

Chapter 4

Old Enemies Return, Noel and the Unitarian's New Troubles, Hermann's New Life

In January 1945, a month before Noel returned to Paris Arthur Schlesinger Jr. read an article sent from London. Its contents were significant enough that he rushed a cable about it to the Office of Strategic Services' (OSS) Washington headquarters. He stated a representative of Sheba Strunsky's International Rescue and Relief Committee (IRRC) in Paris was reporting that Jo Tempy was favoring the Free Germans and other Communists and, as a result, was alienating socialists from all countries. The article was probably written by Jay Lovestone's ally of the 1930s, Francis Henson. Schlesinger also reported Jo Tempy was working to be reinstated as full Party member.¹ Besides Schlesinger's cable, there was additional and disturbing news surfacing about Jo and the Unitarian's new French programs. There were many complaints by non-communists about bias in the hospital supported by Jo at the Barsky-funded Walter Cannon Memorial Hospital. Additional messages flagged the discontents about the Communist's domination of the new Picasso coordinating committee.² There also was a claim that Jo was hiring only select German refugees.

Word soon came that Donald Lowrie, whose re-established Nimes committee was coordinating postwar French relief work, had not asked Jo to join the organization. No reason was given but it was assumed it meant she was not acting like a neutral provider. Other relief workers in Europe were saying Jo was alienating the respected Quakers by protesting their organization aiding all, not just "resistors." The stories about Jo were spilling-over onto Noel Field's reputation.³

Tales about Tempì and Noel were not confined to Europe. By early 1945, there were new accusations appearing in the United States about Noel, the Barsky groups, and Stephen Fritchman. Unexpected, some came from Varian Fry. He was warning people to avoid becoming involved with Noel Field because he was a Communist. In Boston, informants were telling the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that Noel and his friend Stephen Fritchman were Party members. Important, Hede Massing, Noel's old Communist contact and one-time friend of all the Fields, was telling the FBI about Noel's earlier espionage activities. At the same time, Hoover's men were investigating Barsky's Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC). And in January 1945 a reestablished Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was gearing-up to restart the Dies Committee's investigations. The Dies 1930s investigations had included a look at the precursors of Barsky's JAFRC. Testimony at the committee's hearings had Communist membership charges against Noel.⁴ There were no public reactions to 1945's round of accusations and innuendoes, but the complaints about the situation in France had reached the Unitarian Service Committee (USC) in Boston, causing the association's leaders to again fear for the service's credibility and its fund-raising drives.

Noel Charms the Bostonians and Checks His Party Status

In July 1945, driven partly by worries over the allegations about Jo Tempì's work in France, Charles Joy flew to Paris for what he called a general inspection trip. Joy did as much advocating as inspecting, however. The admiring Joy sought to calm any worries about Jo, Noel, and the French operations. He quickly reported to Boston that he found no reason to believe any of the negative "gossip" that had reached the committee's offices. Moreover, he recommended having Noel temporarily return to the United States for a fund-raising tour and face-to-face meetings with all the Unitarian leaders so they could appreciate how important Noel was to the association and

how well the European work was progressing. Joy also planned to arrange a journey to Mexico by Noel and Persis Sibley Miller, Noel's new American assistant in Europe, to work on critical refugee issues.⁵

Persis was another well-off leftist Unitarian. Her family financed her Ivy League education at Vassar where her sister was a friend of Elizabeth Bentley. The family also provided Persis financial support throughout her life. She would become close friends with the Fields and Stephen Fritchman after she moved to Cambridge in the early 1940s. She had worked with relief organizations in Europe since 1929 and was at the border during the Spanish Civil War. She then returned to America to help fund-raising by the Unitarian Service Committee while she worked for Barsky's organizations in New York City, several times travelling to Mexico to assist Barsky-supported refugees.

Noel, Herta, and Persis left France in September 1945 for a six month stay in the United States. They quickly charmed everyone in the Unitarian's Boston and New York offices. Any Unitarian concerns about Noel's Communism evaporated. Noel increased his worth by authoring articles and giving effective fund-raising speeches. He visited his ailing mother in New York, then went to Mexico City with Herta and Persis to arrange Mexican passports and care for many of the Spanish refugees who remained stranded in Portugal. After the Mexican trip Noel reported to the Unitarian's headquarters that while in Mexico City he met with Paul Merker, a leading Free Germany Communist. Noel described Merker and his associates not as Communists but as men interested only in helping refugees of all types. Within a few months, however, Merker, courtesy of the Soviet Embassy in Mexico, was in East Germany and a major official in its newly imposed Communist government.⁶

In his reports to the Unitarians Noel failed to include information about two important meetings in the United States. He encountered Hede Massing, his old Soviet intelligence controller. She informed Noel that she had left the Party and might have to testify against him if she appeared at congressional hearings. His second meeting was a deeper secret. Noel contacted Max Bedacht, a member of the American Communist Party's central committee who had overseen Party undercover work, to be sure that Noel's status as a Party member was recognized. Noel gave various questionable dates for his becoming a Party member. He once stated he became linked to Party work by the mid-1920s and a member by 1928. It is known he was anointed with a secret membership in Moscow in 1938 and he claimed he was granted a secret American membership in 1936. Having a secret membership kept him off the Party's roles, protecting him and the Party from investigations. The status was granted to those in sensitive government positions or those performing vital undercover Party work. Knowing enough to contact Bedacht confirms that Noel became a member at some point in his life and performed clandestine work.⁷

Noel may have felt more secure after he confirmed his American Party standing in 1946, but he did not realize the dangers he faced as Hede and Paul Massing moved away from their old ideological commitments. Nor did he realize the Massing's once close relationship to the other Fields had eroded after Hede, the long-time Soviet intelligence operative, had lost faith in the Cause. Although she and Paul seem to have continued to supply information to the Soviets during the war, both were becoming more like liberals than leftists. After the war, the pair became anti-Communists and Hede became one of the major sources of information on Soviet intelligence operations in the United States. After her divorce from Paul, she became an employee of the United States' anti-Communist foreign propaganda agency, an author, and part

of New York City's intellectual set. Paul retreated to a professorship in New Jersey. By then, Noels' brothers and sisters were condemning the Massings for their mistreatment of their mother Nina during the 1930s.

Jo Tempi Charms Joy, Joy Condemns the Socialists

Before then, in 1945, while Noel was in the United States and Mexico, Charles Joy remained in Europe sending numerous reports to Boston and composing articles to stimulate donors. He had good reasons for being concerned about the USC's finances. He knew that the National War Fund and the War Refugee Board, now the major source of the Unitarian committee's income, were going to close. Although still receiving funds from Barsky, the Unitarians feared they would face critical budget shortages. However, Joy thought the work in Europe was on a sound footing and again reported only complimentary things about Jo Tempi and her programs. After spending much time with Jo and her workers, Joy wrote that she was a heroine without any political biases. Joy didn't use the word "goddess", but his prose was like a salute to one. He was so impressed with Tempi that he disregarded the USC's policy of having Americans in charge of all the foreign posts. Awed by Jo's personality, talents, and devotion he decided she deserved an American assistant, not a boss. So, while Joy was assigning trusted American Unitarians to posts in other countries, Jo remained in charge in France, soon aided by the American William Carey.⁸

During 1945 and early 1946, Charles Joy also continued to picture Noel as a pure, self-sacrificing hero. In several articles, each using moving terms, Joy described Noel's personal sacrifices and how some of Noel's valiant wartime couriers between Switzerland and France had been captured and killed. Joy followed with glowing reports on Noel's contributions to the welfare of all postwar refugees.

