the double bond in our Hoffman Abbau product. Mums the word on my prospects to Sicily, but \$25.00 for such a trip won’t come again so soon. [...] This last month cost me an unholy amount of money especially since this year I have done a good deal of travelling and have lived comfortably. Not to the bone at all. I have bought what I needed and have spent already in Europe over \$1.500. [...] To Dean E.P. Davis. January 11, 1930. I believe there is no

¹²⁸ Julian Drew Veil from H.U.” June 4, 1932. The Afro-American, 41st Year. No. 36., online under: <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=UBnQDr5gPskC&dat=19320604&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>

one in America who is better acquainted with the Negro chemists than I. It was my task to seek capable chemists among our group for our department. That there are as of yet none who can by virtue of their works, fit into my definition of a chemist, is not a criticism but rather a stern fact which we must face. No better proof of this can be given than that there has not been up to the present one single individual contribution to a journal of chemistry in America from a Negro. [...] Aside from one of two master thesis of negligible importance wherein the worker acted as an operating machine for the professor the pen of the Negro has not found its way into the records of American chemistry. I have been ashamed to be compelled to admit this to European questioners and I have naturally vowed that this shall not be the truth for long.[...] January 18.1929 Anna (Anna Thompson) wrote me (yesterday received) about it (his aunt) and I was damned hot. I gave James {I am assuming this is referring to Dr. Julian's brother} Hell in a letter to him. I am sorry I ever allowed Pearl to go to Anna and Bob's. We had a lovely home together formerly. With this half-sister (Gott sei Dank) of my mother's I am done."¹²⁹

The front-page article is titled “**Howard University Officials Ask Letter-Writing Dr. Julian to Resign**” and consists of 15 paragraphs squeezed into three columns.

“Dr. Julian was requested by Dean Davis to resign by June 30th, 1932. [...] It is well understood that the administration will cooperate with Dean Davis in ousting the prize letter write of Howard University, thus taking a forward step towards restoring banished decency. [...] Julian's revelation on how he fooled the president into accepting his plans for the chemistry building and how he bluffed his good friend into appointing that professor with the long name should remain as a warning to the president, no matter how long or how short his administration may be. When the president permitted certain people to wind their way into his confidence, so that he was influenced to act on their advice, he therewith lost control of his own administration. [...] Now that Julian is to depart from Howard, the first speculation is on the conditions under which he is to retire. The Henchmen of the administration tried to explain the 4.000\$ award to Dr. Shohan. They maintained that college professors had to be treated that way when they were fired.

¹²⁹ Julian is Asked to Resign, Julian – Shohan letters cover a wide range. June 18th 1931, The Afro- American, 41st Year, No.38, pg 1-2. online under: <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2211&dat=19320618&id=wUxGAAAIBAJ&pg=2511,5176373>

Will Dr. Julian receive a salary for being fired? If any effort is made to pay for the epistles, we should receive infinitely more: for those letters have helped to save the good name of Howard University, which cannot be measured in dollars. In light of the Julian nightmare, the case of Dr. Shohan, the “Dear Jack” of the tragedy, is clear. The two friends who met at Harvard, were cut asunder by the administration. During Julian’s sojourn in Austria, the rising action of the play culminated in the dismissal of “Dear Jack”. Dean Davis took the initial responsibility for the action, but “Dear Jack” brought so much Hebrew pressure on the president that the action had to be reversed. When Percy came back from abroad, “Dear Jack” fell on the wrong side [...] of the ledger, and now it became the weening duty of Professor Percy, as head of the department to make the ousting recommendation. Herein lay the folly of Julian’s actions. [...] He feared his feudal lord and signed the death warrant of his dearest friend. [...] With the departure of Dr. Julian from Howard University to parts unknown, it is to be hoped that at least two court cases will die in oblivion. There are enough cases remaining, not to air out the Thompson- Julian mess. [...] So far as the writer is concerned the banishment of Dr. Julian settles the matter. Now that the President is beginning to see the light, he may retain Thompson and who knows but the youthful couple may be reunited. No doubt the “dammed pretty little Vienesse [sic]” may find a permanent place in the well lubricated affections of Percy¹³⁰”

The allegations contained within these articles, are quite damning. The usage of curse words and the mention of his spending habits during his time in Vienna that are quoted from his letter, would most likely not be seen as career-ending by today’s societal norms. However, the usage of such language so candidly written would have been considered taboo in early 1930’s America during the height of Prohibition, especially within the small community of upper class, university educated black Americans that, to this day, has remained very conservative and protestant. Most damning, however, are the statements regarding black chemists in America and their lack of representation within the American journals, as if forgetting the severely underfunded labs from which these students were working from, in contrast to the well-funded laboratories from which

¹³⁰ Julian is Asked to Resign, Howard University Officials Ask Letter -Writing Dr. Julian to Resign. June 18th 1931 The Afro- American, 41st Year, No.38, pg 1.

the published white chemists were working, regardless of whether or not papers from black chemists who did not have connections to white schools such as Harvard and De Pauw would have even been considered.

Further damning is his alleged treatment of his friend to whom these letters were sent. While we do not have written proof that states that Dr. Julian actually advocated for Dr. Shohan's removal as per the request of the President of Howard University, Mortdecai W. Johnson (1890-1976), we cannot ignore the fact that Dr. Shohan released the letters to this newspaper under this presumption, or at least told the writing staff at the Afro as much. What the actual catalyst for such an action was, can only be speculated upon. What is also abundantly clear, is that the authors of these articles intended for their publications to humble, as well as to expose. The underlying accusation of the opinion piece, which quotes him commenting on Viennese women, without including the letter in which such comments were actually made, as well as choosing letters with incendiary sub-titles such as "Anna wrote Him" as proof of his affair with Anna Thompson, while the quoted letter contains complaints about his own family dispute (but does contain German phrases, alluding to the fact that he was writing from Austria, as do the other letters transcribed) is quite obvious.

Fortunately, Dr. Julian and Dr. Pickl were invited by the Dean of the Liberal Arts college at De Pauw University, Dr. W.M. Blanchard (1874-1946), Dr. Julian's former professor and mentor, to take on positions as professors for the senior classes in organic chemistry in 1933. Here, they were able to continue their work on synthesizing physostigmine while teaching and would often stay in the lab until the early hours of the night.¹³¹ Unfortunately, they were not the only chemist trying to accomplish this feat. At the same time, Sr. Robert Robinson in England was trying to achieve the same results, though with different physicochemical parameters. Two years after their arrival at De Pauw, Sr. Robinson published his full results just before Julian and Pickl were about to publish theirs. However, Dr. Julian realized that the final product according to Sr. Robinson's synthesis pathway did not have the correct melting temperature¹³². In Dr. Julian's subsequent manuscript entitled "Studies in the Indole series, IV: The Synthesis of d,l-escerethole",

¹³¹ Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.15

¹³² Vgl. Bryan A. *Wilson*, Percy Lavon Julian, Pioneer of Medicinal Chemistry Synthesis, pg.2

he then pointed out this error and published it in the Journal of the American Chemical Society¹³³, much to Dr. Pickl's abject horror. Both of them were already in a precarious situation as newcomers in the academic field. A scandal was already tied to their name and challenging established and well-respected scientist only to be proven wrong would have irrevocably ruined their academic futures. They were warned by friends and mentors, including Dr. Kohler who wrote: "*I know you realize that you must be right in this cordial polemic or else it might lead to grave doubt concerning the authenticity of your future work.*"¹³⁴ This dire situation would have only been exacerbated by the fact that they were still living through the Great Depression. They published their exact process in their next paper "Studies in the Indole Series V: The complete synthesis of physostigmine (Eserine)", in which they could prove without a doubt that their final product was indeed correct. After successfully physically synthesizing the l-esetherole, the result was a final product was identical to its natural counterpart¹³⁵. Dr. Julian's gamble had paid off. Their results were celebrated throughout the field and both chemists were able to establish themselves at the young age of 36. After this first success, Dr. Julian married Dr. Anna Roselle Johnson on December 24th of that same year.

Dr. Anna Roselle Johnson was born on November 24, 1903, in Baltimore, Maryland, as the fifth daughter in a family of seven girls. She, like Dr. Julian, was raised in a religious household that valued education, and as her father was a podiatrist, the family was able to afford for Anna to be well-educated¹³⁶. At the age of twelve, her parents sent her to live with her aunt in Philadelphia, so that she could attend the integrated West Philadelphia High School for Girls, which had a more advanced curriculum and was better funded, than the segregated schools in Baltimore¹³⁷. She graduated in 1919 and immediately enrolled at the integrated University of Pennsylvania, where women had been able to enroll since 1753. As an undergraduate, she joined the black

¹³³ American Chemical Society, Synthesis of Physostigmine. De Pauw University Greencastle. In: A National Historic Landmark (Indiana 1999) pg. 3

¹³⁴ Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.15

¹³⁵ American Chemical Society, Synthesis of Physostigmine. De Pauw University Greencastle. In: A National Historic Landmark (Indiana 1999) pg. 5

¹³⁶ Faith R. *Julian*, Anna Jonson Julian. In Tribute; De Pauw University Archive: Percy Lavon Julian Family Papers Series II: Folder 4, Anna Roselle Johnson Julian (Mrs. Percy L. Julian), 1903 – 1994, online under: https://web.archive.org/web/20060923035809/http://www.depauw.edu/library/archives/dpuinventories/julian_collection_s2_f4.htm

¹³⁷ Penn University Archive Records, Online Exhibits/ Penn People A-Z /Anna Johnson Julian 1901-1994, online under: <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-people/biography/anna-johnson-julian>

sorority Delta Sigma Theta, which had just been founded three years earlier in order to advocate for women's suffrage and higher education for black women¹³⁸. Anna was elected its fourth national president in 1929. She held this position for two years, before stepping down in 1931. She earned her Bachelor of Science degree in Education in 1923. The following year she enrolled in the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences on a University Scholarship in Sociology and finished her Master's degree in Sociology in 1925. Afterwards she worked as a case worker for the Family Service Association of Washington, D.C. until 1928 and then as a schoolteacher until 1929. She returned to the University of Pennsylvania in the summer semester of 1931 and enrolled as a full-time student. She was awarded the Bloomfield Moore Fellowship in Sociology, which was the highest stipend available to women at that time¹³⁹ and passed the preliminary examination for her Ph.D. in May 1935. She then married Dr. Julian. Having finished her dissertation "Standards of Relief: An Analysis of One Hundred Family Case Records", she received her doctorate in Sociology in 1937, thus making her the first black American woman to ever receive a doctorate in Sociology. Soon after, the now Dr. Julian, was elected as the first black woman to join Phi Beta Kapa, the same honor society that her husband was a member of. From 1929 to 1939, Dr. Anna Julian worked as a research assistant in the Department of Research of the Public Schools of Washington, D.C., while also working on her doctoral thesis and commuted from Washington D.C. to Pennsylvania for her classes¹⁴⁰. From 1937 onwards, she also worked as an instructor in Educational Sociology at Miner College. In 1939, she moved with her husband to Illinois¹⁴¹.

While multiple articles state that Dr. Anna Julian had been Mrs. Anna Thompson when Dr. Julian had met her, the only source for this information available is a documentary on Dr. Julian made by the American Public Broadcasting Service¹⁴². As it said by a narrator, not by any of the friends they had interviewed (among them Dr. Witkop), and they do not offer any cited sources, I cannot take this as fact, especially since I could not find their marriage certificate in any of the United States marriage records from 1925 to 1935. I chose these dates as she had moved to

¹³⁸ Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc. About Us, online under: <https://www.deltasigmatheta.org/about-delta/#Timeline>

¹³⁹ Faith R. *Julian*, Anna Jonson Julian. In Tribute

¹⁴⁰ Vgl. Faith R. *Julian*, Anna Jonson Julian. In Tribute

¹⁴¹ Vgl. Penn University Archive Records, Online Exhibits/ Penn People A-Z /Anna Johnson Julian 1901-1994, online under: <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-people/biography/anna-johnson-julian>

¹⁴² NOVA. PBS, Percy Julian-Forgotten Genius season 34, episode 8, (Ohio, 2007)

Washington D.C. for work in 1925, which is where Howard University is located and 1935 is the year she married Dr. Julian, for which I could find a marriage certificate¹⁴³. Additionally, Mr. Thompson and or a previous marriage are not mentioned in any of the biographies, articles and interviews written by friends or members of the family. What I can say is that the “Ms. Thompson” featured in the infamous court case and the later “Mrs. Julian” have the same first name and lived in Washington D.C. at the same time. (Besides this conjecture however, I would like to note that Dr. Anna Julian’s career milestones were achieved in addition to taking care of her family throughout highly tumultuous times, which I will reference in the next chapter. Her actions were remarkable, and I am of the firm opinion that, one day, someone should write a dissertation about, her as well.)

After marrying Dr. Anna Julian and basking in his academic success, Dr. Julian had hoped to receive a permanent position and climb the academic ranks of either De Pauw University, or the academic world in general but was severely disappointed. In 1936, after both the Head of his department and the President of the University had nominated him for a faculty position at De Pauw, they were informed that the board of trustees were not willing to hire a black man on to the faculty. This had also happened a year before as well, after he had been recommended for a faculty position at the University of Minnesota, but the Board of Regents would not consider a black man in such a position¹⁴⁴. Disappointed and frustrated by the academic world, Dr. Julian instead looked for a position in the industrial sector.

