

Chapter One

Introduction

As 1944 began Allied forces were moving up the Italian peninsula. Though it was understood that the assault on the Italian underbelly of Germany's European empire would not be the deathblow military strategists knew was needed to defeat Hitler, it was evident to all that the Allies had turned the tide in the European theater. The Nazis had been driven from North Africa and Sicily and were now being forced to retreat in Italy. Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini had been deposed in July of 1943. The Fascist regime ruling Italy had sued for peace the following September. In December of that year, a contingent of French soldiers had just joined the Allied advance towards the German Gustav line which spanned the width of Italy between Rome and Naples. In Yugoslavia and Greece, partisan fighters were emerging as a real threat to German military might.

Despite all the ominous implications of Allied successes for the long-term outlook of the Third Reich, the Nazis became emboldened in their implementation of what Germany called *Endlösung der Judenfrage*, the final solution. The surrender of Italy, losses on the eastern front with Russia, combined with partisan activity in France, Greece and Yugoslavia and the redirection of German personnel and resources to the annihilation of the Jews, all resulted in a diminution of what has been called German efficiency. This sparse distribution of men and resources provided opportunities for some Jews to escape from Nazi-occupied regions where, until this phase, the persecution of Jews had been simply less aggressive or otherwise inhibited by local resistance.

President Roosevelt was aware of *Endlösung der Judenfrage*. Though there is great debate as to when he knew, there is little doubt that by January 1, 1944 he knew. Roosevelt also knew what the impact of Nazi atrocities would be on those Jews who were capable of escape. On January 22, 1944 Roosevelt signed Executive Order Number 9417 which created the War Refugee Board. The Executive Order read: "WHEREAS it is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war." It was the responsibility of the this War Refugee Board's (WRB) executive committee comprised of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury, to address all of the issues associated with Jewish refugees and all other persons displaced by the war.

The issue of what to do with Jewish refugees was the most complex. The impact of the Holocaust went far beyond the slaughter of innocent human beings. Most of those who escaped the Nazis had their property confiscated or simply stolen. Though many Italians would assist the Jews who were in hiding, that was not the case in the rest of Europe. Local populations elsewhere either openly collaborated with the Nazis in the slaughter of their Jewish countrymen, or stood by complacently as the massive atrocity unfolded. Abandoned and betrayed by their neighbors, Jews could no longer call where they had once lived home. In essence, most Jewish refugees had nowhere to return. If Jewish refugees had nowhere to call home, where could they go? At this juncture, Israel was still the British protectorate of Palestine. Limits on the number of Jewish refugees

had been agreed to by the British in negotiations with Arabs. Plans had even been discussed to create a surrogate Jewish homeland in either North Africa or South America. As impractical as that now seems, it was a matter for serious consideration at the time.

It was imperative for Allied troops to seek a temporary resolution to the problem of refugees, and the problems caused by their presence. For the Allied forces pushing Germans north on the Italian peninsula found routes clogged by refugees. Furthermore, the collapse of the Fascists had resulted in Germans becoming responsible for controlling northern Italy. Both Italians and refugees from other parts of Europe were flooding into the liberated sections of Italy. It was in this complex setting of historical events that Roosevelt acted.

Though there were indications that both the President's wife, Eleanor, and Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, the Roosevelt Administration's only Jewish cabinet member, had been lobbying for action for some time, Roosevelt did not act until June 8, 1944. On that date the President sent a telegram to U.S. Ambassador to Italy, Robert Murphy, that a shelter for 1,000 refugees now living in Italy would be provided in America. The President described the official purpose of what was called The Emergency Refugee Shelter, as a partial solution to the overcrowding caused by refugees and experienced by Allied Forces in liberated Italy. In light of the vast numbers of people who had fled to that part of Italy at one time or another, the admission of only 1000 was little more than a token gesture.