Charles Joy's reports did more than salute Noel and Temp's accomplishments. They delved into politics. When reacting to the complaints about Unitarian policies in France, Joy declared the grievances false, being made by overly emotional people associated with the old socialist unions (the Strunsky IRRC groups). It was they who were biased, not the Communists or Unitarians, Joy asserted. He informed Boston the Strunskyites in Europe were refusing aid to any Communists, but helped anti-Russians. He went further claiming they would not cooperate with the new French coordinating committee, and it was they, not Jo or Noel, who were forcing refugees to take loyalty oaths before receiving aid. He then countered claims that Noel was "colonizing" the Unitarian programs in Central and Eastern Europe with Communists, citing the number of Americans being sent to take charge of the various offices. All those points would be repeated by Unitarian leaders during the denomination's 1946- 947 crisis.⁹

The Fritchman Factor: Youth and Lawrence Davidow, Again

Charles Joy's reports failed to halt the objections to Noel's programs in France and other newly liberated countries. Protests continued, becoming part of a new package of complaints about Noel, Barsky, Temp, Joy--even Unitarian programs in the United States. The first hints of the newest internal Unitarian conflicts appeared just after the end of the war as the Soviets backed-away from their pledges to avoid conflicts with the Western Allies and to refrain from any revolutionary actions. A new world-revolution policy was announced in a public letter composed in Moscow but published under the name of Jacques Duclos, the head of the French Party. Around the world, Party leaders who had supported Popular Front policies were purged, replaced by Stalinists like the United States' William Z Foster. Organizations were repurposed.

Following Moscow's lead, Stephen Fritchman and Martha Fletcher moved their American Unitarian Youth organization back to the leftist orientation that had led Detroit's Lawrence

Davidow, the Lovestone ally, to demand major reforms in 1940. In reaction, in late 1945 Charles M. Sherover, a Unitarian youth leader, voiced complaints about Fritchman's *Christian Register* editorials, as well as his youth policies. Socialist/liberal Unitarian luminaries who were already wary of Fritchman, such as Davidow, Donald Harrington of New York, and A. Powell Davies of Washington, D. C. (an Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) founder) demanded reforms. Their first target was Martha Fletcher and the Unitarian youth group. Fritchman's editorial work was next on their list.¹⁰

Once again, Fritchman survived. The only action taken by Boston's Unitarian officials was to allow Martha Fletcher to resign--but with a recommendation by Charles Joy to Edward Barsky that he hire Martha to head JAFRC's new publicity campaign. Martha did not follow that opportunity; she took another job. She became Boston's director of the Communist's postwar youth organizations, including the American Youth for Democracy, the latest version of the Young Communist League. She also led an important Party cell from her Beacon Hill flat. Her involvements became so deep and obvious to the government that she would be indicted by Massachusetts for conspiracy in 1951.¹¹

In early 1946, Fritchman's ideological commitments caused more problems. He ordered the Unitarian's youth organization to join the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the latest version of the old Communist front World Youth Congress that had followed Stalinist policies throughout the 1930s. The new World Federation was headed by Alexander Shelepin, the older group's director. Shelepin was a member of the Politburo and in a few years became the head of the KGB, the Soviet's major intelligence organization. Fritchman was not alone, the Hinton's also supported the federation¹²

There were complaints by important Unitarians about that and about other recent Fritchman decisions.¹³ Robert Dexter was so upset about Fritchman arranging to have Richard Kuch, a known fellow traveler, made the Unitarian's youth representative in Europe that he contacted the Office of Strategic Service's center in London. He warned the organization about Kuch and Fritchman, and about Stephen's wife Frances, a librarian and secretary at the Party's Sam Adams School in Boston. Dexter declared that Frances was a Party member.¹⁴

The Teflon Fritchman vs. the Eastern Liberal Establishment--and an Ex-FBI Man

Despite such accusations, Fritchman remained committed to linking the Unitarians to his re-energized "progressive" social policies. For example, at the High School Week meeting at the Unitarian's Star Island youth camp in June 1946 he featured three speakers, all Communists. His main attractions were Martha Fletcher, Jo Tempy and Dirk Struik, the Marxist mathematician at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. When word of that attempt at Communist indoctrination reached the newspapers Fritchman was in danger, again. But once more nothing was done, although by then he was under attack for more than his youth activities.

For several years, his editorial policies and writings had raised serious concerns among Unitarians. Many outside Boston's core leadership believed he had consistently favored Communist authors since taking charge of the *Christian Register* in 1942. After the war, his editorial policies began to make important enemies within Eastern liberal circles, including many with socialistic beliefs, by denouncing important American organizations such as Roger Baldwin's American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).¹⁵ Stephen criticized Baldwin's ACLU for defending free speech for all people, including those on the political "right" such as Gerald K. Smith. Fritchman did not realize the importance of the ultra-liberal New York intellectual John

Haynes Holmes being the current head of the ACLU, and Stephen did not appreciate the political power of Roger Baldwin whose anti-Communism had deepened since his 1930s protests against Barsky.

Stephen alienated more influential liberals when he indicated he agreed with the view Noel Field put forward in 1946 that demands that free speech and free press be established before the United States gave aid to foreign countries were just political tactics to undermine new governments in the liberated nations.¹⁶ At the same time, Fritchman appeared to be actively suppressing any criticisms of the Soviet Union. Significant, the viewpoints in his editorials were varying with changes in Soviet policies.¹⁷ Fritchman's political connections were also causing anxieties for many Unitarians and liberals. It was no secret that he had ties to front organizations; so many that some began to think he was more than a fellow traveler. Edward B. Wilcox, a Unitarian minister from Lynn Massachusetts was one of them. His made his concerns public, very much so. When the Unitarian Association board rejected his frequent warnings about Fritchman's communism, and "rabid anti-Catholicism," Wilcox independently published detailed critiques of Fritchman's past.¹⁸

By spring 1946 the complaints about Fritchman's editorial work led to action. A coalition of noted liberal, even humanistic, Unitarians led by New York's John Haynes Holmes and Donald Harrington (a leader of New York's anti-Communist labor-based, socialistic Liberal Party) formed. Lawrence Davidow, Wilton Edison Cross, and Edward B. Wilcox (now a leader of the National Committee of Free Unitarians) also formed a group. Their Free Unitarians views were incorrectly condemned by Unitarians on the left as being anti-progressive. The Free Unitarians' main concern was their denomination's drifting too far from its Christian roots and becoming too communistic. For both the New York liberals and the Boston-based Free

Unitarians, Fritchman's writings, as well as his youth work, were shameful examples of Unitarianism abandoning Christianity, even going beyond the Humanist platform of 1933.¹⁹

There were more than general complaints. In May 1946, Linscott Tyler, a Unitarian and ex-FBI agent, contacted Frank B. Frederick, the Unitarian Association's new general counsel, and asked for a confidential meeting. Tyler, the son of a wealthy New England shoe manufacturer had been a high school football star and an athlete in college before working in the shoe equipment industry. In May 1942 he became an FBI man, serving as a technical "sound specialist" setting-up phone and microphone "taps" in several American cities as well as Mexico. He was assigned to the FBI's Boston branch in July 1945 where he helped expand the agency's "technical surveillance" of the local Communist Party's offices, its leaders, and allies.²⁰

The FBI had decided it was time to go beyond mail and garbage "watches" and placed phone-taps on Massachusetts's Communist Party leaders such as Anne Burlak Timpson and set-up microphones in Party meeting rooms. Tyler had access to some of the telephone taps, the "room bugs," and to the logs of all the other FBI watches. He was deeply disturbed by what he heard and saw in 1945, even though he was a committed liberal Unitarian. To his surprise, he kept encountering references to Stephen Fritchman. Tyler said nothing until well after he resigned from the bureau in December 1945. While caring for an ill wife, he resumed his old job in the Massachusetts shoe machinery industry and bought a home in beautiful Hingham, a Boston suburb.

After settling-into his new home Tyler remembered what he had encountered during his FBI year in Boston. He became concerned and began discrete inquiries about Fritchman and his associates. He searched published information. After several month of work, he thought he had enough evidence.²¹ In May 1946, Tyler had the off-the-record meeting with Frank B. Fredrick.