4.4. Dr. Julian’s Professional Life in the Private Sector

While Dr. Julian had hoped that the process of finding work in the industrial sector would be less obstacle-ridden, he was sorely disappointed, as there were now even more elements that influenced his career. His first job offer within the industry was a position on the research staff of the Institute of Paper Chemistry in Appleton, Wisconsin, which he had accepted, only for him

¹⁴³ Indiana U.S. Marriages 1810-2001, Anna Roselle Johnson, online under: https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/bmd_marriage/?name=Anna+Roselle_Johnson&birth=1901_baltimore-maryland-usa_6193&gender=f&priority=african-american&record_f=1900-1999

¹⁴⁴ Vgl. WM Cobb, Percy Lavon Julian Ph.D ScD., LL.D., L.H.D. 1899-?, pg.144

and his employer to discover that the town was a “sun-down” town¹⁴⁵, i.e.: a town where it is illegal for black people to stay overnight. (These towns still exist today) While job hunting, he continued working as a research fellow and teacher at De Pauw, where a happy accident occurred. While attempting to isolate a companion alkaloid to the Physostigmine within the Calabar bean, he had separated the oil from the bean, washed it with acid, put it aside and then forgotten about it for a couple weeks. When Dr. Julian returned to the solution, little crystals had formed. He separated them from the solution and upon further examination and testing, discovered that it was the naturally occurring unsaturated steroid alcohol (aka: sterol) stigmaterol. At this point in time, other chemists were publishing their work on the synthesis of testosterone out of stigmaterol, but from soybean oil instead of Calabar bean oil¹⁴⁶. Trusting his instincts, he promptly ordered 5 gallons of soybean oil from the Glidden company. He then received a call from the Glidden Vice President, Mr. W.J. O’Brian, who after hearing about Dr. Julian’s achievements, as well as his enforced forfeiture of the position at the Institute of Paper, decided to invite him to interview for a position without asking for permission first. After the interview, Julian was hired as the Director of Research of the Soya Production company and moved with his family to Franklin Park, Illinois, in 1936.¹⁴⁷ It was the first time a black person had ever been put in a position of leadership in a modern industrial laboratory.

Glidden is predominantly known as a paint company that was founded in 1875 by Francis Harrington Glidden in Ohio and was the first company to produce colored varnish in 1895¹⁴⁸. At the beginning of the twentieth century, they had begun to branch out into other industries, such as fertilizer production, waste conversion and food production. By 1930 they became a public owned cooperation. The Glidden Company’s Soya Products Division was the first in the United States, for which they imported and planted the German hexane plant in 1934. Throughout the 1930’s and 40’s Glidden was pioneering the production, distillation, and discovery of soy bi-products., such as soy-lecithin and granular soy- lecithin, the first food grade isolate that was used as a whipping agent.

¹⁴⁵ Vgl. WM *Cobb*, Percy Lavon Julian Ph.D ScD., LL.D., L.H.D. 1899-?, pg.144

¹⁴⁶ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.18

¹⁴⁷ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.19

¹⁴⁸ William *Shurtleff*, Akiko *Aoyagi*, History of the Glidden Company's Soya Products / Chemurgy Division, in: History of Soybeans and Soyfoods, 1100 B.C. to the 1980s, online under: [The Glidden Company \(soyinfocenter.com\)](http://soyinfocenter.com)

The Glidden Company continued its relationship with the Electro- Chemie Company in Hamburg. Dr. Julian, who had maintained his level of fluency in German- took the lead in communications with Germany and was appointed head researcher. He stayed in this position for the next eighteen years. During his time there, he spearheaded the research into the synthesis of soy by-products, not only the ones mentioned in the above paragraph, but also fire- resistant foam, called “Aero-Foam” or “bean soup”, which would go to be used by the U.S. Navy during World War II¹⁴⁹. Finally, he managed to make successful discoveries in the synthesis of sex hormones. By accident, water had leaked into a 100.000-gallon¹⁵⁰ tank of purified soy- oil and caused approximately 100 pounds¹⁵¹ of white crystals to form. Remembering his experiences with the same reaction, while he was still at De- Pauw, he immediately set off to continue and conclude the research process he had been involved in before coming to Glidden.

After ozonizing this mass, (which marked the first time such a process had been done on such a large scale), he was able to successfully synthesize progesterone, which would help to prevent miscarriages. Previously, sex hormones had been derived from animals, most commonly cows and bulls and therefore could only be produced in small amounts and at a great financial cost. With this method, however, the hormone could be produced on a much larger scale, producing about 5 pounds a day; far more efficiently and could be put on the American market at a much cheaper price than was previously available, while still resulting in an additional income of about \$3.6 Million a year for the Glidden company¹⁵². Dr. Julian and his team continued using this method to be able to synthesize other sex hormones.

He found the inspiration for his next scientific goal in 1948, when researchers from the Mayo clinic¹⁵³ discovered that cortisone was able to reverse symptoms of rheumatoid arthritis. Soon

¹⁴⁹ The New York Times, Dr. Percy Julian, Chemist, 76, Dies, April 21st 1975pg.32, (New York, 1975), online under: <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1975/04/21/76352643.html?pageNumber=32>

¹⁵⁰ Approximately 378 Litres

¹⁵¹ Approximately 45 Kilogramms

¹⁵² American Chemical Society, Synthesis of Physostigmine. De Pauw University Greencastle. In: A National Historic Landmark (Indiana 1999) pg. 4

¹⁵³ An academic medical center founded in Minnesota in 1889, Bruce Frye: The Origins and Evolution of the Mayo Clinic, The National Library of Medicine (Washington D.C. 2016), online under: <https://circulatingnow.nlm.nih.gov/2016/06/14/the-origins-and-evolution-of-the-mayo-clinic/#:~:text=The%20clinic%20has%20its%20origins,to%20become%20specialists%20in%20surgery.>

thereafter Dr. Julian published a new, more practical synthesis of compounds that only differ from cortisone by one oxygen atom. In doing this he was able to produce hydrocortisone and its derivatives, in a simpler, more streamlined procedure, thus making it more affordable to produce large quantities and ultimately more affordable to purchase. During his time at Glidden, Dr. Julian applied and received 35 patents for different syntheses methods and their resulting products¹⁵⁴. It is by no surprise that he was consequently working 15–16-hour shifts. These long hours in the lab kept him from his family, which had grown in the meantime. His son, Percy Lavon Julian Jr, was born in 1940 and his daughter Faith Roselle Julian in 1944.

Deciding to venture further out, the family moved to Oak Park, Illinois – a white neighborhood in 1950. In order to focus on alkaloids other than the soybean, Dr. Julian established Julian Laboratories, Inc. in 1953, with Dr. Anna Julian taking on the role of Vice- President, Treasurer and Bookkeeper, while her husband continued his goal of making medicinal hormones affordable for the average person¹⁵⁵. The enterprise soon became profitable, and he was able to open the “Laboratories Julian de Mexico” in Mexico City and the “Empresa Agro-Quimica Guatemalaca” laboratories in Guatemala, as he found that the wild yams that grew there were even better suited for cortisone production¹⁵⁶.

Alongside these major scientific achievements, the Julian family was making strides fighting against discrimination in their everyday lives. Upon moving to Oak Park, the affluent white suburban neighborhood where Ernest Hemingway had been raised, their house was set on fire on Thanksgiving Day of 1950, by kerosine bombs that had been thrown into their basement. They received threats from neighbors and the Ku Klux Klan but insisted on remaining in their home. The Chicago Sun reported on 2nd of December 1950: *“Chicagoan of the Year’s House Target of Vandals- [...] The man voted Chicago’s outstanding citizen Dr. Percy Julian, hired armed guards, Thursday to protect his home from vandals who soaked the walls with kerosene and hurled firebrands inside the basement, Thanksgiving eve. Dr. Julian, developer of synthetic arthritic medication, and world-renowned chemist recently purchased the sixteen-room home in the exclusive Oak Park. He planned to move his family there in two weeks. Despite the attempt to*

¹⁵⁴ Vgl. Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.21

¹⁵⁵ Vgl. Faith R. Julian, Anna Jonson Julian. In Tribute

¹⁵⁶ Vgl. Bryan A. Wilson, Percy Lavon Julian, Pioneer of Medicinal Chemistry Synthesis, pg.3

burn the home, the Julian's declared that they would not be run out. "We refuse to be intimidated" his wife said defiantly. The arson attack will probably delay their moving in, she admitted, adding "But we are going through with it, we are not going to be intimidated by hoodlums"¹⁵⁷

The threats continued. In June 1951 dynamite was thrown from a passing car and exploded outside the bedroom window of Percy's children. Dr. Julian's determination to provide a safer childhood for his children than he had had in Alabama persevered, despite the constant attacks and the police's unwillingness to investigate and issue protective measures for the family. While the weekly town newspaper "Oak Leaves" refused to acknowledge that these attacks were taking place, other newspapers such as the Chicago Tribune and Times Magazine reported on the occurrences, thus kickstarting a racialized debate about which race the perpetrators belonged to, with comments such as: *"Maybe some of his own race are resentful of him for going high-hat on them, moving into the exclusive part of an all-white neighborhood, or for attending a white church, as I'm told he does."*¹⁵⁸.

Amidst the media whirlwind, forty- six Oak Park residents published an apology note in the Chicago Sun-Times on July 3rd, 1951, which read: *"We, the citizens of Oak Park, wish to express the dismay and indignation we feel regarding the further attack on the sanctity and security of Dr. Julian's home. We ask Dr. Julian and his family to accept our sincere apology that such un-American and bigoted action should occur in our village. We welcome them to Oak Park and are honored that they should desire to live among us. We assure them that we wish to do everything within our power to make them our real neighbors"*¹⁵⁹.

Despite this letter of assurance, the discrimination continued. While the children were receiving threats from classmates at school, Dr. Julian would be invited to speak at functions, only to be told an hour beforehand that black people were not permitted to enter the premises of the club

¹⁵⁷ Dr. Julian's Home, 2. December 1950, The Chicago Sun- Times

¹⁵⁸ Ron Grossman, "Chemist Percy Julian pushed past racial barriers — amid attacks on his Oak Park home" in "The Chicago Tribune, "February 19th, 2019, online under: <https://www.chicagotribune.com/opinion/commentary/ct-perspec-flashback-percy-julian-chemist-oak-park-20190206-story.html>

¹⁵⁹ Vgl. WM Cobb, Percy Lavon Julian Ph.D ScD., LL.D., L.H.D. 1899-?, pg.145

house.¹⁶⁰

The Julian Family's response to this was that every member of their family became lifelong members of the NAACP and they continued to live in their house. Throughout his life, Dr. Julian contributed and continued to advocate for human rights, stating "*The right of a people to live where they want to, without fear, is more important than science.*"¹⁶¹ Together with his wife, they founded the Legal Defense and Educational Fund in Chicago, which later functioned as a subsidiary branch of the NAACP. In summary, he was either a member, Chairman, President or Counselor of 25 civic and educational organizations, including the Board of Trustees for De Pauw University, Roosevelt University, Southern Union College, Fisk University and Howard University, as well as for non – profits such as: The National Negro Business and Professional Committee of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, The National Congress for Christians and Jews, The Illinois Advisory Committee Commission on Civil Rights and the Public Welfare Commissioners of the State of Illinois. He was also the director of two medical institutions, Provident Hospital and The Mandel Clinic, both located in Chicago¹⁶². In 1973 Dr. Julian was inducted as a fellow into the National Academy of Sciences and was only the second black person to have been honored as such.

In 1961 Dr. Julian sold his laboratories for over 2 million dollars to the Smith Kline and Upjohn pharmaceutical companies. Three years later he founded the "Julian Research Institute" and "Julian Associates, Inc". where he continued his experimental work and provided consultation to outside chemical companies until he died of liver cancer on the 9th of April 1975.¹⁶³ Over the course of his life, he published 52 scientific research papers and held the patents for 116 chemical processes and products. He received 19 honorary degrees from various Universities across the United States¹⁶⁴ and 18 civic awards, including the Springarn Medal Award (NAACP,

¹⁶⁰ Vgl. Ron Grossman , "Chemist Percy Julian pushed past racial barriers. (08.02.2022)

¹⁶¹ Vgl. WM Cobb, Percy Lavon Julian Ph.D ScD., LL.D., L.H.D. 1899-?, pg.145

¹⁶² Vgl. Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.31-32

¹⁶³ Vgl. Bryan A. Wilson, Percy Lavon Julian, Pioneer of Medicinal Chemistry Synthesis, pg.3

¹⁶⁴ De Pauw University 1947; Fisk University 1947; West Virginia State 1948; Northeastern University, Boston 1948; Morgan State College, Baltimore 1950; Howard University 1951; Northwestern University 1951; Lincoln University, Philadelphia 1954; Roosevelt University, Chicago 1961; Virginia State College Petersburg 1962; Morehouse College Atlanta Georgia, 1964; Oberlin College Ohio 1964; Lafayette College Pennsylvania 1968; MacMurray College, Illinois 1969; Indiana University 1969; Michigan State University 1972; Atlanta University 1973; Illinois State University 1974; Lincoln University Missouri, 1975

1947) and the Chemical Pioneer Award (American Institute of Chemists, 1967)¹⁶⁵.