The unofficial reasons for the President's actions were more related to symbolism and politics than actual resolution of an enormous international problem. Allowing only

1000 Jewish refugees to enter America was prompted by three concerns. First, it deflected criticism by the First Lady, Secretary Morgenthau and Jewish political leaders in America that the President was doing far too little for Jews in Europe. Second, it was intended to offer an example to allies, particularly England, whom Roosevelt believed had a far greater opportunity to deal with the refugees in one of their colonial holdings. Third, the extremely small number of refugees and the constant, if disingenuous, assertion that not all the refugees were Jewish, were all intended to placate conservatives who opposed offering any help to European refugees, particularly Jewish refugees. In short, through deception and tokenism, Roosevelt sought to placate opposing constituencies with conflicting goals.

The Emergency Refugee Shelter was placed in a fort first captured from the French during the French and Indian War. Located on the shores of Lake Ontario overlooking the mouth of the Oswego River, the fortress came to be known as Fort Ontario, had as its strategic importance the fact that the river it guarded offered a passageway to the whole of central New York from the Finger Lakes east to western reaches of the Mohawk River.

Despite its historic pedigree the fort was relegated into relative obscurity. Though it was again important during the War of 1812 it did little more than house soldiers once a lasting peace with Canada had been achieved. That's what its role was until the arrival of the refugees during the summer of 1944. The refugees were not required to live within the old stone fortress. Years before their arrival wooden barracks were built, typical of any Army facility. These stark, drafty and at times forbidding structures were located on

the plains immediately east of the old stone fortress.

The placement of the barracks on the shores of Lake Ontario posed unique problems. Unknown to most people outside the region, Oswego has one of the harshest winters east of the Rocky Mountains. Its proximity to Lake Ontario renders it subject to a meteorological phenomenon known as lake effect snow. Oswego County endures an annual average snowfall of 114 inches with totals approaching 200 inches not uncommon. Further complicating matters are the harsh winds that blow off the lake.

The Questions

Fifty-nine years that have passed since the Shelter opened its doors in 1944, and efforts have been made to honor the refugees, federal officials, and the townspeople. There has also been a constructive and deliberate effort to recall the events and, most importantly, to ensure that all that transpired is not forgotten. A non-profit corporation was formed by local citizens called Safe Haven, Inc. The organization would hold regular reunions of the refugees and townspeople, and to establish a museum which would honor the participants and teach subsequent generations about the Holocaust generally, and the events which transpired in Oswego specifically.

This effort to acknowledge the refugees' and subsequently the Shelter's place in history has relied on numerous fund-raising events and other social gatherings. It was in the setting of one such event that I became aware of three critical beliefs about the Shelter and the refugees. First, the single most important component of the Shelter's program was the education of the refugee children in the schools of Oswego. Second, the role of Oswego High School Principal Ralph Faust was instrumental in that endeavor. And lastly,

that Faust played an essential role in the success of the Shelter.

In every one of the half dozen events I have attended, at some point, Dr. Gruber or some local official, Faust is attributed with a critical role in the success of the Shelter. Often it is a tribute by Dr. Gruber, where she characterizes Faust as one of the thirty-six just men of Jewish mythology essential to the world's survival. Other times it would be a member of Safe Haven's governing board who noted Faust's all-important contribution to the Shelter. Regardless, the impression is created that without the intervention of Ralph Faust, the refugee children of the Shelter might not have ever attended the schools of Oswego.

I began this quest believing what I had learned in these settings as fact. This research was a quest to discover why and how a courageous educator had such an impact on history. Early in the process I discovered that something else was transpiring. In the years since the events occurred, certain processes that often impinge on history had begun to take hold. History had begun to succumb to myth. Not myth of totally fictional characters or events, like Pecos Bill or Paul Bunyan, but rather a blurring and exaggeration of facts, a distortion of history, more like that of Davy Crockett. Through the course of research I discovered the story of Ralph Faust and the education of the Fort Ontario Emergency Refugee Shelter children was much more complex, but still one worthy of being told.

Historical fact had been eroded by the emergence of myth. This study seeks to capture the historicity of the events before they are eclipsed forever by myth. This study is an endeavor to answer the following questions:

I) What did Ralph Faust do to enable the children of the Fort Ontario Emergency Refugee Center to attend school? What was his contribution to the overall process?

II) Did Principal Faust receive any assistance in this endeavor? If so, from whom?

III) What role did the schooling of the refugee children play in the overall success or failure of the program represented by the Shelter?

IV) How did it come to pass that the education of the refugee children played the role history has attributed to it?