Holding Frederick to a pledge of secrecy about the FBI taps ,Tyler outlined his case against Fritchman and warned Frederick that in any public context he would only reveal his open-source information about Communists in the denomination. Despite that, and despite his pledge to keep any information from FBI-related sources in confidence, Frederick contacted Frederick May Eliot, the association's president. He informed Eliot of Tyler's charges. He broke part of his pledge to Tyler and mentioned his assertions about the results of the FBI's surveillance. Given Tyler's credible story and the pressures from concerned Unitarian groups , Eliot could no longer ignore demands for an investigation of the Fritchman-Communism question. Association hearings began, lasting some three months. One of the reasons for the lengthy investigation was that in mid-1946 the Unitarians faced a series of additional crises over Noel Field's Communism and Communists in their ranks . Noel once again caused, and faced, dangers.

A Summer of Great, Great Discontent: Attacks from All Sides, HUAC and Barsky

A month before Tyler reported on Fritchman the Unitarian leadership learned of another threat to them and of a great danger to civil liberties in general. The USC, and Noel Field's good friends at the Barsky-Bryan JAFRC, were ordered to testify at the new Wood-Rankin HUAC hearings in Washington, D.C. The committee had resumed the investigation of Communist influence in America conducted by Martin Dies.²²

One cause of the 1946 JAFRC investigation was the discovery that Gerhardt Eisler, a well-known Soviet agent, and ex-husband of Hede Massing (Noel Field's controller), had been rescued from France in 1941 (possibly by Noel Field) and then provided with secret long-term support by Barsky's JAFRC in New York City.²³ As had the Dies committee in 1940, the Wood-Rankin's lawyers wanted testimony from the JAFRC's officials as well as their organization's records. Given the now well-known USC links to the JARFC, and the public

support that Charles Joy and Stephen Fritchman had been giving to Barsky's fund-raising efforts, the congressional hearings had the potential to undermine the Unitarian's image as a liberal non-political organization and threaten JAFRC's fund-raising for its continuing work in France, including its new Thomas Addis mental hospital.²⁴ The situation became tense when Bryan and other JAFRC officials refused to comply with the demand for records. They were soon indicted for contempt of congress. Barsky quickly responded to the indictments, publishing a page-long statement in the *New York Times* condemning the Wood-Rankin committee as a tool of conservative political interests. To the dismay of the Unitarian opposition groups, an insert by Charles Joy within that *Times* article saluted the good works of Barsky and his organization.²⁵

Barsky soon added to the conflict by asserting HUAC's real goal was to gain the names of Spanish Republicans the JAFRC, Martha Sharp, and Noel Field helped and who remained in hiding. Barsky said that with those names Francisco Franco's police would seize the Republicans or their families.²⁶ Then, in May, just as Linscott Tyler was presenting his accusations against Stephen Fritchman, the *Christian Register* carried the text of a Boston Unitarian town meeting's resolution. It called for an end to HUAC and all attempts to begin a replay of the emotional Red Scare that followed World War I. Fritchman's *Register* was also carrying articles by rather famous Communists such as Donald Ogden Stuart. That caused an anonymous writer, probably Robert Dexter, to send an open protest letter to the association's headquarters about Communist influences.²⁷ Additional Fritchman articles added to the growing conflict.

Henson Once Again, Noel and Tempì under Fire

After a few weeks, the Unitarians faced more challenges This time the targets were Noel Field and Jo Tempì— there also was a potential for damage to Charles Joy and the association's

standing in the religious community. In June, just as Jo Tempì arrived from France to begin a vacation and fund-raising tour on the East Coast, Frank B. Frederick and Frederick May Eliot were informed of the contents of a letter sent from Paris. The informant was Donald Harrington, a man who could not be ignored. He was a prominent Unitarian minister in New York City, leader of the social justice Community Church, and friend of illustrious liberals such as John Dewey. Harrington stated the letter was sent by Francis Henson of Strunsky's IRRC to Reinhold Niebuhr in New York City. Harrington told Eliot that Henson, after serving in the American Army, had returned to work for the Socialist-Dubinsky-Lovestone groups and headed the IRRC's relief work in Lisbon, then Paris. Harrington explained that Niebuhr passed the letter on to John Haynes Holmes, Harrington's mentor, for action because of the gravity of Henson's accusations. Those accusations were serious: Noel was a Communist and a Soviet agent; Tempì was a Communist; the Unitarian's program in France had been and was favoring Communists; and, quite damning, the Unitarian leadership knew of this but tolerated it on the communistic grounds of "the end justifies the means."

Eliot responded with another investigation, merging Fritchman's with the newest Noel-Tempì problem. A series of meetings were called with Harrington, Lawrence Davidow, and Linscott Tyler, all of whom had been informed of the contents of Henson's letter. They were asked to present any evidence they had. Then, Eliot tasked William Emerson, now the chairman of the USC, to perform a bit of checking on Noel. Emerson, who already believed in Noel's innocence, received two complementary letters from State Department officials and expected more positive information.²⁸ Emerson then asked Laurence Duggan, one of Noel's closest friends and now the head of the influential Institute for International Education, to write a letter in Noel's behalf. Emerson had no idea that Duggan had been an important Soviet intelligence

asset during the 1930s and early 1940s. Duggan responded with a glowing report on Noel and with a denial of any links between Noel and Communism. Emerson had also asked for information on Noel from the FBI. Strangely, there was no response from Hoover's men.²⁹

Joy and Jo and an Immoral Crisis in a Moral Organization, Sex and Espionage?

While the hearings on Noel and Fritchman were progressing, there was another crisis. Charles Joy, now a sixty-years-old married Unitarian minister and Jo Tempy, who was in her mid-thirties, had been spending a great deal of time together while she was in the United States. That, Harrington's accusations about her, and suspicions that the FBI was tracking her, had led Linscott Tyler and his brother Daniel to watch for anything of interest. In late June they saw Jo and Charles board a night train for New York City. They believed the two shared a compartment on that and on a return trip. They also discovered Charles and Jo had registered as man and wife at a New York City hotel on an earlier visit, sharing the same room. Eliot and Emerson were immediately informed.³⁰

While the Noel-Fritchman investigations dragged on, the Unitarian Association quickly acted on the Joy-Tempy issue. Charles and Jo were questioned in confidential meetings. Charles denied having an affair, denied sharing a train compartment, and excused the hotel incident as the result of the dire shortage of rooms in New York City. Yet, Charles handed-in his resignation. It was reluctantly accepted with the belief that while Charles was innocent, he was indiscrete to the point of endangering the moral reputation of the association. Jo also resigned, but after weighing the consequences of the Paris office being without her the resignation was rejected by a three to one vote in a Unitarian board meeting. That decision came with an understanding the vote was not an approval of her but a deferring of a final decision until Noel

Field could be consulted. Monitored by the FBI, in early August 1946, Jo left for France while Charles Joy was given recommendations that allowed him work for other relief agencies in Europe--although William Emerson and Seth Gano, another USC executive, came to believe that Charles and Jo lied about their relationship. A final decision on Tempì's status was deferred for several months.³¹

Meanwhile, Howard Brooks, who had collaborated so closely with Louis Dolivet and the OSS since 1941, then served as an associate director of the USC, assumed Joy's position as the USC's Executive Secretary. Brooks and other of Noel's friends at the committee's headquarters quickly sent urgent warnings about the Joy-Tempi problem to Noel who was on a relief assignment in Germany.³² The warnings reflected the ideological divisions with the association. Some of the messages denounced the Joy-Tempi investigations as just part of a larger plot by "anti-liberals" who would stoop to anything to undermine the Unitarians' work. The association's Seth Gano became distraught over the denomination being caught in what he described as a battle between Unitarian liberals and conservatives and struggle between socialists and communists that was worse than the struggle between communists and capitalists.³³

Typically, on learning of the Joy-Tempi problem, Noel threatened to resign and began voicing objections to the USC paying any attention to charges made by "anti-progressives" who were "enemies of liberalism."³⁴ Noel was unable to do more because he was busy with his new duties as a supervisor of relief work in Germany for CRALOG (Council of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany) and, if one report is correct, visiting with Leo Bauer and other Communists who had returned from exile to take high positions in East Germany's government.³⁵ However, Noel continued defending Tempì though numerous letters and cables to

Boston and, during a brief September 1946 visit to Paris by a Unitarian inspection team, he underscored his faith in Jo as a neutral relief worker.