5. Source Analyses

5.1. Matriculation Books WS. 29/30- WS.30/31

5.1.a. The origins of matriculation books at the University of Vienna

The Matriculation Books of the University of Vienna have their origins in the 17th and 18th centuries, with the publishing of the medieval matriculation records¹⁶⁶. This tradition was continued in Rudolf Kink's (1822-1864) "*Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität in Wien*" and the "Statutenbuch" which were published during the latter half of the 19th century. These books contained the University of Vienna's primary legal documents, such as the bylaws for each department and the entire University. The work was further expounded upon by the historian Joseph Aschbach (1801-1882)¹⁶⁷. His initial book conglomerated and organized documents from 1365 to 1465. What followed were two more editions that broadened the collection to include documents up until 1565. Further work and research within this field of study was then overseen by Karl Schrauf, the University Archivist, who, between 1887 and 1889 compiled an edition which focused solely on the main matriculation entries of the University of Vienna.

In most cases, the University had three different types of matriculation records that were maintained by the Rector (main entries), the four deacons (faculty entries) and the four procurators of the academic nations (national entries)¹⁶⁸. The main entries included the information of newly incoming freshman students, as well as transfer students and students who had already finished a study program. The faculty and national entries were utilized less

¹⁶⁵Vgl. Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.29-30

¹⁶⁶ Kurt Mühlberger, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, in: Umgang mit Quellen heute. Zur Problematik neuzeitlicher Quelleneditionen vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart, Hg. Grete Klingenstein, Fritz Fellner u. Hans Peter Hye. (Wien 2003) pg.80

¹⁶⁷ Vgl. Kurt Mühlberger, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, pg.81

¹⁶⁸ The academic nations at the university of Vienna were created by Rudolf IV in 1365 and were a way to categorize students by their nationality. The four possible nations were the Austrian, Rhineland, Hungarian and Saxony, Steindl A. Die Akademischen Nationen an der Universität Wien. In: Mühlberger K, Maisel T. Aspekte der Bildungs- und Universitätsgeschichte, 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert. (Wien; 1993) pg. 38-39

frequently and mostly recorded the entries of transfer students to the theology, law and medicine departments. According to the bylaws of the University of Vienna, each student was required to pay the matriculation tax within one month of their inscription and oath taking. Only after the payment was received, could one be considered a member of the academic community¹⁶⁹.

The main entries were written in the “Album Universitatis”, which contained not only the information of students, but also the names of the rectors, professors, and “academic citizens” who contributed to their manual labor to the university, as well as a variety of additional employees. This book is a vital source of information for research into the history of the university as well as the socio-economic migration patterns of the students, i.e: which faculty and nationality they belonged to, what their academic level was upon inscription, the reasons for any expulsions and generally the academic society at the University as a whole¹⁷⁰. The first volume of complete editions of the University of Vienna’s matriculation records was published in 1956 by Artur Goldmann and Hermann Göhler, among others and spanned entries from the year 1377 to 1450¹⁷¹.

5.1.b. Source Analysis of Dr. Julian’s Matriculation Records

The national matriculation entries pertaining to Dr. Percy Lavon Julian are compiled in the dark green matriculation books of the University of Vienna’s Philosophical Faculty, that now rest at the University’s archive. At the time, each student wrote down their own information on a printed form for each inscribed semester on the right, and on the left, gave information regarding the classes they were taking for that semester. The same lay- out remained throughout the years and remained consistent for all three years in which Dr. Julian was inscribed. These books would have been kept by the four deacons, as they were faculty entries and only contained information of the inscribing students within the philosophical faculty and their courses. There is no information of any of the staff members. This leads us to conclude that unlike in the Medieval Ages, it was the faculty entries that carried the weight of student information and were most commonly used.

¹⁶⁹ Vgl. Kurt Mühlberger, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, pg.83

¹⁷⁰ Vgl. Kurt Mühlberger, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, pg.84

¹⁷¹ Vgl. Kurt Mühlberger, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, pg.87

Dr. Julian first inscribed in the winter semester of 1929¹⁷². On the right side, the matriculation entries are titled “National Entries for Official Students of the Philosophical Faculty¹⁷³“. In the top right corner, there is a disclaimer stating that a clear and legible handwriting is requested, and that the academic administration maintains the right to reject “any and all illegible national entries”. On the top right, there is a sentence with a blank space left for the number of semesters the student has currently been enrolled in at the time of inscription. Directly underneath the title is a table for the applicants to fill in their personal information, beginning with, “First and Last Name of the Student” followed by: “Citizenship”, “Legal Place of Residence (City and State)”, “Place of Birth and Country”, “Date of Birth (Day, Month, Year)”, “Native Language”, “Ethnicity”, “Religion, Ritual or Confession”, “Home Address of the Student”, “First Name, Position and Home Address of his Father”, “Name, Position and Home Address of His Legal Guardian”, and finally “Name and Designation of the Institution the Student studied at during the previous semester”. Underneath these fields are printed sentences with blank space to be filled in that reads: “Receives a [blank space] Scholarship (charity) in the Sum of [blank space] S[Schilling]. [blank space] g [Groschen], given to them by [blank space], under the [blank space] 19, [blank space] Z (Z here stands for Zahl, or Number, referring to the file number). This sentence is then followed by two more fields. One which asks for the “Determination of the basis upon which the student has a right to inscribe” and finally one for the applicant’s signature¹⁷⁴. On the left page is the “Index of Lectures, that the Student Intends to Visit”. Underneath that is a table with “Subject of the Lecture” “Weekly Amount of Hours for Said Lecture (Tax Amount)” and “Name of the Lecturer”. Underneath the table for the lectures is another table for information for the “Liquidation of the Bursary”. There have been spaces left blank next to a list of items, such as: “Library fee”, “Student Aid”, “Inscription fee”, and “Fee for the Auditoriums”. Opposite this index is a sentence with blank spaces that reads: “Exempt from Payment of collegiate fees

¹⁷² Archiv der Universität Wien/Philosophische Nationalien/ Studentenblätter 1929/30, 202, Hi-J, „Julian“

¹⁷³ Nationale für ordentliche Hörer der philosophischen Fakultät”

¹⁷⁴ Original Text:” Vor und Zuname des Studierenden“, Staatsbürgerschaft“, „Heimatzuständigkeit (Ort und Land)“, „Geburtsort und Land Geburtsdaten (Tag, Monat, Jahr)“, „Muttersprache“, „Volkszugehörigkeit“, „Religion, Ritus oder Konfession“, „Wohnungsadressen des Studierenden“, „Vorname, Stand und Wohnort seines Vaters“, „Name, Stand und Wohnort seines Vormundes“, „Bezeichnung der Lehralt, an welcher der Studierende das letzte Semester zugebracht“, „Genießt ein leer Stipendium (Stiftung) im Betrage von [leer] S. [leer] g verliehen von [leer] unter dem [leer] 19 [leer], Z [leer](Zahl)., „Anführung der Grundlage, auf welcher der Studierende die Immatrikulation oder Inskription anspricht“

fully [blank] partially [blank]. Exempt according to the notice from 19 [blank] Z. [blank].¹⁷⁵ I will add visual representation of the mentioned entries in the annex.

Dr. Julian was inscribed at the University of Vienna for three semesters in total: the winter semester of 1929/30, the summer semester of 1930 and finally the winter semester of 1930/31¹⁷⁶. I will from now on refer to them as the matriculation entries from 1929, 1930 and 1931 for clarity and convenience's sake.

In comparing the answers in all three of his matriculation entries, one can easily read aspects of how Dr. Julian's standing as a student at the University of Vienna, both academically and personally changed as his familiarity with German and Viennese societal norms increased. The first example of this is when he completed the field for citizenship. In the first two years he wrote U.S.A and then, in 1931, he wrote "Amerikaner", which is how one would most comfortably respond if a person was asked this question in a German conversation. Another example is his response to "Name and Designation of the Institution the Student studied at during the previous semester". In 1929 he wrote: "Harvard Universität, Cambridge, Maine, U.S.A", while in 1930 a simple "Univ. Wien" sufficed, then later, in 1931, he wrote the more formal and complete "Die Wiener Universität".

The clearest example of this process, and perhaps also the reasoning behind his short "Univ. Wien" in 1930, is his answer to "Ethnicity". In 1929 he answered that question by writing "U.S.A.", the same as for his citizenship. This makes sense from a linguistic German-to-English-to-German translation sense, as the German word used for ethnicity was "Volkszugehörigkeit"- the direct translation, without previous contextual knowledge would be "belonging to which people or nation", therefore his primary identity would be as an American. In English, but specifically in an American context, the term that would be used with a similar

¹⁷⁵ Original Text: „Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen, welche der Studierende zu hören beabsichtigt“, „Gegenstand der Vorlesung“, „Wöchentliche Stundenzahl derselben (Taxbedarf)“, „Name des Dozenten“, „Liquidierung der Quästur“, „Bibliotheksbeitrag“, „Studentenfürsorge“, „Unfallversicherung“, „Matrikentaxe“, „Auditorengeld“, „Kollegiengeld“, „Von der Bezahlung des Kollegiengeldes halb [leer] ganz befreit laut Bescheid vom [leer] 19 [leer] Z. [leer], Senatsbewilligung vom [leer] 19 [leer] Z.

¹⁷⁶ Archiv der Universität Wien, Philosophische Nationalien/ Studentenblätter WS 1929-30, 202, Hi-J, „Julian“, Archiv der Universität Wien, Philosophische Nationalien/Studienblätter SS 1930, Ho-Ka, Archiv der Universität Wien, Philosophische Nationalien/Studienblätter WS 1930-31, 234, P-Q

meaning to the way “Volk” is used in this case, however, would be “Race”. Which, in turn, does not translate to German well, as “Rasse” was, at the time, used in a more eugenics centered context and would exclude any cultural or national affiliations¹⁷⁷, which for the University of Vienna, was the point of asking this question. His answer then changed in 1930, as instead of USA, “Neger” was written in big, bold, block letters and underlined as well. From the way the rest of the matriculation entry was filled out in large, loosely connected letters as well, it could be inferred that this was written in a very tense situation and was invariably a term forced upon him by a third, administrative controlling party.

It is understandable that Dr. Julian would have resisted this term and wrote and underlined it in such a large expressive way that, in my opinion, is a prime example of malicious compliance. While the term “Neger” in German in today’s society is only used as a slur, in 1930 this would have had an ethnic connotation as well a derogatory one- perhaps more in line with the term “Negro” in English. Linguistically “Neger” is most easily translated to the term “Nigger”, and most likely would have been used in conversations with similarly negative and discriminatory emotions- which would have given credence to the reactionary translation. The term ‘Nigger’, on the other hand, always has been and always will be a racial slur directed towards black people. It does not have any other additional meaning, context, or interpretation other than that of a verbal weapon meant to discriminate against and harm black people. In addition to having been most likely called this to his face, in an academic administrative setting that was supposed to be far from the encouraged blatant discrimination of the American South, his feelings on having to write such an insult under his name himself, is reflected in Dr. Julian’s handwriting.

As an example of the usage of the term “Neger”, I have looked through a variety of newspapers that were printed in Vienna at the time that Dr. Julian was also there. In all of them, the term is either used when telling a story about a black person- most usually when they appear in films or interviews- or are a pseudo-scientific report on black people in general. Some examples I would like to use for this are: “Das Kleine Blatt Jahresübersicht April 1931: Neger Ghetto Harlem. Die

¹⁷⁷ „Rasse“ was defined by Kurt *Knoll* as a “Rassengemeinschaft” characterized by the similarities of the inherited physical and psychological features, traits and faculties- both in a material sense within society at large, as well as a ceremonial sense”. In: Rudolf G. *Ardelt*, *Inhalt und Strukturen des deutschnationalen Gedankengutes in Österreich (1918-1930)*, (Universität Wien, 1969), pg.179

Völkerballe Neu York¹⁷⁸“, as well as two socialist leaning newspapers: “Die Rote Fahne” and “Arbeiterwille” from 1930. I chose these pieces, because they depict and comment on the general situation and plight of the black man, with particular reference to black people within the United States.

Die Rote Fahne is a communist newspaper and from the collection of their annals on the Anno website I chose three different issues of this Newspaper from 1930, as they all are relatively short articles. The first is from the 10th of April 1930. On the bottom of the front page is an article titled: “Insurgency in Kongo”. The article contains a short report on the insurgence, which was caused after five native individuals were arrested¹⁷⁹. “The second is from the 21st of August 1930, where on page six of the issue, there is a small column on “The Report by Comrade Ford”. In it, the report given by a certain “Comrade Ford” on the status of black people around the world, at the International Conference of Black Unionists¹⁸⁰. The third is from the 20th of September 1930, from an article titled “For the Liberation of the Working Negro”, which lists the number of black people that had been lynched in the previous years in Newark and New Jersey and the goes on to detail how the Communist Party on the ground is working together with “Negerarbeiterkongreß¹⁸¹”to organize anti-lynching campaigns. It then lists the unemployment rate and the amount of day laborers within those areas.