V) How did the myth arise? What conclusions of the story are historical?

This study which began as a biography of a courageous educator has evolved into an analysis as to what is the complex truth which underlies simplified versions of history. Courage will still be a critical element, but it will be only one human characteristic which will enable a community to respond to those in need.

Literature Review

A review of literature relevant to the topic suggests the subject of the Fort Ontario Emergency Refugee Shelter should be placed within the context of the Holocaust in a broad sense, and the response of the Roosevelt Administration to the plight of Jews and other displaced persons in a more narrow view. The Fort Ontario Emergency Refugee Shelter was in fact an aberration, an anomaly. The token character of admitting only 1000 refugees when millions needed relief meant that the history of these events fit within the broader story, but in more ways it did not. Though it was an anomaly in one

story, it was a microcosm of what could have been but wasn't to be. One small city showed that it could accept almost a thousand European refugees. This suggested that this experiment could have been replicated 1000 times in similarly-sized communities throughout the free world. That never happened. It exists as an instructive, contrasting sidebar to the more comprehensive and inclusive history.

Primary Sources

The primary sources were comprised of carbon copies of original WRA and WRB documents and the personal papers of four of the primary players. These copies of WRA and WRB documents were divided between The National Archives in Washington, D.C. and Columbia University's Rare Book Collection. The personal papers of Dr. Lester K. Ade are kept at Lycoming County Historical Association in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. The personal papers of Eleanor Roosevelt and Henry Morgenthau are kept at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Museum in Hyde Park. The personal papers of President Ralph W. Sweetman are found at SUNY Oswego's Archive. The National Archive and Columbia University collections included scores of newspaper and magazine articles about the Shelter collected by its staff.

Token Shipment (1946) was a report on the Shelter published by the United States Department of the Interior four months after the Shelter's closure. The immediacy of its publication and the involvement of many of the participants allow it to be considered a primary source. This federal publication attributed to no author was catalogued to the Secretary of the Interior, J. A. Krug and WRA Director Dillon S. Myer. A footnote stated that it was prepared by Edward B. Marks, Refugee Program Officer at WRA. Marks

visited Fort Ontario regularly and was in constant contact with the Shelter's staff. The work is reliant upon Mark's recollection and the official record as it existed at that time in the WRA files. The report provides a simple and unembellished view as to what transpired at the Shelter and within the agency headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Secondary Sources

Only three books have been published on the topic of the Fort Ontario Emergency Refugee Shelter. The first commercial book about the Shelter was *Haven: The Unknown Story of 1,000 World War II Refugees* (1983) by Ruth Gruber, Ph.D. Dr. Gruber was an aide to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. Secretary Ickes' interest in the project was because the WRA was part of the Department of Interior. Dr. Gruber was sent by Ickes to accompany the refugees on their voyage from Italy to Oswego. Written nearly twenty-five years after the events, this account is the most famous one of the four, having three reprints. It was the basis for a four-hour television mini-series broadcast in 2001, also entitled *Haven*. Dr. Gruber's account kept the story alive. Not only did she write the book, she offered innumerable speaking engagements where she discussed and analyzed her experiences. However invaluable, Dr. Gruber's view of the events in Oswego was that of a Washington official. Though she made several trips to the Shelter, and she was present at some critical events, she did not stay for great lengths of time in the community. What she learned about Oswego was often second hand, based on the accounts of the Shelter's residents and WRA employees. Its strength is the passionate and intimate way Dr. Gruber came to know the refugees. Jewish and fluent in German and Yiddish, Dr. Gruber had earned her doctorate while in Germany. Dr. Gruber developed a relationship

with the refugees no person, excluding the camp administration or the Quaker volunteers, would establish. A talented writer and gifted storyteller, Dr. Gruber produced a work which, if not the basis for all works to follow, certainly was the inspiration.

A second book by a witness to the events was an autobiographical account of the first director of the Shelter, Joseph Smart, entitled *Don't Fence Me In! Fort Ontario Refugee: How They Won Their Freedom* (1991). Smart drew the title from the 1940s song which became an anthem for the refugees at Fort Ontario. This work was his recollection of events at the Shelter and the admission of the refugees as legitimate aliens. Smart wrote the account after his ninetieth birthday, more than forty-five years after the events, just months before his death in an automobile accident.