Noel had to wait for answers while the Unitarians continued their investigations and deliberations about him, Jo Tempi and Stephen Fritchman. (See Chapter 18 for the final decisions of Noel and Jo).

While Noel's Future Remained Uncertain Hermann and Kate Shaped Theirs

As the battle between Noel Field and the Unitarians progressed Noel's younger brother Hermann was trying to establish a stable and meaningful life in America. He had made career commitments after his return in 1939, but he remained uncertain about his politics. Would he go further "left" as had his brother and his sister Elsie, or would he remain only tempted by communism's ideals?

Fitting into American life had not been a challenge for Hermann. He adjusted to new settings, was more socially adept than Noel, and easily made friends. In 1922, when Nina Field and the children left Switzerland for Cambridge, young Hermann had few problems adapting to America, unlike Noel who always felt somewhat out-of-place. While Noel went directly to Harvard and his older sister Elsie to the famed Cambridge Latin high school, Hermann and younger sister Lettie attended the progressive Shady Hill grammar school where they absorbed American ways while keeping their family's liberal Quaker faith. Of importance, Hermann made life-long friends at the school, including the Clark and Hinton children.

Like his siblings, Hermann was multilingual and had the advantage of attending the best schools in Switzerland, so he excelled at Cambridge Latin and entered Harvard with confidence. He also had a sense of direction. He was to be an architect. He did well at the

university and, then at its graduate architectural school and the allied Bussey Institute for agricultural studies where he learned to integrate landscaping and architecture. By then, he was already an advocate for planned “Holistic” communities. Like his sister, he made a summer trip to China and was shaken by its backwardness.

As did Elsie and Noel, Hermann sympathized with Cambridge’s “left” during the 1920s and 1930s and became close to Hede and Paul Massing, Noel’s Communist controllers-- then his mother’s close friends. While in his graduate program Hermann married into the ultra-progressive Clark family of Cambridge, Massachusetts. After Jean Clark, his bride, graduated from Vassar in 1934 as a married woman, the couple went to the special summer school in Moscow and made a tour of the Soviet Union. They left Russia as great admirers of its planned economy and new towns and also greater critics of what they saw as the haphazard and insensitive development of America’s cities during its rush to industrialization.³⁶ Hermann and Jean then began their International Institute of Education-sponsored university fellowships in Switzerland where they met many young European Communists who reinforced their idealistic communism. Hermann wrote praises of the Soviet economy and condemnations of capitalism, even denouncing New Deal policies as echoes of the disastrous ones of Russia’s Mensheviks of 1917. The couple spent part of a summer working on a Soviet collective farm, later reporting the work routine was hard on everyone, but was necessary for the welfare of the nation. Hermann and Jean may not have learned of the brutal ways the farms were collectivized by the seizure of the land and personal property of once independent farmers. Even if they had known of the cruelty of the great collectivization of the early 1930s, Hermann and Jean would probably have become Stalin’s supporters, continuing to overlook Soviet faults. They accepted Stalin’s Great Terror and the Hitler-Stalin Pact as necessary to saving what they regarded as the greatest

social experiment of all time. They also dismissed the importance of Leon Trotsky's assassination as an isolated event as they did when two of Noel's European intelligence contacts were killed.

Despite their shared views, the marriage did not last.. Its weaknesses were revealed after Hermann took a position as an architect for the construction of a huge corporate factory and planned town in England. He claimed Jean, beginning in 1936, had a series of affairs, including one with Paul Massing, before she married a local Jewish leftist. The split from Jean did not mean an end to her relationship with Hermann or the other Fields, however. The families remained in contact for the remainder of their lives.

. Jean and Sali Lieberman, her new Swiss-Jewish Communist husband, became stranded in Switzerland until 1945. Hermann, alone in England fell in love with and married Kate Thornycroft, an English girl who had been to the United to study its social problems and attended Smith College and the radical Highlander Folk School. The couple first met at a folk-dance festival in England then at a left-wing bookstore in London. Kate, along with her extended family, was involved with England's Labour Party, left-wing movements, and the Czech Refugee Trust, a British organization rescuing victims of Germany's invasion of Czechoslovakia. Many German radicals and Jews had fled there after Hitler took power and were in grave danger. Kate convinced Hermann to join in the Trust's efforts. His German language skill and his knowledge of continental Europe made him invaluable. Hermann left his planning work, turned down an offer for another longer-term job in the United States, and rushed to Prague. During his rescue work in Czechoslovakia, then Krakow, Poland, Hermann encountered great sufferings, ones described in detail in frequent letters to his mother.³⁷ Hermann met and helped many Communist refugees, as well as many of Poland's leading

politicians, before he was forced to return to England at the outbreak of World War II. He almost died on a 1939 trek to Rumania while supervising hundreds of refugees who were making a dash to safety after the Germans invaded Poland. Hermann's Trust work led British intelligence to believe he was a Red because when he acted as a British consul in Krakow he favored Communists when deciding who qualified for visas and who deserved unrestricted residence in England. The worries about his Communism were so great the British refused Hermann a passport to visit Noel in Switzerland after Hermann returned from Poland. The British notified the United States of their suspicions.³⁸

Hermann and Kate decided to leave England in 1939, settling in New York City—not his hometown of Boston. Hermann gained the notice of the nation's elite after the publication of stories about his Czech work and his heroic attempt to lead those hundreds of refugees to safety in Rumania as Germans bombed his column. America's liberals also welcomed he and Kate--and those further on the left.³⁹ The couple continued to exhibit their communist sympathies and their faith in the purity of the Soviet Cause by attending many Communist front meetings and they continued to interact with the Massings. Unfortunately, they were dealing with personal problems that led to sessions with a psychoanalyst. Despite the emotional difficulties, they persevered. Hermann continued his studies of Holistic architecture while Kate found employment as a journalist with a British propaganda agency and *Time* magazine. She then began a family. There was birth in 1942, then 1944, followed by another fifteen years later.

Hermann had a deferment and did not serve in the military, but he was unable to establish a successful career despite his impressive academic background. He found intermittent jobs as an architect, usually working on the design of military facilities while

hoping for opportunities to do adventurous projects that could use his talents at comprehensive architecture and site planning. Unfortunately for Hermann, when the war ended he had not found one, nor did he have any in sight .

After the war, Hermann and Kate continued living a somewhat bohemian life, loving New York City' artistic offering. Once again, they decided not to move to Boston where the Clarks, his ex-in laws, were deep into Party activities. He and Kate and their two boys lived quietly and frugally in a fourth-floor apartment on Second Avenue. The only breaks with their thrifty living were enrolling their oldest boy in a private school and hiring Benjamin Spock as his pediatrician. Not too concerned about an income because Kate continued as a writer, and because Hermann had a sizeable amount of money in a trust his father left him, Hermann turned to caring for his beloved Shirley, Massachusetts Valley Farm. He purchased it at a 1932 tax sale when he was in college with money from a trust Nina's father established. The 110-acre farm had been neglected, used as a bare-bones summer retreat by the Clarks, Fields, and other middle-class families. It remained undeveloped after Hermann's purchase. The historic farmhouse, even in the 1950s, was without electricity or running water, but that was an attraction to Hermann who loved the primitive. The farm also had emotional ties. Nina had used it as a retreat for recovering International Bridge members and to house the Massings before she helped them buy a small Bucks County, Pennsylvania farm close to that area's arts colony.