I chose these three articles, because while all of them use the term “Neger” in a dry and functional manner, all three use them in slightly different tones. While these articles are seemingly written to invoke a sense of Communist brotherhood commiserating and lamenting the suppression of these black comrades, the linguistic style in which these texts are written often utilize the term “Neger” itself in an othering manner. For instance, the report on the uprising in Kongo reads: *“Es kam zu einem Handgemenge, wobei die Neger die Soldaten und die Polizisten mit Steinen bewarfen. Das Militär ging mit den Gewehrkolben gegen die Neger vor. Auf beiden Seiten gab es zahlreiche Verletzte. Auch der stellvertretende Gourveneuur wurde durch einen*

¹⁷⁸ Jahresübersicht 27. April 1931: Neger Ghetto Harlem. Die Völkerballe Neu York, Das Kleine Blatt” Nr.116 (Wien 1931) pg.8

¹⁷⁹ Die Rote Fahne 10.April 1930, Aufstandsbewegung im Kongo. pg 1 Online under: <https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=drf&datum=19300410&seite=1&zoom=33&query=%22Neger%22&ref=anno-search>

¹⁸⁰ Die Rote Fahne, 21. August 1930, Korreferat des Genossen Ford” pg.6. Online under: <https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=drf&datum=19300821&seite=5&zoom=33&query=%22Neger%22&ref=anno-search>

¹⁸¹ Negro Workers Union

Steinwurf verletzt. Die Eingeborenenviertel der Stadt wurden militärisch besetzt”¹⁸². There is no mention on whether these black people were men or women, (or even communist) and there is a certain amount of sympathy for the suppressors who were hit with stones rather than the people who were being militarily occupied and colonized by Belgium. This is surprising coming from the same newspaper that reported on Comrade Fords speech on “*Die Lage der Neger in den verschiedenen Weltteilen und die unerhörte Ausbeutung der Neger durch die imperialistischen Mächte*”¹⁸³. Perhaps that is because, this speech was given by a black man at a black communist Conference. Of further interest is that Comrade Ford’s article lists some of the black Communist conferences that had occurred all over the world, such as in Vladivostok, the US, Gambia and the Ivory Coast, but laments that “due to the repressive measures of the imperialist forces, many delegates were unable to attend”.

The third article is perhaps the most sobering and somber of them all. It reads: “*Für die Befreiung der werktätigen Neger. Im Jahre 1930 sind in den USA 26 Neger gelyncht worden, im Jahre 1929 11 Neger. In den letzten Tagen ereigneten sich zwei Fälle von Lynchjustiz, bei denen fünf Neger umgebracht wurden. In Mississippi wurden zwei Neger gelyncht, die ein weißes Mädchen entführt haben sollten; in Georgia wurden drei Neger gelyncht die angeblich einen Raub ausgeführt haben sollten. In Georgia gab die Polizeibehörde, nach dem der dritte Neger ermordet worden war, zu, daß er ebenso wie die beiden vor ihm gelychten Neger an dem Raubüberfall unschuldig war. Die Kommunistische Partei Amerikas und der Negerarbeiterkongress organisierten eine breite Antilynchkampagne, die in allen Staaten Amerikas durchgeführt werden soll. In Newark und in New Jersey lässt die Stadtverwaltung, obschon es in beiden Bezirken 75000 Arbeitslosen gibt, die Gefängnisstrafen abbüsenden Arbeiter unter bewaffneter Aufsicht die Arbeiten zur Errichtung eines Stadtparkes verrichten, wofür ihnen 50 cents Tageslohn (3 ½ Schilling) gezahlt werden. Außerdem beginnen die Behörden die arbeitslosen Arbeiter aus der Stadt auszuweisen*”¹⁸⁴ In all three articles it is quite clear that

¹⁸² Translation: It came to fisticuffs, wherein the negroes were throwing stones at the soldiers and policemen. The military fought against the negroes with butts of their guns. There were numerous wounded on both sides. Even the substitute governor was wounded through a stone. The native quarters of the city have been militarily occupied.

¹⁸³ The situation of negroes within various parts of the world and the unheard-of exploitation of the negro through imperialist forces.

¹⁸⁴ For the liberation of the working Negro. In the year 1930 26 negroes have been lynched in the United States. In the year 1929 11 negroes. In the last couple of days there were two cases in which five negroes were murdered. In Mississippi two negroes were lynched, that allegedly kidnapped a white girl. In Georgia three negroes were lynched

while the authors are in varying degrees sympathetic to the suppression that black people face, they are seen more than anything else, as yet another argument that the Communist ideology is the correct one. They are seen as a means to end.

The other Communist newspaper article I chose was in "Arbeiterwille" from 8th June 1930. This is a lengthier piece titled "Neger aus USA¹⁸⁵", which I chose it because it is a more academically written piece, with multiple subchapters entitled: "Die Alte Fehde"- which details the North/South divide, (*„Zwischen dem Süden, der für seine Baumwollplantagen billigste, arbeitswillige unterdrückt und in Dummheit gehaltene Menschen braucht, und dem Norden des Landes, wo das ungeheure Anwachsen der Industrie eine Nachfrage nach Arbeitern geschaffen hat, die zu etwas besseren Bedingungen die maschinelle Arbeit in den Fabriken leisten können. Die Wut über die Abschaffung der Sklaverei ist nun in einen Haß gegen die formal gleichwertigen Schwarzen umgeschlagen“¹⁸⁶*), „Die Verhältnisse im Norden¹⁸⁷“, which describes working conditions in the northern states and „Eine bedeutende Verschiebung der Negerbevölkerung¹⁸⁸“- which recounts the movement of the black population to the cities and their social mobility. This is further expounded upon in the next chapter titled "Zu bedeutender gesellschaftlicher Stellung emporgearbeitet¹⁸⁹", followed by a chapter on "Der Neger als Arbeitststudent"¹⁹⁰. The last chapter is on "Schwarzer Konsum- und Baugenossenschaften¹⁹¹". However the most intriguing chapter was right at the beginning which goes into detail explaining the terminology and the etymology of the term "Neger": "*Neger heißt auf English überetzt "Negros". Diesen Ausdruck lieben jedoch die amerikanischen Neger nicht, sondern sie rechnen sich zum „Colored People“, das heißt zu den „Farbigen“. Dahinter verbirgt sich ein*

that were allegedly involved in a robbery. In Georgia the police department admitted, after the third negro was killed, that he as well as the two before him were innocent. The communist party in Amerika and the negro workers Union are organizing an anti-lynching campaign that is to be introduced in every state of America. The state administration within Newark and New Jersey, wherein there are over 75000 unemployed, force their incarcerated work under armed supervision to build a city park, for which they are paid 5 cents a day (3 ½ Schilling). Furthermore, the authorities are beginning to deport unemployed workers.

¹⁸⁵ Arbeiterwille, 8. June 1930, Neger aus U.S.A, pg 8

¹⁸⁶ Translation: Between the South, which needs the cheapest, suppressed, willing to work and kept in ignorance people, in order to run their cotton plantations and the North of the country, where the industrial sphere has grown so much so that workers doing machine work within factories, can afford to work under somewhat better conditions. The anger over the end of slavery has now turned into a hatred against the formally equal black people.

¹⁸⁷ Translation: On Conditions in the North

¹⁸⁸ Translation: A pivotal movement of the Negro Population

¹⁸⁹ Translation: Worked towards a higher important societal position

¹⁹⁰ Translation: The Negro as a Worker-Student

¹⁹¹ Translation: Black Consumerism and Building Cooperatives

*feingefühletes Unterscheidungsmerkmal gegenüber den afrikanischen Negern und zugleich Ebenbürtigkeit mit den anderen Farbigen Rassen, die sich in dem bunten Völkergemisch Nordamerikas niedergelassen haben. Das Wort „Nigger“ vollends ist verpönt und wird von den farbigen Bürgern der Vereinigten Staaten als Beleidigung angesehen. Die Gleichheit der Rassen ist ja seit dem Bürgerkrieg im Prinzip vorhanden, so daß jeder Neger vor dem Gesetz ein vollkommener Gentleman ist. Trotzdem steht allerdings die Gleichberechtigung immer noch auf dem Papier, während in Wirklichkeit, besonders im Süden, die Neger als zweitrangiger angesehen werden.*¹⁹² “ What strikes me in this article is that it is well researched, considering its context. Despite the continued usage of the term Neger, despite mentioning that black Americans would prefer not to be called that is disappointing, the level of detail and historical background information that is mentioned in this article is heartening. There is still a level of othering, there are no direct quotes and the perspective is still distant and slightly condescending, but there is a sense of recognition of humanity and a respect for the strides that black people had made up until that point since emancipation.

In juxtaposition to these articles, the piece in “Das Kleine Blatt” discusses Harlem at the time of the Harlem Renaissance, an era that was ripe with innovation in the arts, literature, music and philosophy, that celebrated and showcased black history and the emergence of a new black identity that was full of hope and self-determination for civil rights¹⁹³. Here it is described patronizingly and condescendingly. “ *Diese großen Kinder, die braunen und schwarzen menschliche Blumen der kalten eisernen Stadt, sind die einzigen, die den Ruf der Wälder, Flüsse und Wüsten noch in sich bewahrt haben. Sie verstehen ehrlich gut zu singen, naiv zu tanzen, beseelt zu spielen und kindisch zu träumen. Hier als Kellner, und [..]Diener, dort als Tänzer, Sänger- verkörpert der schwarze Halfremdling die Mischung der Werktagarbeit mit dem Vergnügen*¹⁹⁴“. The childlike dreaming the author is referring to here is “the dream of an Africa

¹⁹² Translation: “Neger means Negroes translated into English. However they are not fond of this term, but rather would prefer the term “Colored People”, that mean “the colored”. Behind that term there is a sensitivity in recognition of their difference from the African negroes, while also recognizing an equal status with the other colorful races that inhabit the colorful melting pot of North America. The word Nigger is totally frowned upon and will be viewed as an insult by the colored citizens of the United States. The equality among the races was technically established with the end of Civil War, so that every Negro is seen as a gentleman in the eyes of the law. Despite equality on paper, the reality is a different picture, especially in the south, where the negroes are seen as second-class citizens.

¹⁹³ Raymond Gavins, The Cambridge Guide to African American History (New York 2016) pg. 124

¹⁹⁴ Translation: These large children, the brown and black human flowers of the cold iron city, are the only ones who

for Africans”, which they further describe as “a dream that points to a far away and magical future”. He refers to them only possessing professions within the service and entertainment industries, even though a paragraph beforehand he speaks on having seen a “Neger-Anwalt” who had “actually won his case against a white person”. In this piece the author sees himself, as a representative of the white reader, as kind and sympathetic to the black man’s experience of being constantly exposed to and forced to endure mistreatment and harassment, while simultaneously depicting the very same people as ignorant children who cannot help themselves and in every sentence references stereotypes, that do nothing but further cement the image of naive, underdeveloped, moronic and mute beings who do not know any better and are in perpetual need of the white man for guidance and assistance in order to become humans. Unfortunately, this mindset remains very prevalent today and can be easily found amongst Christian missionary workers and various charity organizations.

In 1931, Dr. Julian once again wrote “Neger” in the same field. The difference in his handwriting is decidedly stark. It is written in a relaxed cursive that matches the rest of his information entries, seemingly having accepted that Neger was the term he had to use as an identifier of his blackness. Perhaps his colleagues had emphasized the more “cultural’ and “Volk’ aspect of the term, imparting on him that it was not necessarily meant as a slur. Or perhaps he had just succumbed to the enforced usage of the term as is. One can only speculate, and the rest is conjecture. What does indicate towards the former theory is the newspaper article in “Neues Wiener Journal” that reports on Dr. Julians speech on the radio, which was after all titled “Ein Neger spricht im Wiener Radio¹⁹⁵.” In it, he introduces the black American people to the listeners and uses Neger as the terminology for it, using it in the same distant and monolithically racialized way: “ *Was die Stellung der Neger zum Bolschewismus betrifft, so ist unsere Rasse radikalen Strömungen nicht zugänglich und unsere Intelligenz lehnt den Bolschewismus glatt ab. Unser Volk hat das Verderbliche des Bolschewismus rechtzeitig erkannt und will nichts mit ihm zu tun haben*¹⁹⁶.” Here he uses „unser Volk“ as a plural interchangeably with a singular “ der

still carry within them the call of the forests, rivers and desserts. They know how to sing well with honesty, how to dance naively, play animatedly and to dream childishly. Here they as waiters and servants, there as dancers and singers, the black half stranger embodying the mixture of workday labor and pleasure.

¹⁹⁵ „Ein Neger spricht in Wien, 17. April 1931“ Neues Wiener Journal, (Wien 1931) S. 7

¹⁹⁶ Translation: “On the topic of the position of the negro in regard to the bolshevism, such radical trends are not amenable to us and our intelligence firmly rejects bolshevism. Our people have recognized the destructive nature of

Neger”, using it as an ethnic and cultural identity.

While comparing his entries with those of other students of the same years, specifically the American and Jewish entries, it becomes apparent that racial identification and belonging to a certain “Rasse” or “Volk” was just as nebulous a concept then as it is today and remains largely influenced by how other people – in most cases strangers with certain prejudices- view you rather than how you view yourself. This becomes even more evident in the 1930 entries, as there are three additional white American students in that year, two of which were able to keep either “*Amerikanisch*” or “*Amerikanisches Volk*” as their ethnicity, even though one of them had been born in Lithuania, thus racializing the rejection of Dr. Julians American identity. The third person wrote “*Anglo-Saxon*”.

