

# *The Red Scare In Wayland*

Robert Mainer

## Foreword

Soon after my wife and I arrived in Wayland in 1962, we attended a neighborhood party. As so often happens, the men gathered around a table of snacks in the kitchen while the women chatted in the living room. One of the men mentioned a recent development in the “cold war” between the Soviet Union and the United States – I cannot now recall the specific event, there having been so many in those days. The conversation subsequently drifted into a discussion of the anxieties created by the adversaries’ gambits. My neighbor then observed that at least in Wayland, people were no longer looking for Communists behind every tree and bush as they had been doing in the 1950s. That was the first time I heard about Anne Hale and her dismissal from a teaching position in the Wayland Schools because of her earlier membership in the Communist Party.

From time to time after first learning about Miss Hale’s collision with the 1950s anti-Communist hysteria, I would hear or read about references to her case. For example, in 1981, The Town Crier’s 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition contained a “Crier Flashback” reprise of the matter. Gradually, however, the Anne Hale story faded from the memories of the Wayland citizenry. For example, in November, 2002, following a Sunday morning church service, several fellow parishioners and I were discussing the cost of standing up for one’s principles. I mentioned the Anne Hale case. My reference to her name drew only blank looks from my listeners. While providing a quick synopsis and answering questions about the case, I began to realize that not only did the others not know about Miss Hale, but also they were too young to have first hand knowledge about the anti-Communist witch-hunting that took place a half-century ago.

In the weeks following that Sunday morning experience, I fretted that because of the inevitable deaths of people who resided in Wayland during the 1950s, the Town gradually is losing the color that personal witness can add to black and white facts. Moreover, a few inquiries demonstrated that there is no single repository of documents about the Hale matter. To obtain the complete story, one needs to read the contents of files gathering dust in several different archives and libraries. It was for these reasons that I decided to make a contribution to the Wayland Historical Society by researching the Anne Hale story and compiling the collected information into a reasonably comprehensive recounting of this fascinating piece of Wayland history. The result appears on the pages that follow.

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## The Red Scare In Wayland

On the night of June 8, 1954, the Wayland School Committee<sup>1</sup> convened a public hearing to determine whether Anne P. Hale Jr., a second grade teacher in the Wayland Center School, should be dismissed because of her membership in the Communist Party between 1938 and 1950. The proceedings filled eight June evenings and attracted audiences ranging up to an estimated 700 attendees<sup>2</sup> before ending on June 25. The Committee then reviewed the evidence produced during the hearing, prepared a report of its conclusions and fired Miss Hale.

For readers too young to have witnessed the anti-Communist witch-hunting of the late 1940s and early '50s, and for those of us who lived through the period but find our recall dimmed by the passage of a half-century of time, some background will illuminate the sources of the passion invested in the hunt for Reds – a popular label for Communists – and their “pinko” sympathizers. Two contributing factors during the years following World War II explain a great deal of the fervor: relationships between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (“USSR”), and the U.S. political landscape.

Notwithstanding a cool and distrustful relationship between the US and the USSR prior to World War II, expediency caused the two nations to become allies in the war against Germany and Japan. With the war's end, US-Soviet relationships again became uneasy and steadily worsened as the Soviets took advantage of post-war political-economic instabilities in countries where it saw opportunities to extend its influence and to further the Communist cause. Among those opportunities was Korea, which from 1910 to the end of World War II had been under Japanese colonial rule. After Japan's defeat, the victorious allies divided Korea into two zones of occupation separated by the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel: the Soviet zone (North Korea) and the U.S. zone (South Korea). In 1948, the Soviets installed a Communist government in North Korea, while the US assisted South Korea in setting up a democracy<sup>3</sup>. In 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea. The United Nations intervened with a “police action” in which the United States and several other UN member nations rushed to South Korea's aid. US troops were thus engaged in combat with a Communist nation's army that was in turn advised and supplied by two major Communist powers – the USSR and China. As in all wars, each side demonized its enemy. Consequently, the American public quickly associated the North Korean's brutish fanaticism with their “godless Communism” and saw the war as a struggle between a God fearing people and a Communist conspiracy to impose an atheistic totalitarianism on nations unable or unwilling to defend themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> The three-member Committee comprised William A. Waldron, Chair, Harvey C. Newton and Cornelius J. Maguire. Rexford Souder was Superintendent of Schools.

<sup>2</sup> Only about 100 attended the last few sessions. Wayland's population at the time was about 7,000.

<sup>3</sup> As it turned out, South Korea's experiment in democracy was short lived and by the 1960s the country was ruled by what for most purposes was a military dictatorship.

Active hostilities on the Korean peninsula ceased on July 27, 1953 – only eleven months before Wayland’s School Committee brought charges against Anne Hale for her association with the Communist Party. It must have crossed the minds of people hearing those charges that Communists very recently had been killing American soldiers.

The American political scene provides a second lens through which to view the mindset of people who, in the late 1940s, saw themselves as patriots fighting the “Red Menace.” The 1946 elections gave the Republican Party control of Congress for the first time in more than a decade. Searching for ways to discredit their political adversaries, Republicans began to accuse the Democrats of being soft towards Communism and its threat to American ideals. The accusation played well in the press. President Truman responded by insisting that loyalty oaths be required of all Federal employees and, anticipating that domestic Communism would be an issue in the 1948 elections, vowed that any government employee found to be a Communist or Communist sympathizer would be discharged. Truman’s vigor in stating his position served to make plausible the possibility that Communists were to be found in the Federal government. The fact that the US had developed the atomic bomb added a large measure of paranoia to public worries about espionage that might enable the USSR to get its hands on our atomic secrets.