Hermann continued working but had only a few architectural assignments, usually in New York City and Washington, D.C., designing permanent housing for returning veterans and for the thousands of workers who had migrated to the cities during the war. That did not fulfill Hermann's artistic architectural dreams.. He considered such projects unimaginative and longed for a challenging and exciting opportunity, one that fit his education and his goal of advancing

the cause of all-inclusive Holistic architectural design. But he was not idle. He continued his contacts with the American left, even with Dr. Edward Barsky who was about to be called before the congressional committees investigating Communist subversion. Barsky was a target because of his continuing Joint-Anti-Fascist-Committee (JAFRC) and Unitarian Service Committee (USC) operations.⁴⁰ Barsky may also have been among those the government was watching because of information from a highly secret program monitoring Americans who were illegally smuggling arms to the Jews in Palestine. The Palestinian Jews were endangering America's relations with England and Mid-East peace. The Jews were also committing terrorist acts against the British who held the old League of Nations' mandate for Palestine.

Hermann's link to Barsky was only one of the reasons the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) placed a watch on him. The agency had been worried about Hermann since he and Kate returned from Europe in 1939, especially after Hermann joined or founded organizations such as the Architects for Soviet-American Friendship, the suspicious Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Science and Professions. After its first investigations, Hoover's agency thought Hermann and Kate were Party members because of those activities and because Hermann had reestablished his many European Communist connections.

Hermann's renewed European involvements caused more FBI investigations. In 1947, with the help of architects and politicians he had met while working for the Czech Trust Hermann led American architects and others interested in "socialist reconstruction" on a tour of the rebuilding efforts in East and Central Europe, including those in Czechoslovakia and Poland. While on the tour he renewed his friendships with pre-war refugees such as Karl Marcus and Wilhelm Novy of Prague.⁴¹ To Hermann's disappointment, the East German part of the trip was

cancelled. Its projects were using so many resources no accommodations were available for visitors, he was told. The reason was probably East Germany's fears of outside knowledge of their failures in physical and economic reconstruction. Despite the cancellation, Hermann thought his tour demonstrated that Winston Churchill's 1946 declaration the Soviets had built an Iron Curtain sealing-off Eastern Europe was another example of the West's falsehoods and its forcing confrontations that were leading to war.

As during his 1930s visit to the Soviet Union, Hermann saw no Soviet evils in 1947. He discounted the importance of anything negative he witnessed, such as the conditions on postwar collective farms. After the architectural trip he lavished praise on "socialist planning" while criticizing all American architecture. Also, while continuing to protest race and ethnic prejudice in the United States, Hermann never mentioned that his postwar left-wing host countries had seen brutal purges of the upper and middle-classes and were becoming less than subtle about "the Jewish Question." He also failed to write about the resurging anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union as Stalin's fear of international Zionism led him to consider, among other policies, shipping all Jews to Central Asia, or creating a utopian but segregated Jewish state inside the Soviet Union.⁴²

In contrast to his silence on those issues, Hermann expressed his long-held romantic-leftist beliefs. He did not hide his abhorrence of the United States' emerging Cold War policies. He also made it clear he thought America's architectural achievements were inferior to the Soviets.' He did not realize, or seem to care, that his denunciations could alienate political liberals and members of his profession. For example, at a 1948 dinner with Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the ex-OSS man who had blocked Noel's Free Germany program in 1945, and who was a leader of the United States' liberal but anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action, Hermann was

more than direct in his language. He lambasted President Harry Truman's domestic and foreign programs and announced he was an ardent admirer of Henry Wallace's socialistic (and Communist supported) presidential campaign. Perhaps not appreciating Schlesinger's role in the liberals' anti-Wallace initiatives, Hermann disclosed he was in full agreement with Wallace's belief that America and England, not Stalin, were causing the threat of a new war.⁴³ In contrast, Hermann remained silent after the Communists established one-party dictatorships in Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Colleges for the People, The Flexner s and Harvard Did Not Get It Quite Right—

It was as much Hermann's oft-stated leftist views as his impressive academic background (Harvard University, the prestigious Swiss Technical Institute, and a course of study with the American architectural radical Antonin Raymond) that led to his first long-term job after returning to the United States. It took seven years' but in 1947, Hermann was offered a position as an architectural planner in Cleveland, Ohio. While Cleveland was not a cultural center like New York, and was an unusual place for a social reformer, the offer from Cleveland College fit Hermann's professional and, importantly, his ideological views. The job gave him the chance to apply his Holistic architecture, as well as democratize American higher education.

Cleveland College, Hermann's new occupational home, was founded in the 1920s as an egalitarian alternative to "elite" higher education. Its goal was to serve the needs of working adults, people who could not afford nor, because of their job schedules, attend its loosely-associated parent, the traditional and nearby Western Reserve University, or other regular colleges. Cleveland College was one of the educational alternatives to Abraham and Simon Flexner's influential model of modern research-oriented, elite higher education and the older liberal arts colleges.

In the early 1900s, supported by the nation's wealthiest foundations, the liberal progressive Abraham and Simon Flexner fought to make American universities match Europe's best scientific research and scholarly institutions. Rockefeller and Carnegie foundation support was directed to selective universities engaged in producing and teaching advanced knowledge, ones staffed with professional full-time scholars and attended by full-time students. Many older schools for young adults followed the Flexners' lead. That left a gap in America's educational system. In reaction, there was a new round of creating alternative schools that offered low-cost education to adults. Usually located in downtown buildings, the new schools were a mix of non- and for-profit institutions. Some of the schools offered only business or teacher training, but non-profits sponsored by organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA- "Ys," offered a wide range of practical courses. There was a danger to attending such schools. They were low on higher education's prestige scale and the "Ys" and their like usually did not confer college degrees or offer courses that transferred credits to regular colleges.⁴⁴ .

The new forms of "the peoples" higher education kept expanding and evolving. The various non-Flexner schools and newer training-by-mail companies enrolled more students than all the regular colleges and universities combined during the early Twentieth Century.⁴⁵ Their success was due to many factors. They minimized tuition and did not require students to be well prepared, and they were located just a walk or streetcar ride away from major employment centers. To minimize costs, they relied upon part-time faculty, usually people who worked in their teaching fields during the day. These "adult schools" also avoided the financial burdens of housing and feeding students, used few administrators, paid their faculty members much less than did the regular colleges, and did not have to finance faculty retirement programs

or athletic teams. They also avoided the expenses associated with research. There were no large libraries or buildings filled with costly equipment.⁴⁶ The non-Flexner schools' administrators and faculties also had a different professional culture than the new career academics in universities. For example, Cleveland College's staff identified more with high-school teachers than with professors. Advanced degrees were not required for instructors or administrators and, in some cases, frowned-upon. Even the few full-time faculty members in the adult schools focused on the classroom rather than scholarship and research, and there was an ethos of serving the academically needy. These alternative schools also took pride in training new immigrants, rural migrants, and those from the lower orders of society. And there was more than a touch of leftism among the schools' founders.

There were some weaknesses in the 'people's college' educational model, however. The faculty was evaluated on popular teaching, usually in a direct way. Classes had to have enough fee-paying students to cover costs, or a course was dropped. There were no faculty tenure protections. Lack of endowments that buffered schools from economic downturns and the absence of funds from research grants were significant problems at most of the colleges. Because of such problems many university educators were concerned about the academic quality of instruction. Such worries and the growing importance of all types of adult education, including the socialization of new immigrants, led the rich philanthropic Carnegie Foundation that had championed the university-research ideal, to begin generously funding programs to professionalize adult education, hopefully without undermining its uniqueness. Beginning in the 1920s it helped create the American Association for Adult Education. The association created a professional network for administrators, forged an adult educator identity, and developed special training programs for adult educators.⁴⁷ The foundation also supported the creation of

another type of “people’s” college: City and county-funded junior college that offered low-cost alternatives to the first two years of college, as well as vocational programs.

Herbert Cason Hunsaker, was a leader in founding alternative colleges and adult educators' associations. He was proud of his special professional identity and like many of his colleagues had an evangelical-like passion for the “peoples” education cause. Hunsaker became a driving force at Cleveland College after twenty years as an administrator at adult colleges in the East.