What is also of interest is that all entries of those years that had put “*Österreich*” or “*Österreichisch*” had had that moniker crossed out and “*Deutsch*” or “*Deutsch-Arisch*”¹⁹⁷ written instead. Students who had written *Germanisch*¹⁹⁸ were left untouched. Another example is a student who was born and resided in Vienna and had put “*Deutsch- Öst.*” as their ethnicity. This had been crossed out with a pencil and in a different hand, “*Israelite*” had been written instead, thus making it evident that enrollment and with it the ethnic identification of students, was censured and controlled by a third party during the admissions process.

As previously mentioned, Dr. Julian enrolled in the philosophical faculty for Chemistry at the University of Vienna specially so that he could study under Dr. Ernst Späth. This is reflected in the lectures he was registered for. Every semester Dr. Julian enrolled in “Anleitungen zur Wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten¹⁹⁹” which was held by Dr. Späth. This was also most likely due to the fact that Dr. Späth was the head supervisor for Dr. Julians soon to be written Doctoral thesis. In 1929, besides „Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten“, Julian was also enrolled in “Physikalische Chemie“ led by Prof. Rudolph Wegscheider (1859-1935)²⁰⁰. 1930 was the semester that he had enrolled in the most classes: in addition to Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten he also attended „Übersicht über die Geschichte der neuen Philosophie“ under Heinrich Gomperz (1873-1942),

bolshevism just at the right time and wants nothing to do with it.

¹⁹⁷ Translation: German-Arian

¹⁹⁸ Translation: Germanic

¹⁹⁹ Translation: Tutorial on Scientific Work

²⁰⁰ Translation: „Physical Chemistry”

„Theoretische Chemie“ by Wegscheider once more and „Einführung in die Eiweißchemie“ by Friedrich Wessely (1897-1967)²⁰¹. In 1931 Dr. Julian was only enrolled in Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten with Dr. Späth. It would appear that Prof. Gomperz’s class was the only class he enrolled in that was not part of the Chemistry department.

Though the forms are in German, only the 1929 entry contains answers in English and is predominantly written in Kurrent, a smaller cursive German style of handwriting, while the entries for 1930 and 1931 were written in a larger mix of cursive and non-cursive lettering. His signature is the same through-out all three years, though his signature in 1929 has wider and looser lettering. Based on the handwriting alone, one could infer that due to his lack of German, someone either filled out the 1929 forms for him, or he had taken the disclaimer at the top of the page to heart and made the effort to write in this specific cursive style. The fact that in all the entries the letters spelling out U.S.A. are all exactly the same, speaks for the possibility of the latter theory, as well as the remnants of English spelling rules and the American writing styles. For instance, in the 1929 entries, he wrote “*Montgomery, Ala*” for his “Place of Birth”, using the United States state code abbreviation for Alabama, while in the following years he wrote Alabama out in full. He also wrote English (in the slot for his native language) in lower- case letters, which was grammatically correct in English at the time, while in later years he capitalized it, as is grammatically correct in German. What speaks against him being the sole writer for the 1929 entries is his reason for the right to inscription, which was written in English (“*Credits and Diplomas from De Pauw and Harvard Universities in America*”) and in a different, rounder and more horizontally straight cursive than the rest of the entry.

During the three semesters in which Dr. Julian was inscribed, a total of 8 other American students were inscribed at the University of Vienna. All of them were Caucasian, predominantly from the University of New York, although two came from Harvard and one from Smith Woman’s College. They were all inscribed in a variety of departments of the philosophical faculty and either inscribed in the Humanities (Philosophy, German Literature) or Psychology. Dr. Julian was the only one inscribed in the natural sciences and the only person of color.

²⁰¹ Translations: „Overview of the History of Modern Philosophy”, “Theoretical Chemistry”, “Introduction to Protein based Chemistry”

5.2. Rigorosum (Doctoral Viva) and Doctoral Dissertation

The *Rigorosum* or “Doctoral Viva” are the documents that recorded and were created in the process of achieving one’s doctorate, ie. the dissertation and the “*defensio*” or exam. These documents are then compiled into a file called the *Rigoroosenakt*²⁰² and kept in the University Archive, alongside a copy of the dissertation. Another copy of the dissertation is then kept in the University library for future students to study from.

The “*Rigoroosenakt*” file consists of a written protocol of the entire doctoral process, the application for the exams, the evaluation of the dissertation and Dr. Julian’s Curriculum Vitae, all of which will have visual representation in the annex.

The file cover is a standardized printed paper sleeve issued by the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Vienna (printed at the very top of the cover page). “*Rigoroosenakt*” is printed in big bold letters in the middle, with “of” and a blank line for the applicant’s name to be handwritten underneath it. Dr. Julian’s file number was 11109 and the action was first filed to the Administrative Offices on the 23rd of June 1931 with the file number 1691²⁰³. The documents within it have been organized according to the “kaufmännische” or mercantile principle, in which the youngest document is at the top of the pile²⁰⁴.

The presiding professors were Dr. Späth and Dr. Wegscheider. The protocol was written on one large double page form to be filled out during each of the elements of the doctoral process, with the file number above it. The first table field was for the “Date”, followed by “Names”, “Age and Home Country”, “Secondary School”, “University”, “Disquisition”, “Presiding Professors”, “Two Hour Long Exam” and “One Hour Long Exam²⁰⁵”. While the answers for the first three questions remained the same as those given for his matriculation, the answers for Secondary School and University are quite different. For “Secondary School” the answer was “Certificate of

²⁰² Archiv der Universität Wien/ Philosophischen Promotionsprotokoll/M 34.5

²⁰³ Praes: am 23/VI 1931, Z.1691

²⁰⁴ Michael Hochedlinger, Aktenkunde. Urkunden- und Aktenlehre der Neuzeit. (Wien 2009) pg.43

²⁰⁵ Original Text: „Datum“, „Namen“, „Alter“, „Heimat“, „Gymnasium“, „Universität“, „Abhandlung“, „Referenten“, „Zweistündige Prüfung“, „Einstündige Prüfung“

Maturity from De Pauw University in Indiana in the year 1920²⁰⁶” and for “University” the answer was “From 1922 until the Wintersemester of 1930/31 at the University of Harvard and Vienna with an interruption in his 9th Semester²⁰⁷”. Which is interesting in the sense that it is quite obviously a slight twisting of events, so as to fit them into the schemata of the form. The title of Dr. Julian’s dissertation is then given again, as well as the names of the presiding instructors.

All this information was written on the form in the same representative writing that was also used on the front page of the file. In a large, swirling cursive names, titles and dates were all carefully pre-written onto the form before the doctoral proceedings began. Underneath the dissertation title, as well as in the fields for the two- and one-hour exams, the presiding professors recorded the actions taken during the process. Underneath the thesis, a different smaller handwriting states that the appeal for the thesis was made on the 30th of June 1931, to which they gave their signature as confirmation.

While it is clear that a teaching member of the faculty was the author, it is unclear as to which one, as their signature does not match any of the faculty staff members of the Chemistry department during that era, that I could find records for. In the two-hour exam section of the form, the presiding professors gave their evaluations for his exam and signed them. According to the same unknown writing that confirmed the thesis appeal, the two-hour exam was held on the 6th of July 1931 and the results were unanimously approved. Dr. Julian received an evaluation of “*ausgezeichnet*” by a Prof. Meyer, who does not appear anywhere else in the document and two “*genügend*” by Professors Späth and Wegscheider²⁰⁸. For the one-hour exam, which was held on the 18th of July 1931, he was evaluated as “*genügend*” by both Professors Gomperz and the unknown faculty member, who also writes that the results of the exam were unanimously approved. Underneath these results and signatures, there is a stamp which reads “Doctorate rewarded on 22. July 1931²⁰⁹”. The grading system within Austria has not changed since Dr. Julian’s time as a student in Vienna. The grading scale goes as follows: Ausgezeichnet =

²⁰⁶ Original Text: Reifezeugnis der De Pauw University in Indiana im Jahr 1920“

²⁰⁷ Original Text: „Von 1922 bis Wintersemester 1930/31 an der Univ. in Harvard u. Wien mit Unterbrechung IX Semester.“

²⁰⁸ The grading equivalent of one A and two D’s.

²⁰⁹ Original Text: Promoviert am 22 Juli 1931

Exceptional, (i.e.: an A), Gut= (Good, i.e.: a B), Befriedigend = Satisfactory, (i.e.: a C), Genügend = Sufficient, (i.e.: a D) and Nicht Genügend = Not Sufficient, (i.e.: an F) or failing grade. Unfortunately, I have yet to find a reason, why there would be such a large difference between Prof. Meyer and Professors Späth and Wegscheider`s grading, although Dr. Witkop does describe Dr. Späth as a “*a critical, pitiless examiner and a teacher who ignored lazy or untalented students*²¹⁰”.

The next document in the file, going chronologically backwards, is the exams application. It`s a letter written by Dr. Julian with a typewriter and sent from his home address in Vienna: Liechtensteinstraße 45a, in the 9th district. Based on the purple ink and the thin paper it was written on, I would surmise that this document is a carbon copy of its original. The letter reads: “*To the Deaconry of the of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Vienna. The undersigned would like to register himself for the examination process in order to achieve the philosophical doctorate degree in chemistry, in combination with physics and philosophy and attaches the following to his application: 1) Passport (Instead of a Baptismal Certificate) 2) So-called “credits” from American universities 3) Absolutorium (School Leaving Certificates) 4) Curriculum Vitae 5) Two copies of his Dissertation. Vienna, in June 1931. [handwritten signature] Percy L. Julian*²¹¹” To the left of the letter, in pencil is a note that stating that the documents were received, to which Dr. Julian gave his signature. The letter was sent using an Austrian postmark of one schilling and was stamped by the philosophical faculty as well as the archive of the University of Vienna. On the back there is a stamp that states that this document arrived in the deaconry of the University of Vienna on the 23rd of June 1931 and was given the file number 1691.

The next document within the file is the evaluation of the dissertation. It was written via typewriter in blank ink; thus, one can safely make assumption that this document is the original. The title “*Beurteilung der Dissertation*” was printed in a gothic font. In pencil at the bottom of

²¹⁰ Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg.13

²¹¹ Original Text: An das Dekanat der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien. Der Gefertigte meldet sich zur Ablegung der strengeren Prüfungen behufs Erlangung des Philosophischen Doktgrades aus Chemie in Verbindung mit Physik und Philosophie und legt seinem Ansuchen bei: 1) Reisepass (an Stelle des Taufscheines) 2) Sogannante „Credits“ von amerikanischen Universitäten 3) Absolutorium 4) Curriculum Vitae 5) Zwei Exemplare seiner Dissertation. Wien, im Juni 1931. Percy L. Julian. Translation by Caroline McKinley

the page Prof. Wegscheider, who at the time was the head of the first Chemistry Institute²¹², signed his name and the date that the evaluation was officially issued, the 30th of June 1931. The document reads: *“Evaluation of the Dissertation – of the cand. [candidate] phil. [philosophical] Percy Lavon Julian. On the knowledge of various plant alkaloids and on a new heterocyclic free radical. First the author isolates certain new Alkaloids out of corydalis cava. Specifically, the d-canadine, d-tetrahydro-coptisine and hydro-hydrastinine. The D,L- Tetrahydro- coptisine was split into the optical active formats, after overcoming a multitude of issues and the D- form was recognized as identical to the natural product. The other studies on alkaloids can only be viewed as preliminary works. The second part of the dissertation, that was done under the supervision of Prof. Kohler at Harvard University, deals with several conversion of the 3,4- Diphenyl-isoxazcyl -diphenyl-carbinols. The free radical that corelates to this alcohol was not received in a pure form, but the presence of chemical bonding through the development of the peroxides could be proven. The work is sufficient for an admittance to the exams. Vienna on the 27th of June 1931*²¹³.”

While I have done my best to do a just translation of this text, I am not a chemist, therefore I ask the reader to please forgive any and all jargon that is atypical for the profession. It must also be pointed out that the “sufficient” mentioned in the text, is the grade- which correlates to a D or a passing grade.