The third book was a doctoral dissertation written by Sharon Lowenstein, a history student at the University of Kansas. The dissertation, *A New Deal for Refugees: The Promise and Reality of Oswego* (1983), dealt with all the agencies and organizations that impacted on the refugee encampment at Oswego. The work was republished as *Token Refuge: The Story of the Jewish Refugee Shelter at Oswego, 1944-1946*. (1986) She focused on the Holocaust, anti-Semitism, international refugee policy and actions of the Roosevelt Administration. Her work pointed the way as to where substantive materials on any facet of the Shelter's existence could be found.

A Masters thesis was written on Faust by Oswego State University student Debra Cunningham-Smith, entitled *The Influence of Ralph M. Faust* (1996). Cunningham-Smith's research relied heavily on the sources which portray Faust as a savior of the refugee students. The author's most significant contribution was an interview with Faust's

widow, Dorothy Faust, just months before her death in 1996. In the transcript Faust's widow offered insights into Faust's past. However invaluable the study was, there was one instance in the interview when the conversation became interesting but there was indicated "turned tape recorder off." Nevertheless, the work was an important resource.

Though much of what transpired at the Shelter was tangential to the broader context of World War II, the Holocaust, and the plight of displaced persons, understanding the political context became critical. One resource was David M. Kennedy's history of Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*. (1999) This work provided a comprehensive analysis of this critical period. It also afforded an insight into the personalities that impacted on events related to the Shelter. As to why the Shelter was tangential, David. S. Wyman's *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945*. (1984) was an invaluable resource. Wyman, who has attended the Shelter reunions, outlined the policies that led to the token effort represented by the events in Oswego. A third book which provided historical context for Roosevelt's policies on immigration and the plight of the Jews was edited by Verne W. Newton. *FDR and the Holocaust* (1996) was a compilation of papers presented at a conference on "Policies and Responses of the American Government toward the Holocaust," held in Hyde Park in November 1993.

It was evident that the WRB and subsequently the Shelter were steps taken by the President under the influence of Eleanor Roosevelt and Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau. Therefore, it became important to understand those two relationships with the president which, though highly personal, clearly had a political dimension. Literature

that focused on the political and personal dynamics of those relationships were an essential source of information and a means for understanding the impact these individuals had on the formulation of policy regarding the refugees and the Shelter. Joseph Lash's *Eleanor and Franklin: The story of their relationship, based on Eleanor Roosevelt's private papers*. (1971) Lash provided insight into the complex nature of the interaction between the President and this most vocal First Lady. Additionally, *This I Remember*, (1949), Eleanor Roosevelt's autobiographical account of her life as First Lady, offered another dimension to this historic woman.

The same held true for Secretary Harold Ickes. Ickes did not manifest more than a marginal impact upon the Shelter until the last few months of its existence, this despite the presence of Dr. Gruber. Understanding what influence Ickes held in the Roosevelt Administration during the last year of the FDR's life and in the early months of the Truman administration was essential to understanding the dynamics of policy creation in Washington regarding the Shelter. Two books captured the essence of Ickes' intimate yet combative relationship with Roosevelt were Jeanne Clarke's *Roosevelt's Warrior: Harold Ickes and the New Deal* (1996) and Linda Lear's *Harold L. Ickes: The Aggressive Progressive 1874-1933*, (1981). These two books provided a context which accounted for Ickes' limited role during the eighteen months the Shelter was in operation.

When it became evident that policies at the Shelter had evolved at Japanese-American Relocation Centers, it was essential to understand the history of those facilities. Though the Shelter did not raise the same constitutional issues as did the detention of American citizens of Japanese ancestry, understanding how the camps operated and how

the officials who administered those camps functioned was important. The bulk of the materials written about the WRA dealt with the constitutional issues raised by the internment of Japanese Americans; however, there were relevant works written by former WRA officials. Former WRA Director Dillon S. Myer, a central figure in the Shelter's history, wrote an autobiographical account of the internment of Japanese Americans.

Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority during World War II, (1971) described this dark chapter in American history and provided invaluable information about this program, which was the precursor to the Shelter. A second work co-written by a former WRA employee about the internment centers was Edward R. Spicer's *Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers*. (1969) Spicer eventually became a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Arizona, but during World War II he worked at the WRA as a community analyst. This account was a scholarly analysis of the same policies and events as covered by Myer.

Though the events which transpired at the Shelter were distant from events in Europe, understanding what was the context of the personal histories of the refugees interned in Oswego was important. While reviewing the dozens of interviews of former refugees and in the interviews I conducted, it was clear that what happened in Italy was relevant to what transpired in Oswego. Former refugees made numerous references to the help of Italians, that is, Fascist soldiers, officers and Italian public officials, and common citizens, who risked their careers and maybe even their lives, to protect Jews from persecution. Susan Zuccotti's, *The Italians and The Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue and Survival*, (1987) proved to be a primer for this history. Similarly, *Yours Is a Precious*

Witness: Memoirs of Jews and Catholics in Wartime Italy (1997), written by Margherita Marchione, a Roman Catholic nun who is a Professor Emerita at Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey, was a comprehensive review of Catholic Italy's response to the Holocaust both in official Church policy, individual initiatives and the impact of those actions on Jewish victims. Understanding what had actually transpired in Italy provided important information which would elucidate one of the fundamental misconceptions regarding the legacy of the Shelter.

Researching in the literature the issue of courage in the conventional sense presented a challenge. One work in particular which offered an analysis of the virtue of courage which delved into both the semantic and philosophical implications of the word was *Courage: A Philosophical Investigation*, (1986) written by Douglas N. Walton. Walton deconstructed the term in a manner that produced an understanding of the complexities of both the word and its broader meaning.

Initially, with regard to this study, courage was believed to play a significant role. Later it was clear that a form of courage was evident, but not the dominant characteristic. Much of the literature on the issue of courage deals with the more traditional notion that involves moral actions taken despite potential harm to either physical well being or some other aspect of security. A book of essays on moral courage entitled *Courage* (2002) edited by Barbara Darling-Smith, offered a broader view of the multi-faceted manifestations of what moral courage means.

The courage exhibited by Faust and others in Oswego was not a solitary, pro-active, what might even be called, quixotic form of courage. What was evident was the

courage of everyday commitment. It was a courage to direct one's life in a selfless and moral direction, from which courageous and moral actions flowed freely and at times even without notice such as found in the writings of Brazilian educational philosopher Paulo Freire. There is little doubt that Freire's pedagogic philosophies are revolutionary in character, yet there is a sub-text to his work that has broader, less radical, applications.

Freire attempted to capture the idea that teaching is not separated from the broader context of living a moral life. For Freire, teaching is an extension of a moral life. Freire uses *praxis* as a term which approximates part of the process, this is what was evident in the life of Faust and the other educators with whom he collaborated to help the children of the Fort Ontario Emergency Refugee Shelter.

Freire's work that proved to be most valuable was *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage* (1998), this posthumous work was the one which most closely reflected the process that transpired among Faust and his peers. Understanding *Pedagogy of Freedom* required my rereading Freire's seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), the book which outlined the foundation for Freire's educational philosophy.

The idea of myth presented a similar literary challenge. What best approximated what transpired in Oswego were literary works which discussed myth as an ongoing and perpetual process in human communication. The book that most closely reflected the process that evolved in Oswego was by French philosopher and educator Roland Barthes, entitled *Mythologies*. (1957) Barthes analyzed the process by which myth evolved from both fact and fiction as almost a natural process in human communications.

Methodology

The task of reconstructing a small component of a larger story which has been told and re-told has both simple and complex elements. The process can be viewed as simple in that extensive research has already been done. For this study there were nearly fifty file boxes of materials collected at various sources and scores of interviews which had already been recorded and in even some cases transcribed.

The complex nature of the research involved multiple steps. The first step was to compare and assess the emerging oral tradition surrounding the events, what might be called the conventional wisdom, with what had been written in the four accounts which preceded this effort. The second step constituted gleaning from those four sources, what potential insights they might afford. The third step was to review original sources regarding the questions to be researched. The fourth step was finding subjects with first-hand experience to elucidate and fill in gaps in the information.