He was, like Hermann Field, a man with a broad social commitment, a decidedly left-leaning socialist one. He was also an “internationalist” serving, for example, on the Board of Directors of the Cleveland Council for American Soviet Friendship—a front organization. Hunsaker never hid his disdain for regular colleges and universities that, he claimed, served only the privileged and allowed themselves to be controlled by the capitalist corporations. He never identified with the Flexner university ideals and did not seek a Ph D until forced-to later in life. He was quite satisfied with just a Master’s Degree from a lowly teacher’s college.⁴⁸

Hunsaker moved to Cleveland in 1942 at one of the lowest points in Cleveland College’s history. It had its problems during 1920s and 1930s and World War II almost forced its closure. The school had a curious, late, and rocky start in the 1920s. Before it enrolled its first students it lost the support of the already established and flourishing YMCA’s Fenn College. Facing competition from the YMCA school, Cleveland College’s directors concluded an unusual at-a-distance relationship with the well-respected Case School of Technology and then Western Reserve College to gain some educational credentials. The school, however, did not formally begin until 1925 and languished until 1926 when Alexander Caswell Ellis was hired as its chief administrator. Ellis was one of the brand-new educational psychologists, having studied under the famed G. Stanley Hall at Clark University. After earning his degree, he headed the pedagogy

and educational philosophy department at the University of Texas where he emphasized adult and vocational education, especially for farmers, before moving to Cleveland.⁴⁹

A few years after Ellis took charge Cleveland College enrolled 7,000 students in some 565 classes, a 400 percent increase in tuition-paying students. Although all classes were at night, and while there were no full-time students, that was a great achievement. Ellis accomplished that with just a few administrators, just one full-time faculty member, and with 80% of the institution's funding coming from tuitions. Then, near catastrophe! In the early 1930s enrollments dropped by half and remained at that level through World War II. The school was near insolvency, saved only by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce not demanding the millions the school owed in back rent for the use of the chamber's old building. The crisis was due to more than the economics of the Great Depression and World War II's military draft that took-away so many students. Across the country alternative adult schools were beginning to face competition and a shift of students' aspirations. The state universities had long been involved in "extension" education for farmers, but they and private colleges were now going beyond that to offer non-degree and vocational education in a wide range of subjects, even in their own urban off-campus night schools. There was another new competitor, that evolving junior college (community college) was subsidized through local taxes. Students were also changing. They felt a need for regular college degrees to be successful. In response, there was a convergence. As the colleges and universities changed, a few of the adult schools began morphing into colleges, but ones still oriented to education's underclasses.

As a result, by the late 1930s the higher education system had changed so much that Abraham and Simon Flexner, who had worked so hard to create pure high-level research and intellectually advanced universities in the early 1900s, declared they could not find an

acceptable example of their dream except their special creation, the Institute for Advanced Study.⁵⁰ They would have been more disappointed had they realized how deeply involved the universities would with the Cold War's military needs.

An Educational Idealist, an Architectural Romantic, Both on the Left

Herbert Hunsaker never explained why he agreed to become the struggling Cleveland College's administrator in 1942. He arrived at the school when it was almost dead, saved only by the city of Cleveland not founding its own all-purpose community college and by the YMCA's college and the Case Institute of Technology's evening school refraining from being overly competitive. It must have been his idealism and ideology that led him to accept the job.

Whatever the reasons, it is certain that Hunsaker had visions of a new and grander Cleveland College. He was one of the first to plan for its postwar future and he was ready with ideas even before the national enrollment boom of 1945 when thousands of returning veterans using the GI Bill led to a burst of first-time-ever college students. Cleveland College began to receive its share of them, with Hunsaker believing the college was at the beginnings of a never-ending flood of new students. In addition, the hopes that a manufacturing resurgence in the Mid-West would generate new wealth, and thus a need for vocational education, led to promises by the city's business community of financial support for a revitalized local college. The hopes and visions seemed correct. By 1946, the college had an enrollment of 12,000 (up from some 3,000) with a fourth of the enrollees being something new for the school, full-time students. The expansion seemed miraculous: Sixty full-time and 200 part-time faculty members were hired.

Important, the school was running a significant financial surplus, based only on tuitions. That led to even grander dreams for its future. Hunsaker and the other Cleveland College planners did not, however, envision their new school as a simple extension of the college's old

role as a bare-bones downtown school offering only night-time, non-credit courses. Although still committed to an education suited to the common man (and the school's now significant female enrollment) Cleveland College joined a horde of what were once teachers' colleges and vocational schools in a scramble to upgrade. Hunsaker looked forward to students seeking regular college degrees, believing that a private, tuition-funded college without a large endowment could succeed. Fortunately, Cleveland's at-a-distance parent institution, Western Reserve University, accepted his financial predictions. Its administrators thought they were getting a no-cost, self-sustaining urban "extension" campus that would need little supervision--- and little, if any, economic support.

Hunsaker leased four new buildings, but felt cramped. So, an ambitious prospectus for a "Cathedral of Learning" and a ten-year development program was completed. Tens of millions of dollars were to be borrowed to build an educational-planner's dream campus. A fourteen-story skyscraper, spanning an entire city block, was proposed. It would have all the new educational amenities. Classrooms could be isolated or shared because there were to have the new-fangled folding walls. Special lighting, both natural and artificial, and air-conditioning and ventilation systems would ensure attention by studies and their good health. The newest acoustic technologies were to be installed. Adding to the list of innovations, the building was to have special nap rooms so the tired day-time working students could have some sleep before their classes.⁵¹

Hermann's New Closest Friend and Fellow Believer

In 1947, Herbert Hunsaker, now the college's dean, began a search for architects to design the revolutionary new campus and its structures. After inquiries about the nation's leading architectural planners, Hunsaker contacted the world-famous Antonin Raymond's office in New

York City, where Hermann Field had worked on-and-off since the early 1940s. Raymond recommended Hermann for the Cleveland job. After Hunsaker examined Hermann's credentials and explored his personal and professional background, ones that included leadership in the Architects Friendship League (for good relations with Russia), he knew he found a soul mate. He quickly informed the college's board the "best architect in America" was available. Another dean vouched for Hermann because Kate Field had attended school in England with his wife.⁵²

Hermann was jubilant when he was notified he had the position and was to be given great latitude in his designs. Finally, he had a real job, perhaps lasting for ten years or more, and one allowing him to apply Raymond's Holistic architecture principles. There were other attractions. There was a promised lectureship in economics for Kate and Hermann discovered Cleveland had groups of people of the correct political persuasion. Most important, Hermann believed he was to be part of a great project to help create an innovative modern college to uplift the oppressed common people and, certainly, one not involved in military or capitalists' research.

Hermann and Kate had emotionally burdensome responsibilities to fulfill before leaving New York. Nina Field had passed-away in a New York City hospital in July 1947 while they and Noel were in Europe. There were matters concerning Nina's estate and Hermann's sister Elsie was too busy with her family to manage the problems. On returning from his architectural survey in Europe trip Hermann took charge. He had Nina's remains cremated and sent to Cambridge Massachusetts' Mt. Auburn cemetery where her young daughter Lettie and her husband Herbert were interred. Another of Herman's responsibilities proved to be pleasant. After reviewing Nina's will, Hermann and Kate learned of how much she had given to her children. It was a lot. She had willed over a million dollars in assets.⁵³ Then, Hermann and Kate began planning their move to culturally far-off Ohio. He rented his Valley Farm to a New York couple

then bought a lovely green and white home in an up-scale neighborhood in the suburb of Cleveland Heights. He enrolled his oldest son in a private prep-school.⁵⁴ The house was a short walk from Western Reserve University and had high status neighbors. One was the family of Peter Lewis, a teenager who became an insurance innovator and billionaires who financed the new left's American Progressivism of the Twenty First Century.

Hermann might not have known when he left the East Coast was how rapidly his new college's parent, Western Reserve, was itself being transformed. Because of a changed mission and new funding opportunities, the liberal-arts college hoped to become a multi-purpose, research, and entrepreneurial university, one that provided money-making services to the government, the military, and industry. The new Reserve soon provided Hermann an opportunity to make another career change after he began thinking elite education was acceptable.