Dr. Julian’s C.V. was written with the same ink and paper as his exams application, therefore it is safe to assume that it is also a carbon copy of its original. It was sent with a twenty groschen postmark and, like the application letter, was also stamped by the philosophical faculty and the University archive. It reads as follows:

” Curriculum Vitae. I was born on the 11th of April 1899 as the child of middle school professor James S. Julian and his wife Elizabet Lena in Montgomery, Alabama U.S.A. I

²¹² R. Rosner, R.W. Soukup, Die chemischen Institute der Universität Wien; aus „Reflexive Innensichten aus der Universität: Disziplinengeschichten zwischen Wissenschaft, Gesellschaft und Politik“. (Wien 2015)

²¹³ Original Text: *„Beurteilung der Dissertation des cand. phil. Percy Lavon Julian. Zur Kenntnis verschiedener Pflanzenalkaloide und über ein neues heterocyclisches freies Radical. Zunächst isoliert der Verfasser aus Corydalis Cava einige neue Alkaloide, und zwar canadin, d-tetrahydro-ooptisin und hydro-hydrastinin. Das d,l- Tetrahydro- ooptisin wurde nach Überwindung einiger Schwierigkeiten in die optisch aktiven Formen gespalten und die d-Form als ident mit dem Naturprodukt erkannt. Die übrigen Untersuchungen über Alkaloide können als nur Vorarbeiten angesehen werden. Der zweite Teil der Dissertation, der bei Prof. Kohler an der Harvard Universität ausgeführt worden ist, beschäftigt sich mit einigen Umwandlungen des 3,4- Diphenyl-isoxazcyl -diphenyl-carbinols. Das diesem Alkohol entsprechende freie Radikal wurde nicht rein erhalten, doch konnte die Anwesenheit dieser Verbindung durch die Bildung des Peroxyds nachgewiesen werden. Die Arbeit ist genügend zur Zulassung zu den strengeren Prüfungen. Wien, am 27. Juni 1931“*

was enrolled in the so-called “Public School” within the city of Montgomery from 1904 to 1912. Then I was enrolled in the “State Normal School” in Montgomery from 1912 to 1916. Based on this education, I took the exams so as to be able to enroll in college and studied at the De Pauw University in Indiana at the Asbury College of Liberal Arts from 1916 to 1920. After receiving the academic degree “Bachelor of Art” in 1920 from the previously mentioned university, I received the first prize as a student and was then accepted into the oldest literary society in America “Phi Beta Kappa”. From 1920 to 1922, I was an assistant in chemistry at Fisk university in Nashville, Tennessee. In the Fall of 1922, I enrolled in Harvard University and studied chemistry. After completing the final exams towards the end of the year 1923, I received the academic degree of Master of Arts. In the years 1923-24 I was an assistant in the cancer and X-ray hospital (Collis P. Huntigton) at Harvard University. I continued my studies in chemistry at the previously mentioned university from 1924 to 1926 under Prof. Dr. E.P. Kohler, where I began working on my dissertation. Due to a lack of funds, I unfortunately had to suspend my studies again and worked as an associate professor at Howard University in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. from 1926 -1929. In the fall of 1929, I received scholastic leave with a scholarship in order to finish my dissertation in Europe. I was then inscribed from 1929 until 1931 at the University in Vienna (phil. Faculty) and have here predominantly listened to lectures from the chemistry department given by Professor Späth and Privy Councilor Professor Wegscheider, and for lectures in specialty fields given by Assistant Professor Wesseley. I attended philosophical lectures given by Professor Gomperz and Professor Bühler. In America I had already gone to lectures on the introduction to philosophy, logic, ethics and epistemology. I already took final exams in mathematics and physics at Harvard University. My studies in Latin have already been recognized as sufficient by the Dean Professor Meister. [Signature] Percy Lavon Julian²¹⁴”.

²¹⁴ Original Text: „Curriculum Vitae. Ich wurde am 11. April 1899 als Kind de Mittelschulprofessors James S. Julian und dessen Frau Elisabeth Lena in Montgomery, Alabama U.S.A. geboren. Die sogenannte „Public School“ in der Stadt Montgomery besuchte ich von 1904 bis 1912. Dann besuchte ich die „State Normal School“ in Montgomery von 1912bis 1916. Hierauf legte ich die Prüfungen für den Eintritt ins College ab und studierte auf der DePauw Universität in Indiana am Asbury College of Liberal Arts“ in 1920 auf der genannten Universität, erhielt ich den ersten Preis als Student und wurde daraufhin in die älteste literarische Gesellschaft in Amerika „Phi Beta Kappa“, aufgenommen. Von 1920 bis 1922 war ich Assistent in Chemie auf der Fisk Universität in Nashville, Tennessee. Im Herbst 1922 inscribierte [sic] ich an der Harvard Universität und studierte Chemie. Nach Ablegung der strengen Prüfung am Ende des Jahres 1923, erhielt ich den academischen [sic] Master of Arts. Im Jahre 1923-24 war ich Assistent in Krebs- und Roentgenspital [sic](Collis P. Huntigton) auf der Harvard Universität. Von 1924ß 1926

Within the CV there are a few discrepancies compared to the other sources. For instance, he did not enroll in any lectures given by Professor Bühler in any of the matriculation entries during any of the semesters and only enrolled in one by Professor Gomperz. This, however, does not rule out the possibility, that after he had officially enrolled for the semester, Percy had realized that he would need these additional lectures and enrolled later on by contacting the lecturers themselves., a tradition that students at the University of Vienna often partake in to this day.

Another discrepancy is the occupation of his father. In two of the three matriculation entries (1930 and 1931) he states that his father was a regional postman in Indiana. (He did not write down his father's occupation in 1929) The matriculation entries overlap with the Biographical Memoir written by Dr. Bernhard Witkop, who states that Julian's father was a railway mail clerk²¹⁵. Furthermore, it is interesting that he states that a lack of funds as the reason that he could not continue his studies at Harvard. While this is, in a sense true, it was mainly due to the fact that Harvard was unwilling to give a black person a position at the faculty, thus making it so that he would have had to pay to continue his research there, even with the fellowship he had received in Biophysics and Organic Chemistry.

A further discrepancy between Dr Julian's CV and his biography is the time after he had left Harvard. While in his C.V. he writes that he worked as an associate professor at Howard for three years, the biography states that he worked at West Virginia State College as a professor for one year. The biography goes into detail about his appointment and his relationship with the President of the University at the time but does not mention his time at Howard except to say that he received the Rockefeller Fellowship while he was a faculty member there. It does not state for

setzte ich mein Chemiestudium an der genannten Universität unter Prof. Dr. E.P. Kohler fort, wo ich an meiner Dissertation arbeitete. Wegen Mangel an Geld musste ich das Studium wieder unterbrechen und war von 1926-1929 Professor (Associate) an der Howard Universität. In Washington, D.C., U.S.A. Im Herbst 1929 bekam ich einen Studiumurlaub [sic] mit Stipendium, um meine Dissertation in Europa zu vollenden. Ich inscribierte dann 1929 bis 1931 an der Universität in Wien (Phil. Fakultät) und habe hier hauptsächlich Vorlesungen aus Chemie gehört bei Professor Späth und Hofrat Professor Wegscheider; über Spezialgebiete bei Herrn Dozenten Wessely. Philosophische Vorlesungen habe ich beim Professor Gomperz und Professor Bühler gehört. Schon in Amerika habe ich philosophische Vorlesungen über Einleitung zur Philosophie, Logik, Ethik und Erkenntnislehre gehört. Strenge mathematische Prüfungen habe ich schon an der Harvard Universität abgelegt. Mein Lateinstudium wurde schon von Herrn Dekan Professor Meister als hinreichend erkannt. Percy Lavon Julian “

²¹⁵ Bernhard Witkop, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg. 4

how long he was there, nor which position he held. Additionally, Dr. Julian does not mention the Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship, instead stating that he “received scholastic leave, with a scholarship”, thus making it sound as if he had gotten funding from and was still employed at Howard University.

Dr. Julian wrote his dissertation „*On the knowledge of various plant alkaloids and on a new heterocyclic free radical*”²¹⁶ entirely in German and completed it in June 1931. While he provided three bound copies of his dissertation to the universities, I will be basing my entire analysis on the copy made available to me by the University of Vienna’s main library. It was written on a typewriter with purple ink on thin paper and was mostly likely written as a carbon copy, so as to allow for the multitude of hexagonal drawing depicting the various chemical reactions and bindings, which were drawn in a thinner bluer ink. It consists of 4 chapters: 1) New Corydalis Alkaloids 2) Attempts to Synthesize Certain Alkaloids 3) Attempts to Deconstruct the Emetine 4) On 3,4- Diphenyl-isoxazcyl -diphenyl-carbinols. Following the index, the author acknowledges and thanks Dr. Späth for his supervision, support, the usage of the laboratories in Second Chemistry institution and for gifting him several valuable compounds. The dissertation is 93 pages long and does not possess an index or a bibliography, as it is solely focused on the biochemical experiments and findings that Dr. Julian conducted.

While reading through the dissertation and the “Rigorousum” file, I was struck by two realizations. One: Although Dr. Julian had, according to his CV, started the work on his dissertation years prior to his enrollment at the University of Vienna, he still had to learn German, translate all his previous work into the appropriate chemical jargon and terminology in German, conduct the trials and experiments and write his dissertation entirely in German. He did all of this within three semesters. Two: Not only was he able to manage the completion of his PhD within one and a half years in a language that had been entirely foreign to him not even three years prior, but in a writing style that is concise, understandable, and grammatically correct. Although there were some grammar mistakes in his CV, they are predominantly slips of the pen- an accidental c in “America” or “academisch” instead of a k, comma mistakes and some

²¹⁶ Dr. Percy Lavon *Julian*, Zur Kenntnis Verschiedener Pflanzenalkaloide und über ein Neues Heterozyklisches freies Radikal, sig D 2.603 (Ungedr. Diss. Universität Wien 1931)

translation issues. For instance, when he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa – which is known and presents itself as a fraternity or “honor society”, not a literary society (although in its early days in the 18th century, it did have a sub-society that did indeed have a literary focus), he became valedictorian- the person with the highest grade point average who then gives a speech at the graduation ceremony. This distinction he had translated as “receiving first prize as a student”. Unfortunately, I lack the necessary knowledge in the field of chemistry to accurately interpret the significance of his findings within his dissertation. From what I gathered from the evaluation, it seems as if further experimentation and research would have been necessary to definitively determine his findings of the plant alkaloids and that due to contamination of the alcohol solution, the existence of the new free radical could not be extracted in its purest form, although its existence could be confirmed.

5.3. A Biographical Memoir, Dr. Bernhard Witkop

Dr. Bernhard Witkop was born in Freiburg, Germany on the 9th of May 1917 as the son of a Catholic father and a Jewish mother²¹⁷. After surviving Germany during World War II, he managed to move to New York with his wife and child in 1945, after a period in an NRRRA camp in Bremen. After being nominated for the Matthew Mellon Fellowship in Harvard, he moved to Boston and taught there until 1950.²¹⁸ Afterwards he joined the National Institutes of Health where he worked as a researcher for over 40 years. He, like Dr. Julian, specialized in synthesizing natural chemical products that are found in plants and animals. He developed routes for the nonenzymatic cleavage of peptides in specific amino acids, including the widely used cyanogen bromide method. This later enabled the widespread commercial production of insulin. He died on November 22nd 2010²¹⁹.

His Biographical Memoir for Dr. Julian was published in the second volume of “Biographical

²¹⁷, Oral history interview with Bernhard Witkop 1989 May 30, Cassettes owned by the United States Holocaust Museum, Interviewer: Gail Schwartz, Accession Number: 1993.A.0095.95 | RG Number: RG-50.163.0095, online under: <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn511578> (30.01.2022)

²¹⁸ United States Holocaust Museum, Oral history interview with Bernhard Witkop 1989 May 30 Cassette 3, 10m13s-12m44s, <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn511578> (30.01.2022),

²¹⁹ Susan J. Ainsworth, Bernhard Witkop February 14, 2011, in: Chemical and Engineering News, Volume 89, Issue 7, online under: <https://cen.acs.org/articles/89/i7/Bernhard-Witkop.html>, (31.01.2022)

Memoirs” by The National Academy Press in Washington D.C. in 1980. It is a heartfelt 46-page memoir, that uses anecdotes and letters that Dr. Julian had either told or sent to Dr. Witkop himself or that other friends of Dr. Julian had remembered. The core part of the memoir consists of Dr. Julian’s biography and character study, with poems and songs setting the mood and functioning almost like background music to emphasize the Dr. Julian’s love for the arts (especially Austrian theater)²²⁰. This memoir is the only extensive biography written about Dr. Julian and is therefore often regarded as the official biography despite its discrepancies and the subjective nature of it being written by a close friend and admirer of the subject matter, relatively soon after his death. Witkop states that Dr. Julian had started writing his autobiography but was unable to continue past the first chapter before he passed away. Other biographic writings on Dr. Julian feature in articles dedicated to his achievements in the field of chemistry and are to be found in scientific journals. As of writing of this paper, a monographic biography has yet to be published about him.

The memoir opens with a smiling picture of Dr. Julian on the left and a poem (“The Seventh Fold” by Donald Adams) on the right. The poem was a favorite of Dr. Julian’s which he would often quote in commencement speeches. The lines “*And my feet, so heavy as I had begun to climb to climb the hill/ Were now uplifted to lighter pace. /What land is this, I asked, in taking breath, / What lies beyond the seventh fold? / Take heart I told myself, / Go farther on.*” speak to Dr. Julian’s journey to achieve his goals despite adversity and obstacles and his unwillingness to let his struggles embitter him or force him to lose his eternal optimism. This very much sets the tone for the rest of the memoir²²¹. It ends on page 28, where Dr. Witkop thanks his sources for their depictions of Dr. Julian: Dr. Julian’s widow Mrs. Anna Julian, his secretary Joan Bowman, his longtime friend Dr. Josef Pikl, Dr. Edwin Mosettig who sent in his contributions from Vienna and Judge Archibald J. Carey. He further cites various other memorial lectures that were given in honor of Dr. Julian’s passing in 1975, as well as another one written by himself titled “The Humanist as a Chemist” which he had given in 1978. The anecdotes that are quoted directly from Dr. Julian about his childhood and his grandfather, came from responses that he had penned to the tributes paid to him by the opening of the “Percy Lavon Julian Laboratory” at MacMurray

²²⁰ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg. 28

²²¹ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg. 3

College in Illinois, as well as the piece “The Chemist as a Scholar and Humanist” which Dr. Julian wrote in response to Max Tischler’s address “Percy L. Julian, the Scientist²²²” which was published in “The Chemist 965-03: Vol 42 Iss. 3” on the occasion of Dr. Julian accepting the Honor Scroll of the Chicago AIC. Unfortunately, while the front page of this issue does contain a photograph of Dr. Julian accepting the scroll, the actual address and any correlating articles were unavailable. After these acknowledgments, what follows are chronologically organized lists of all of Dr. Julian’s Honorary Degrees, Academic and Civic Honors, Memberships in Learned Societies, Educational Religious and Civic Activities, Biographical Sketches, Schools Named after him, A Bibliography of all the Studies he published and an extensive list of all of Dr Julian’s patents²²³.