With any complex protocol, each discrete step was not necessarily accomplished in order described above, at times various components of different steps were being performed concurrently. The search for *Don't Fence Me In* (1991) was not completed until a copy of the book was located in January 2003. Time-consuming research of primary source documents could not be delayed while one illusive, though critical, source was pursued. Since the questions whose answers are the focus of this study were only dealt with tangentially in the four primary works on the Shelter, the bulk of the research involved reviewing original sources in known, and as would eventually be discovered,

unanticipated sources.

Though *Token Shipment* (1946) and *Haven* (1983) had few references, in *Token Refuge* (1986), an abundance of potential sources were cited. It was Lowenstein's research which provided the trail to the primary sources. The research process incorporated reviewing literally every document held by the federal government regarding the Shelter. At the National Archives the collection involved sixteen file boxes. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum had in its archives the personal papers of Smart, all kept on microfilm. Columbia University had been donated the entire collection of the papers of WRA Director Myer. That collection also consisted of sixteen boxes of material.

The Special Collection Archive at Oswego State University had in its collection papers not owned by Safe Haven, Inc. The most pertinent documents were those associated with the refugee students who attended college there and the personal papers of college president Dr. Ralph W. Swetman. Dr. Swetman was a member of the Oswego Advisory Committee, and an early and persistent advocate on behalf of the refugees. The papers of Henry Morgenthau were kept at the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park as were all papers of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Like the elusive copy of *Don't Fence Me In*, there was one source which proved to be very difficult to locate. After considerable research there were strong indications that one WRA official, Dr. Lester K. Ade, had played a significant role in resolving many of the problems encountered during the process of enrolling the refugee children in the schools of Oswego. Finding who Dr. Ade was and where his personal papers were

became a major challenge to the research process. A quick Internet inquiry indicated that one Lester K. Ade had been at one time Pennsylvania's Superintendent of Public Instruction. When Dr. Ade's personal papers were located at an archive in his home town of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, they proved invaluable in reconstructing how the events in Oswego unfolded. His personal files provided insight into the educational policies of the WRA which predated and subsequently significantly influenced the events and policies in Oswego.

The search for materials never found was also part of the methodology. The personal papers of Constance Faust, the Fausts' only child, consisted of letters and materials sent to her late father by former refugee students. Ms. Faust's tragic death in 1999 resulted in the loss or destruction of those papers. Similarly, Faust stated in 1984 that he had given his personal papers to a scholar researching the Shelter. That person had no recollection of receiving those papers. The papers of Harry Mizen were also believed to have been passed on to the lawyer who bought his practice when he departed for California in the early 1960s. That proved to be false. In essence, when looking for primary sources, the failures were as much part of the process as were the successes.

The process involved reading each document to ascertain its relevance. If a document was deemed potentially relevant to the research questions it was scanned into a portable computer for further review. This process produced a collection of approximately 1,800 pages of materials. Since I estimate that only 20% of the documents initially reviewed of all those related to the Shelter had any relevance to the research, it can be projected that at least five times the number of documents scanned were actually

reviewed for potential use.

The fourth step, finding individuals to interview who can expand and enhance the information obtained from written sources, proved less significant than initially projected. One reason for this development was the length of time which had elapsed. In the fifty-nine years since the events transpired, many individuals had died, particularly among those who were adults at the time. Only two high school teachers from that era were still alive, and only one still possessed all of his mental acuity. As an indication of the many frustrations encountered, the one living member of the Oswego Advisory Committee had never really attended any of its meetings.

Among the former refugees who attended either the elementary schools or the high school there are many still alive and willing to participate in historical research. One former refugee who attended the high school, Steffi Steinberg Winters, was very accommodating in providing an extensive interview. As generous as her cooperation was, I discovered that my imposition on her could have been reduced significantly had I reviewed the four other interviews she had granted other researchers. In short, there have been so many reunions of the former students, there was sufficient information already in existence to meet the needs of this study. In the end, the methodology comprised of reviewing all of the many original transcripts, audio tapes and video tapes where former refugees, refugee students, former high school students, and Oswegonians who had interacted with the refugees, were interviewed to glean relevant quotes and information regarding the events which are the focus of this research.