Hermann as a Political and Architectural Missionary

By 1948, Hermann and Kate integrated themselves into the intellectual and arts circles of Cleveland but had built reputations as outspoken "communists," partly because they became faithful members of the city's branches of the Committee of the Arts, Science and Professions and the Committee to Protect the Foreign Born, both front organizations. Their radicalism surprised members of the Unitarian church and the Czech social clubs where they gave many talks. Members of the League of Women Voters complained about Kate trying to aggressively take over the organization and move it in a Communist direction.⁵⁵ Expectedly, both she and Hermann were leaders in Cleveland's movements against the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan that Russia feared would undercut its influence in Europe. As would Noel, they dismissed the increasing number of press accounts reporting Communists in Hungary, Czechoslovakia,

and Poland were establishing dictatorships, even arresting clergy, and suppressing religious education.⁵⁶ Hermann and Kate insisted such Communist take-overs were expressions of the "peoples will." They continued to publicly oppose congressional investigations of American Communism, and President Harry Truman's domestic policies, and were ardent supports of Henry Wallace's presidential campaign and, tellingly, they held seminars about the treatment of Soviet geneticists who continued to hold to Mendelian "bourgeois science" while being dismissed from their jobs, many being jailed, some executed. Given Hermann and Kate's commitment to science as the only valid way of knowing, their apparent acceptance of the Soviet's Lysenko genetic theory, suggests their ideology trumped intellectualism. Lysenko's theories had been condemned by the world's scientific community since the 1930s.

Hermann and Kate seemed more than fellow travelers. They were observed at meetings with local Communist Party members, and they were reported to be entertaining Czech officials in their home. When the FBI, in response to renewed concerns about Noel's loyalty, began another investigation of Hermann and Kate, they concluded those officials were linked to Czech intelligence and declared Hermann's three closest Cleveland friends were members of the local Party. Hermann made it clear he was rather proud of his public support of leftist policies and of his habit of provoking heated intellectual debates. However, when questioned by the watchful FBI he denied being a Communist. He declared he was just a "citizen of the world"⁵⁷.

Hermann's proposed additional tours of reconstruction efforts behind the Iron Curtain caused intensified worries and suspicions. By 1949, the FBI placed another mail-watch on his home and office. The agency considered bugging Hermann's telephones and residence.⁵⁸ The investigations did not harm Hermann's career, however. He became nationally recognized for his

work on the college complex and for his many articles that appeared in prestigious architectural journals, even *American City*.

Then, professional acclaim of his plan for a radically new curriculum in architectural education led to another life change. He had a chance to become a high-status Flexner-like professional academic. In 1949, he accepted an offer to head Western Reserve's (not lowly Cleveland College's) new school of architecture as soon as its dean retired at summer's end. Hermann did not feel guilty about becoming an elite full-time professor partly because the offer included being allowed to continue his architectural work for Cleveland College. Herman had more good news. There were also professional accolades from the president of the American Institute of Architects and the institute appointed him to be its official representative at international conferences on modern architecture, the first to be held in Italy.

Cleveland was also proving a happy and exciting place to live. Kate became a naturalized citizen, Hermann found another private, not public, school for both children, and Kate was busy with political affairs, clubs, Unitarian activities, and lecturing in economics at the college where she, of course, taught the top-down, planned economic theory of her instructor at Cambridge University, John Maynard Keynes. The Fields thought they had a permanent and comfortable home.

From Peoples College to Cold War University

There was something important they and Herbert Hunsaker were not attending to. Their grand dream of an urban peoples 'university was fading. The great burst of GI Bill and other enrollments at Cleveland College did not continue. Total enrollment was sliding downward, 25%, with a 40% drop in full-time students. That was a calamity. Cleveland College began running huge yearly financial deficits. Worse for Hermann's grand project for a fourteen story

Cathedral of Learning, the college was using only 12% of its existing capacity. There were more educational problems in Cleveland. Western Reserve was also in trouble. While Hermann and Herbert Hunsaker may not have been sensitive enough to the problems, John Millis, a mathematician-physicist turned university administrator, certainly was.

John Schiff Millis received his 1924 undergraduate degree in mathematics and astronomy from the University of Chicago (where his father taught economics) just as he turned twenty-one. John was regarded as a boy genius, but he did not earn his PhD in physics until seven years later. His family was well-off, but John had to teach at a private high-school then take a junior faculty position at Wisconsin's small Lawrence College while consulting for a paper manufacturers' research center. Millis' career at Lawrence took-off once he earned his doctorate. He became a full professor at age thirty-one and then found he had a special talent for college administration. He served as a dean at Lawrence then landed a Carnegie Corporation grant to travel through America studying college and university management. In 1941 he was called to the presidency of the University of Vermont, a school in crisis. He earned a reputation as a financial and administrative miracle-worker. That was one of the reasons why Western Reserve lured him to Cleveland in September 1949. Reserve needed help to move forward to become an advanced research university gaining vital income from research grants and contracts and graduate programs.⁵⁹

Although the college's finances had not recovered from investment losses during the Great Depression it had some potential for success in the new world of higher education if it became entrepreneurial. Although it had never been a purely undergraduate liberal arts college it had not leveraged its research and graduate programs. Since the 1930s it had two relatively large industry-financed paint and oil research centers, its related medical school had a research arm,

and it had some applied-research experienced faculty. But the college had not established a large number of graduate programs nor had much success in obtaining federal research dollars—unlike the nearby Case Institute of Technology that was beginning a long-standing secret government project, Doan Brook, that brought-in almost one-third of the school's budget. Thomas Keith Glennan, Case's new president, who would become the first administrator of NASA, looked on Doan Brook as only a beginning for Case's ascent and, perhaps, a partnership with Western Reserve.

Millis was not as well connected as Glennan, but he was determined to solve Western Reserve's ills and make it solvent. Two of the first challenges Millis confronted was Cleveland College's budget problems and its low academic reputation. Soon, Millis devised solutions for both. He ended Hermann and Hunsaker's great building project, brought what remained of the downtown campus under tighter university control, and demanded that its faculty meet the same academic standards as those at the main campus. Millis also decided to follow a national trend and upgrade Reserve's existing part-time and adult education programs giving them regular status, thus allowing them to provide credit towards a college degree-- and more income for Reserve. In addition, Mills wanted Cleveland College's classes held at Western Reserve's newly upgraded University Circle campus, not at the old downtown center that was expensive to maintain.⁶⁰

Millis' policies undermined Cleveland College and the old peoples' college dream. Herbert Hunsaker objected. He suffered because of that--- much or more than because of the growing rumors of his far-left political leanings. Millis' demanding advanced degrees for all of his faculty was a personal slap at Hunsaker. In turn, Millis did not appreciate Hunsaker's

confrontations over the fate of “poor students” who could not afford increased tuition and travel to Reserve’s main campus.

Hermann may have sensed Cleveland College was in jeopardy, but he left for Europe just before Millis’ arrival and never had a chance to protest his policies because Hermann would spend the next five years isolated in a Polish dungeon. In contrast, Herbert Hunsaker continued to criticize Millis’ policies. He was sidelined and became bitter. Within a few years he left Cleveland, although by 1955 he had become an internationally recognized leader in adult education contributing to the reconstruction of many of Europe’s educational systems.⁶¹

Meanwhile, while Hermann Field would languish as a prisoner of the regime he so admired. Jean Clark, his ex-wife, was facing her own traumas in Mill Valley, California, a town that became a center of the United States’ Democratic Party’s left-wing..