Due to the anecdotal and sentimental nature of this biography, I chose to treat it as a primary source material, rather than as a piece of literature and was supported in this decision by the fact that the University Archive has a copy in their inventory for Dr. Julian, in addition to the discrepancies I found while researching. For instance, Dr. Witkop states that Dr. Julian read a collection of poems and thoughts by Anton Wildgans when he was invited to speak on the radio, specifically the poem “Österreichisches Lied”, which he then prints in full within the text. In the articles reporting on Dr. Julian’s radio speech, there is not a single mention of him reciting poetry, but his speech on black people in America is described in great detail²²⁴. However, in another article that merely lists guests that had read pieces on the radio during the previous week, Anton Wildgans himself had given a reading of his “Sonetten an Ead” for his 50th birthday the day before Dr. Julian had given his speech²²⁵.

Another example of possible anecdotal confusion is Dr. Witkop stating that Mrs. Mosettig was a famous musician who lived on Theresienstraße, which doesn’t exist in Vienna, but could either be Theresiengasse (1180, Vienna) or Maria- Theresien-Straße (1010 +1090, Vienna).

What was further puzzling for me was that while this biography is readily available in the

²²² Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg. 10-11

²²³ Vgl. Bernhard *Witkop*, Percy Lavon Julian 1899-1975. A Biographical Memoir, pg. 28- 46

²²⁴ Vgl. Neues Wiener Journal, 17.April 1931, „Ein Neger spricht in Wien“ (Wien 1931)

²²⁵ Anno, Radio Wien, 24. April 1931, „Woche Radio- Wien“ (Wien 1931)

Viennese University Archive and Library, as well as online where one can download it in its entirety for free, all the other pieces and essays that recount Dr. Julian's life are either not available or behind a membership wall, mostly established by hosting platforms and universities. An example of this would be the "Percy Lavon Julian Family Papers" that De-Pauw University possesses within its archive. This is a collection of papers speeches, events, publications, lectures and awards of Dr. Julian, as well as a list of his family members that went to De Pauw, including his parents²²⁶. While on the current website (see footnote) there is a helpful paragraph summarizing the contents of the collection, any further information is only available through the University on site. Despite this, the collection was at one point the textually developed and made available. It is therefore accessible on the way-back machine²²⁷. Even the works that Dr. Witkop cites in this piece only reference back to his own citations. Therefore, while there are many direct quotes in this writing that come from Dr. Julian himself, I cannot verify them, nor take them as fact. What I can take as fact from the countless anecdotes of friends and admirers in this wonderful homage, is that Dr. Julian stood out to his friends and family as chemist with a humble philosophers' soul, who valued life in all of its forms, while working diligently and tirelessly towards his goals and in doing so inspired those around him to do the same.

6. Summary and Conclusion

While writing this thesis it became increasingly clear that Dr. Percy Lavon Julian's academic and industrial career, as well as his own personal life consisted of a multitude events and situations that are, by and large historical outliers. Like lightning in a bottle. Dr. Julian's time at the University of Vienna, while obviously fraught with some racial tension, was unmistakably a positive and life-changing experience in a multitude of ways.

The record from the Archive University of Vienna show that he was academically successful,

²²⁶ Depauw Libraries, Archives and Special Collections; Percy Lavon Julian family papers, MSD-1920-003, online under: <https://depauw.libraryhost.com/repositories/2/resources/137>

²²⁷ Archives of DePauw University and Indiana United Methodism, Percy Lavon Julian '20 Family Papers 1899-1975, Class of 1920, also includes Mattie Julian Brown '26, Elizabeth Julian White '28, Irma Julian Raybon '33, Emerson R. Julian '38, James Sumner Julian, Jr. (Honorary '70), online under: https://web.archive.org/web/20060916104034/http://www.depauw.edu/library/archives/dpuinventories/julian_percy_lavon_family.htm

even with his dissertation having been given a low grade, but his extra-curricular achievements that permitted a successful academic conclusion, are in my opinion the greater feat. His ability in not only learning German well enough quodidiantly, but also learning both academic professional German, as well as Viennese Dialect in only a year and a half cannot be underestimated. Between these three dialects of Austrian German there are a multitude of consequential nuances that are easily tripped over and missed by a non- native speaker in the grammar structure alone, ignoring colloquialisms and vocabulary. As an English native speaker, who has been speaking Austrian German since the age of nine, the magnitude of his linguistic capability is awe inspiring.

In addition to this linguistic achievement, his social achievements must also be recognized. Vienna in 1929 - 1931 was a society in flux, both economically and culturally. The trauma of no longer being the seat of the Austrian Empire, having been reduced in size as well as political standing on the world stage, not to mention the lives lost and irrevocably changed after the end of World War I only eleven years prior colored the political and societal landscape, leading to a rise in German nationalism and antisemitism and to resistance against the rise of Bolshevism and other Socialist workers movements. It is also worth noting that a year after Dr. Julian left Vienna, Engelbert Dollfuß became the chancellor of Austria and implemented Austro-fascism.

All of these political movements were connected to various social spheres. Dr. Julian managed to make a name for himself and gain friends in the higher echelons of society among academics and artists. This in itself is not surprising, as the more liberal leaning social sphere would have followed their curiosity of the unknown, but it is the sincerity of these friendships that is worth noting. As a point of comparison: while Dr. Julian was in Vienna, the “African Village” at the Prater was also active, where black people from Sudan were demonstrating various skills, while living in huts on a podium for people to watch, following in the tradition of the Human Zoos that were also in the Prater in the 19th century²²⁸. Therefore, there is a high possibility that many of the acquaintances Dr. Julian hosted at his apartment, were primarily there for the novelty, both of being in the home of a black man, as well as being able to have conversations with him in German.

²²⁸ Der Schwarze Riese Lamine. Ein Besuch im Negerdorf im Prater, 12.September 1930, Freiheit, (Wien 1930)

According to Dr. Witkop's recounting of Dr. Pickls anecdotes, Dr. Julian had truly felt like himself for the first time during his stay in Vienna. He lived in a beautiful apartment in the ninth district relatively close to the first, where he entertained guests and friends, who in turn introduced him and welcomed him to various activities and aspects of Viennese and Austrian culture, which he thoroughly enjoyed. Going to the Danube to swim, or to the countryside to hike through the forest are cultural mainstays, as much as- if not more so- than going to the State Opera House and being in the audience while Mozart's "Magic Flute" is performed. Some of the friends he made there stayed with him for his entire life. Dr. Pickl moving to the United States and partnering with him professionally, while Dr. Julian also stayed in contact with the Mossetig Family throughout the war. He then returned to visit them during a trip in the 1960's, where he also paid Dr. Späth's widow a visit.

While to the Austrian reader these activities might seem inconsequential or overblown, even having the time for such activities would have been seen as an absolute luxury for black people in the United States during that time and an absolute impossibility for Dr. Julian's parents and grandparents. This would have been reinforced by his Methodist upbringing, which extolls the virtues of a constant worth ethic, with such teachings as "idle hands are the devil's workshop". After returning to the United States, Dr. Julian would have had a hard time finding other black people with similar experiences or interests. This would have created an element of isolation for Dr. Julian among the class of black professionals.

This rift is very visible in the newspaper articles in the "Afro-American". While it is obvious that the journalist of these articles reveled in the slanderous sensationalism of it all, a certain level of schadenfreude can be detected in the sentences that reference Dr. Julian's private letters. The articles recounting the situation after the publication of the letters have a tendency to reference Julian's time in Vienna in an almost spiteful way. The sentence: *No doubt the "dammed pretty little Vienesse [sic]" may find a permanent place in the well lubricated affections of Percy.* is a prime example of this. Additionally, all of the letters that were published verbatim highlight his casual use of German. This is noticeable due to the fact that while not all of his letters were published, the ones that were contain German- even when the subject matter is purely about

chemistry and chemical experiments, which normally would not be of interest to the average newspaper reader, let alone the readers of a paper that focuses on the societal aspects of life.

After reading these articles it did not surprise me that the majority of his friends, specifically those who admired him enough to extoll his virtues posthumously, were predominantly white European Jews who had fled to the United States due to the war. It also did not surprise me that absolutely none of them reference the letters or even the reasons why they were written, only mentioning that he had to change universities. His fall from grace at Howard University would have caused quite the stir among black professionals, especially among the Howard alumni, who would have seen this as a black man who had become arrogant after having a taste of life as a white person and in his hubris had tarnished the reputation of a beloved and vital institution.

This also answers my question as to why he had and has been largely ignored by black historians and historical activists. Why during Black History Month of 2022, the very house he and his children had lived and been attacked in, is facing foreclosure and Dr. Julian's now elderly daughter is being threatened with eviction and next to nobody within the black community has signed or mentioned her "GoFundMe" website. While his time in Vienna was quintessential to Dr. Julian's development, both professionally and socially and was a time of self-actualization and fulfillment beyond the confinements of Jim Crow laws back in the states, for the average black American it somewhat reads as betrayal and surrender. A similar case would be how American media outlets seldomly talk about Josephine Baker and her achievements as a political activist. Even during her lifetime, when she had returned to the United States in 1963 to give a speech at the March of Washington, she was largely ignored by black media outlets who did not know how to respond to her speech, which spoke positively of "running away to a different country", or her French military regalia. While she was interviewed by white media outlets, they only asked her why she did not return to the United States, if she felt the need to join in the fight for black civil rights²²⁹. At the time of writing, it is still predominantly European, specifically French, outlets that do write about her.

²²⁹ Black Past Organization, (1963) Josephine Baker. "Speech at the March on Washington", Online under: <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/speeches-african-american-history/1963-josephine-baker-speech-march-washington/>(27.02.2022)

While researching and writing this paper, I was often asked by colleagues and friends why Dr. Julian moved back to the United States if he enjoyed Austria so much and American society was so restrictive. The simple answer would be “Nazis”. While fascism and German Nationalism were on the rise, its omnipresence very evident in the answers given within the matriculation entries and literally the main political ideology and party at the University of Vienna by the time Dr. Julian left, this would not have been the only determining factor, another would have been the question of whether he would have even been able to receive a visa that would have allowed him to stay. It is evident that despite Dr. Julian’s love for Austria, Austrian culture and the freedom he felt here, his love of his people, his need to find ways of making people’s lives easier through chemistry and his desire to support the efforts made to advance the position of black people in America was more fervent. In addition to this, there is also the simple reason that Austria was not his home. His family was not in Vienna and would not have been able to move there and regardless of how well he spoke in Viennese Dialect or how much effort he put into his work as a chemist, he would never be or be recognized as an Austrian, which would have been dangerous during the era of National Socialism.

It is made evident by the long list of his patents and accolades, the Dr. Julian achieved his goal in using plants and chemistry to better the lives and health of people for generations to come. A large amount of the over-the-counter medicine that we have access to today stem from his discoveries. It is also evident that his time in Vienna helped him achieve this goal, in giving him not only the opportunity to achieve his PhD, but also gifting him with lifelong friends, as well as the impetus and confirmation that his scientific and professional goals were absolutely achievable, regardless of how ever improbable. This is also why I see his studies at the University of Vienna as a success, even despite the crushing grade of a “Genügend” on his doctoral thesis, as the reasoning behind the grade was insufficient additional research. And knowing Dr. Julian, he would (and seems to) have taken this evaluation as encouragement to take heart and “*Go farther on.*”

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8. Annex

All photographs were taken by the author with permission during her visit to the University of Vienna Archive, 22.10.2020

- Matriculation Entry Winter Semester 1929/30:

Archiv der Universität Wien, Philosophische Nationalien/ Studentenblätter WS 1929-30, 202, Hi-J, „Julian“,

Vor- und Zuname des Studierenden: <i>Percy L. Julian</i>		
Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen, welche der Studierende zu hören beabsichtigt.		
Gegenstand der Vorlesung	Wöchentliche Stundenzahl derselben (Ansbetrag)	Name des Dozenten
<i>Anleitung zur wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>Z. Späth</i>
<i>Physicalische Chemie</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>R. Wegscheider</i>
Liquidierung der Quästur.		
Von der Zahlung des Kollegiengeldes halb — ganz	Bibliothekbeitrag	S
befreit laut Befcheid vom 19. 3.	Studentenfürsorge	S
Genehmigung vom 19. 3.	Krankenhofsa	S
	Matrikelbeitrag	S
	Auditoriengeld	S
	Kollegiengeld	S
	Kostenpauschale	S
	Unfallversicherung	S
	Zusammen	S

Gegenwärtig im _____ Semester

Nationalien

für ordentliche Hörer der philosophischen Fakultät.