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- ¹ USC 16114/5 (91).
- ² USC16114/5 (91)
- ³ USC 16031/1 (6).
- ⁴ USC 16114/5 (91); Subak, *Op cit.* 203, 208; USC 16135, Emerson 1-13-1947.
- ⁵ Persis had worked in relief in Europe for decades and been employed by Barsky's organizations. While probably not a Communist, she certainly had leftist' leanings. Sharp. *Op cit.*; USC 347/50 (4).
- ⁶ USC 347/50(4) ,16114/3 (37), 16114/5 (92 & 97) and 97 and 16114/6 (112)112.
- ⁷ <http://www.documentstalk.com/wp/field-noel-haviland-1904-1970>.
- ⁸ USC 16114/4 70.
- ⁹ USC 347/50 (4).
- ¹⁰ Roy, Ralph Lord, *Communism, and the Churches* (NY: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1960); Arnason, Wayne & Rebecca Scott, *We Would Be One: A History of the Unitarian Universalist Youth Movements* (Boston: Skinner House Press, 2005).
- ¹¹ Marshall, George N., "A. Powell Davies'" *Op cit* , 200-212.; on Joy and Fletcher, USC 16007/21; <http://uudb.org/articles/stephenholefritchman.html>.
- ¹² Roy, *Op cit.*.
- ¹³ Roy, *Op cit.*
- ¹⁴ FBI FOIA,fritchman, 6-28-1946, OSS, SSU memo to FBI re Dexter.
- ¹⁵ Eddis, Charles, "Research Note: Was the Register Under Fritchman Pro-Soviet? The Birkhead and Walsh Reports," *Journal of Unitarian and Universalist History*, 33 (2009/2010), 109-116.; McKanan, Dan, review of Charles W. Eddis, Stephen Fritchman: The American Unitarians and Communism-- A History with Documents, *Journal of Unitarian Universalist History* 34 (2011/21012): 177-180.
- ¹⁶ *Christian Register*, 12-1946; Donald Harrington papers at the New York Public Library Correspondence to and from Donald Harrington, 1936-2000; Holmes, John Haynes. *I Speak for Myself: the Autobiography of John Haynes Holmes* (New York: Harper, 1959).
- ¹⁷ An independent study of the Christian Register, done at the behest of the Unitarian board, concluded the Register under Fritchman was biased. The study seems to have been done in late 1946. Eddis, "Research," *Op cit.*
- ¹⁸ Roy, *Op cit.*; FBI FOIA,fritchman10-8-1947 shows Fritchman's pro Soviet slant; Wilcox, Edward B., *The Strange Case of Stephen Fritchman, editor, The Christian Register* (Lynn, MA: Unitarian Church, 1947).
- ¹⁹ USC 16114/6 106, 'Bragg condemns Free Unitarians.
- ²⁰ USC 16032/1 (7); FBI FOIA. fritchman ; Eddies, Charles, *Stephen Fritchman: The American Unitarians and Communism: A History with Documents* (np: Lulu.com, 2011).
- ²¹ FBI FOIA, fritchman.
- ²² Di Figlia, *Op cit.* HUAC text at, <https://archive.org/details/investigationofu1946bunit>; USC 16114/6 (101).
- ²³ Eddis, "Stephen Fritchman,' *Op cit.*; NYT 2-7-1947, 3; Reeves, Jo Ann Williams, *Op cit.*
- ²⁴ NYT, 4-5-1946 & 1945-1946, *passim*; FBI FOIA, hallinan.
- ²⁵ USC 16114/6 (105).
- ²⁶ USC 16114/6 (105);
- ²⁷ *Christian Register*, 5-23-1946; USC 16031/1 (6).
- ²⁸ USC 16031/1 (5); USC 16171/1, 16024/1 (1'5); Harvard Divinity Library Archives, Emerson --Noel- Duggan-- Green-Stone Letters Nov-Dec. 1946.
- ²⁹ USC Duggan letter of 11-3-46 and other State responses, 16031/1.
- ³⁰ USC, 16171/1(13 & 3), 19171/1.
- ³¹ USC 16171/1 (13), 16135/4 (14).
- ³² USC 16114/3 (54), 16171/1 (13).
- ³³ USC 16114/6 (102), 1-27-1947. Useful on the emergence and long-term of the liberal-socialist coalition is, Cushner, Ari Nathan, " Cold War Continuities: Left-Liberal Anticommunism and American Empire, 194-1968", PhD Thesis. UC Santa Crus, 2017.
- ³⁴ USC 16171/1 (6 &13), 16146/3 (13).
- ³⁵ USC 16031/1 (6) Bauer 16114/5 (92).

³⁶ On the quick and phenomenal rise of the United States to become a dominant industrial power and the stress that put on its infrastructure: Beckert, Sven, "America Danger: United States, Empire, Eurafica, and The Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870-1950" *American Historical Review*, 122 4 (Oct. 2017): 1137-1170, and, Link, Stefan and Noam Maggor, "The United States as a Developing Nation: Revisiting the Peculiarities of American History," *Past And Present*, 246 (Feb, 2020):277-306.

³⁷ His wife compiled and edited a collection of the letters, but her "Letters from Krakow" was not published. A copy was sent to the author by Alan Field

³⁸ On the pre 1945 life of Hermann and Kate, see, Burke. *Information and Intrigue* "Op cit., passim.; also, FBI FOIA, noel field, 3 17.

³⁹³⁹ Herrmann's work helping thousand for refugees is well described in *Trapped in the Cold War* and the unpublished collection of his 1939 letters to his mother, "Letters from Krakow" *Op ct.* The 1939-1940 descriptions of the harrowing trek to Rumania appeared in *The Liberator*, *The New York Timess* and in the book, *I Was Lucky to Escape*.

⁴⁰ BU b4 07-22-07 file 5; FBI FOIA, hermann field.

⁴¹ The excursion was run by Columbia University's allied World Tours Inc. If enough students signed-on, a tour's leader was paid for expenses and received a small salary. One of Hermann's tours was, World Study Tours. Tour #18 Reconstruction and Community Planning.

⁴² MacDonogh, Giles, *After the Reich: the Brutal History of the Allied Occupation* (NY: Basic Books, 2007).

⁴³ Schlesinger, Arthur Jr., "A Life" , *Op cit.*

⁴⁴ Kett, Joseph F., *The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press., 1994).

⁴⁵ Colin B., *American Collegiate Populations: a Test of the Traditional View* (New York: New York University Press, 1982).

⁴⁶ Geiger, Roger. L., *To Advance Knowledge: the Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1986), p112.

⁴⁷ American Association for Adult Education, *Adult Education for Democracy* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1936); Stubblefield, Harold W. & Patrick Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience: From the Colonial Times to the Present* (San Francisco: Josey-Bass, 1994. A generation earlier, there was a similar movement that challenged the Flexner -like elite research-oriented university model but this Populist movement was oriented more to the rural community. See, Gelber, Scott M., *The University, and the People: Envisioning American Higher Education in an Era of Populist Protest* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011).

⁴⁸ Herbert C. Hunsaker Papers, Syracuse University; FBI FOIA, hermann field ; *NYT passim*;

⁴⁹ Cramer, C. H. *Case Western Reserve: A history of the university, 1826-1976* (Boston: Little Brown, 1976).

⁵⁰ Kerr, Clark, *The Uses of the University* (4th Ed.) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), esp., p4-5.

⁵¹ Cramer, C. H., *The School of Library Science at Case Western Reserve University: Seventy-five years, 1904-1979* (Cleveland, OH: School of Library Science, 1979).

⁵² FBI FOIA, hermann field

⁵³ FBI FOIA, noel field..

⁵⁴ Field, Hugh. "Trolling Along on the Bottom." in, Tymoczko, Maria and Nancy Blackmun (eds.), *Born Into a World at War* (Manchester, U.K.: St. Jerome, 2000): 180-188.

⁵⁵ FBI FOIA, Hermann hermann field, FBI FOIA, noel field.

⁵⁶ *NYT* passim 1946-1950.

⁵⁷ FBI FOIA, hermann field.

⁵⁸ FOIA, hermann field.

⁵⁹ Van Tassel; David D. & John J Grabowski, *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1987).

⁶⁰ Geiger, 'To Advance,' *Op cit.*

⁶¹ Hunsaker Papers, *Op cit.*.