Vor- und Zuname des Studierenden:	<i>Percy L. Julian</i>
Staatsbürgerchaft:	<i>U. S. A.</i>
Heimatspflichtigkeit (Ort und Land):	<i>Washington, D. C., U. S. A.</i>
Wohnort und Land:	<i>Montgomery, Ala. U. S. A.</i>
Geburtsdatum:	<i>11. April 1899</i>
Muttersprache:	<i>englisch</i>
Wohnsitzangehörigkeit:	<i>U. S. A.</i>
Religion, Ritus oder Konfession:	<i>Protestant — Methodist</i>
Wohnungsadresse des Studierenden:	<i>9. Liechtensteinstrasse 45 A</i>
Nachname, Stand und Wohnort seines Vaters:	<i>James L. Julian Green Castle, Indiana, U. S. A.</i>
Nachname, Stand und Wohnort seines Vaters:	
Erklärung der Lehrlingspflicht, an welcher der Studierende das letzte Semester geübt hat:	<i>Harvard — University, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.</i>
Bezieht ein Stipendium (Stiftung) im Betrage von S	<i>19, 3</i>
unter dem	
verliehen von	<i>Credit and Diplomas from De Paul and Harvard Universities in America.</i>
Unterzeichnung der Grundlage, auf welcher der Studierende die Immatrikulation oder Inscripition anpricht:	
Unabhängige Unterschrift:	<i>Percy L. Julian</i>

- Matriculation Entry Summer Semester 1930

Archiv der Universität Wien, Philosophische Nationalien/Studienblätter SS 1930, Ho-Ka, „Julian“

Vor- und Name des Studierenden: PERCY L. JULIAN		
Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen, welche der Studierende zu hören beabsichtigt		
Gegenstand der Vorlesung	Wöchentliche Stundenzahl derselben (Lehrzeit)	Name des Dozenten
Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten	15	Späth
Ubersicht über die Geschichte der neuen Philosophie	4	Wompert
Theoretische Chemie	4	Wegscheider
Einführung in die Biochemie	2	Wessely
Liquidierung der Quälur.		
Von der Zahlung des Kollegiengebühres halb-ganz befreit laut Bescheid vom 1922/3	Bibliotheksbeitrag	Studentenfürsorge
Senatsbewilligung vom 1922/3	Krankenkassa	Matrikelbeitrag
	Auditoriengebühre	Kollegiengebühre
	Kostenzuschüsse	Zusammen

Gegenwärtig im IX Semester

Nationale

für ordentliche Hörer der philosophischen Fakultät.

Vor- und Name des Studierenden:	PERCY L. JULIAN
Nationalität:	U.S.A.
Geburtsort (Ort und Land):	Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Geburtsort und Land:	Montgomery, Alabama, U.S.A.
Geburtsdatum (Tag, Monat, Jahr):	April 11, 1899
Muttersprache:	Englisch
Religionszugehörigkeit:	NEGER
Religion, Ritus oder Konfession:	Protestant (Evangelisch)
Wohnungsadresse des Studierenden:	Lichtensteinstrasse 45-A Wien
Vorname, Stand und Wohnort seines Vaters:	Reg. Post Beamter - 716 Corn St. Macon, Georgia
Vorname, Stand und Wohnort seiner Mutter:	—
Bestätigung der Wohnsitznahme, auf welcher die Aufnahme der Nationalität beruht:	Univ. Wien
Stipendium (Stiftung) im Betrage von S. G. unter dem 1922/3	
Bestätigung der Grundlegung, auf welcher die Aufnahme der Nationalität beruht:	Matriculation Percy L. Julian
Eigentliche Unterschrift:	

- Matriculation Entry Winter Semester 1930/31

Archiv der Universität Wien, Philosophische Nationalien/Studienblätter WS 1930-31, 234, P-Q, „Percy“

Vor- und Name des Studierenden:		
Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen, welche der Studierende zu hören beabsichtigt		
Gegenstand der Vorlesung	Wöchentliche Stundenzahl derselben (Lehrzeit)	Name des Dozenten
Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten	15	Späth
Liquidierung der Quälur.		
Von der Zahlung des Kollegiengebühres halb-ganz befreit laut Bescheid vom 1922/3	Bibliotheksbeitrag	Studentenfürsorge
Senatsbewilligung vom 1922/3	Krankenkassa	Matrikelbeitrag
	Auditoriengebühre	Kollegiengebühre
	Kostenzuschüsse	Zusammen

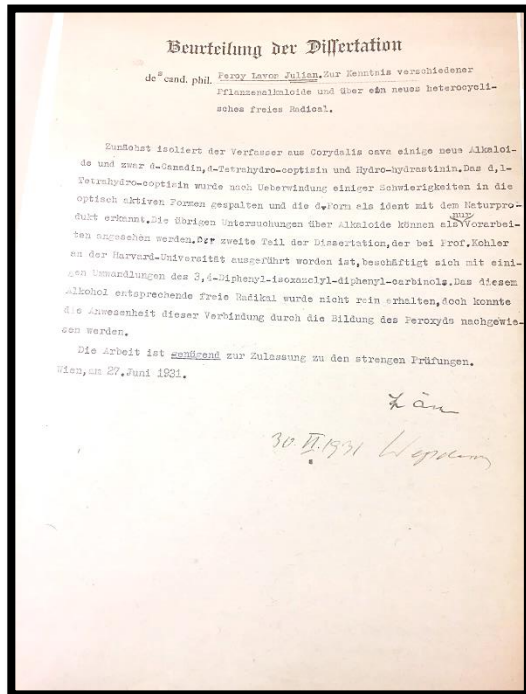
Gegenwärtig im IX Semester

Nationale

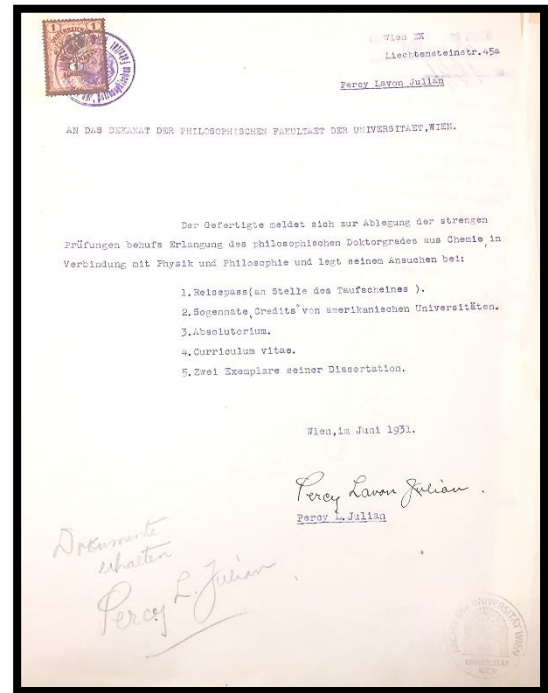
für ordentliche Hörer der philosophischen Fakultät.

Vor- und Name des Studierenden:	PERCY L. Julian
Nationalität:	Amerikaner
Geburtsort (Ort und Land):	Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Geburtsort und Land:	Montgomery, Alabama, U.S.A.
Geburtsdatum (Tag, Monat, Jahr):	April 11, 1899
Muttersprache:	Englisch
Religionszugehörigkeit:	Neger
Religion, Ritus oder Konfession:	Protestant (Methodist)
Wohnungsadresse des Studierenden:	Lichtensteinstr. 45 a, Wien IX
Vorname, Stand und Wohnort seines Vaters:	James Post-Beamter, 715 Corn St., Macon, Georgia, U.S.A.
Vorname, Stand und Wohnort seiner Mutter:	—
Bestätigung der Wohnsitznahme, auf welcher die Aufnahme der Nationalität beruht:	Die Wiener-Universität
Stipendium (Stiftung) im Betrage von S. G. unter dem 1922/3	
Bestätigung der Grundlegung, auf welcher die Aufnahme der Nationalität beruht:	Auf Grundlage vorheriger Matriculation oder Zulassung erfolgt:
Eigentliche Unterschrift:	Percy L. Julian

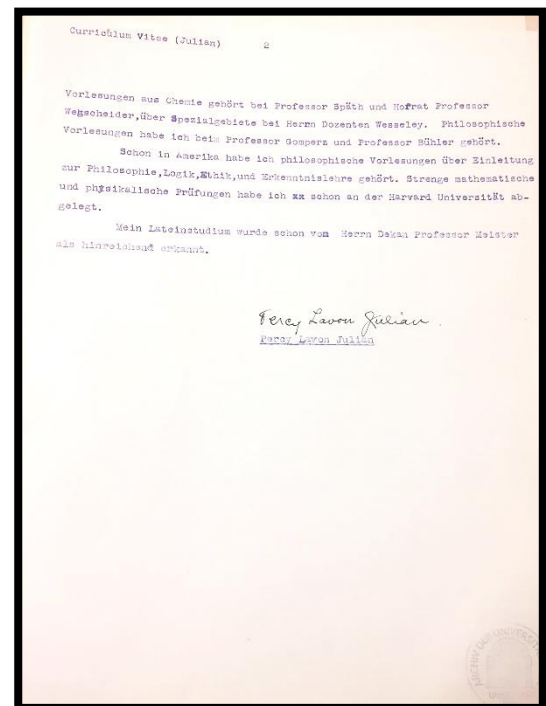
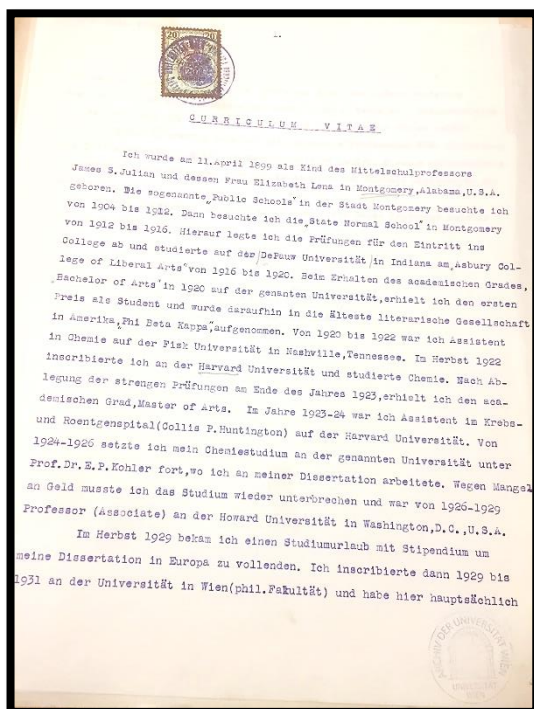
Evaluation of the Dissertation



Exams Application Letter



Dr. Julian's Curriculum Vitae



9. Abstracts

Deutsch

Dr. Percy Lavon Julian war einer der bedeutendsten Chemikern des 20ten Jahrhunderts. Seine Entdeckungen, unter anderem Cortison und synthetisches Testosteron, waren ausschlaggebend für wissenschaftliche und medizinische Entwicklungen, die unsere Gesellschaft bis heute noch stark prägen. Als ein Schwarzamerikaner, waren Dr. Julians akademischen Möglichkeiten aufgrund der damaligen Diskriminierungsgesetze in seinem Heimatlande, stark eingeschränkt. Stattdessen schrieb Dr. Julian im Jahr 1931 seine Doktorarbeit an der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien. Mein Ziel ist es, mittels Quellenanalyse der Dokumente des Archivs der Universität Wien, das Studium von Dr. Julian an der Universität, sein Leben in Wien in den frühen 1930er Jahren und wie seine Zeit an der Universität Wien sein späteres Leben beeinflusste, möglichst ausführlich zu erforschen und zu schildern.

English

Dr. Percy Lavon Julian was one of the most influential chemists of the 20th century. His discoveries, such as cortisone, synthetic testosterone and other hormones, were essential for the scientific and medical developments, that strongly influence our society to this day. Despite a long list of achievements and accolades he, unfortunately remains largely unknown.

As a black American, Dr Julian had few academic opportunities available to him, due to the racially discriminatory laws of his home country. After being denied entry to further his education within the United States, he did not give up on his goals and instead wrote his doctoral thesis at the philosophical faculty at the university of Vienna in 1931. Thus making him the second black American to ever earn a PhD in chemistry and the first to receive it from a university not specifically designated for black students, not to mention

the first to receive a degree from a university in Europe. During his time in Vienna he learned German to an extraordinary high level within a very short amount of time, made lasting friendships, one of whom, Dr. Pickl moved to America with him in order to further their research together as teachers at the University of Howard and De Pauw University and gained the knowledge and inspiration needed to achieve his goal of helping people through plant based medicinal chemistry.

My goal with this paper is to research and accurately depict Dr. Julian's studies at the University of Vienna, his life while studying in Vienna as a black man during the early 1930's, with the rise of fascism and German- Nationalism looming and how is time there influenced him later in life both professionally and personally, through the source analysis of his records and documents that are located and made available by the University of Vienna's archive. These documents are his Matriculation entries to the Philosophical Institute from the Winter Semester of 1929 to the Winter Semester of 1930, as well as his Doctoral Viva file, or Rigorosumakt", as well as biography written by a friend and colleague of his, Dr. Bernhard Witkop, which was written in honor of Dr. Julian after his death in 1975.