Wily politicians are quick to seize upon an issue that can be ridden to enhance their party’s stature and, at the same time, add to their personal power and self-aggrandizement. J. Parnell Thomas, a Republican Congressman from New Jersey, was a wily politician. In 1947, Thomas revived the House Un-American Activities Committee (“HUAC”)<sup>4</sup> and launched a series of investigations into Communist infiltrations into the Federal government, into labor unions and, with a fine appreciation of how to pique public interest, into the Hollywood motion picture industry. In the latter investigation, the HUAC compiled information suggesting that a number of Hollywood writers, directors and actors were or had been members of the Communist Party or had contributed funds to the Party. In September, 1947, Thomas’s committee subpoenaed 41 film industry people to appear before it. Of the 41, eleven were suspected of being, or having been, dues paying, “card carrying” members of the Communist Party. One of the eleven, playwright Bertolt Brecht, left the country to return to his native Germany after his appearance before the HUAC, leaving ten – the “Hollywood Ten” – to continue to face the Committee’s ongoing inquiry.

Adding to the public’s fascination with the HUAC’s activities was a group of Hollywood stars organized by Humphrey Bogart and his wife, Lauren Bacall, into the “Committee for the First Amendment” for the purpose of demonstrating support for the Hollywood Ten. Unfortunately for Bogart’s group, the Hollywood Ten behaved badly before the HUAC and embarrassed Bogart and the members of his committee who had traveled to Washington D.C. to attend the hearings.

In 1952, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, chaired by Senator Pat McCarran, joined the probes of Communist infiltrations into various organizations and government agencies. Both the House and the Senate investigations began to publish lists of names that included persons who had not had the benefit of due process prior to finding themselves on a list of suspects. Within the motion picture industry, such a list became known as the Blacklist. To protect their public images and to avoid further

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<sup>4</sup> The HUAC had been relatively dormant during the later years of World War II.

accusations about harboring Communists, Hollywood studios fired over 300 people whose names appeared on the Blacklist. Many of the people on the Blacklist were placed there on the basis of very slender evidence and so it is hard to conclude that the length of the list was a true measure of the Communist Party's influence on motion picture content. On the other hand, Edward Dmytryk, one of the original Hollywood Ten, was interviewed for a documentary ("Blacklist: Hollywood On Trial") and stated "We worked for the Comintern<sup>5</sup>. We were given directions by the Comintern. The Party was in the middle of all of it! I eventually came to see the Party as a menace<sup>6</sup>."

During this era, no politician made more effective use of lists for personal gain than did Wisconsin's Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. On February 9, 1950, McCarthy addressed the Ladies' Republican Club of Wheeling, West Virginia and in that speech alleged that the Department of State harbored hundreds<sup>7</sup> of "traitorous" Communists. Public reaction, stirred by the news media, provided McCarthy with strong encouragement to expand and intensify his search for Communists, leading him to make reckless claims on the Senate floor and in public speeches that often went unsupported by facts. So vigorous were his efforts that his brand of witch hunting became known as McCarthyism.

A curious chain of events led ultimately to McCarthy's censure by the Senate and the end of his crusade against Communism – events that were unfolding just as the Wayland School Committee began to deliberate Anne Hale's fate. A McCarthy staff member, Roy Cohn, had a friend, G. David Schine, who had been called up by his draft board and was serving in the Army. Cohn tried to persuade the Army to release Private Schine so that Schine could participate in anti-Communist investigations. When the Army refused Cohn's request, McCarthy stepped in and when the Army rebuffed his efforts on Private Schine's behalf, McCarthy initiated hearings to investigate purported Communist infiltrations of the Army. The hearings were televised and, in the words of a Collier's magazine editorial, were "... a carnival, a sprawling, brawling travesty. It was a performance to shame some of the leading participants, who seemed to forget that their hammy hokum and snarling words were being seen across the country and heard around the world." On June 10, 1954, the day of the third evening of the Wayland School Committee's interrogation of Anne Hale, the front page of The New York Times carried an article by W. H. Lawrence that began: "The Army-McCarthy hearings reached a dramatic high point today in an angry, emotion packed exchange between Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and Joseph N. Welch, special counsel for the Army."

Thus, events at the national level were creating a climate of political turbulence and anti-Communist opinion that was peaking in the spring of 1954, just when Miss Hale was facing dismissal from her position as a teacher in Wayland's Center School because of earlier membership in the Communist Party. Fallout from the nation's obsession with the "Red Menace" could be found in Wayland, as in most communities elsewhere. A

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<sup>5</sup> The Communist International Party.

<sup>6</sup> Dmytryk, upon his later return to the industry, directed The Caine Mutiny (1954), The Young Lions (1958), and Walk on the Wild Side (1962) among other memorable films.

<sup>77</sup> Persons present at the speech have quoted McCarthy as saying that the number was 205, but McCarthy later denied that number by pointing out that in the written version of his speech, the number is 57. Subsequently, on the Senate floor, McCarthy stated that there were 80 Communists working in the State Department. When other Senators challenged his statement, he refused to name names.

person ran the risk of incurring suspicion or outright hostility if he or she took liberal positions on social issues, questioned the wisdom of US involvement in Korea, espoused socialist economic policy, argued for racial equality or in any other way seemed to be echoing ideas that could be found in the Communist Party's agenda, even if the person were in fact a loyal American. For example, a story circulated in Wayland at the time had to do with a Great Books club that supposedly was reported to the Massachusetts Commission on Communism because the club's reading list included a book authored by Karl Marx. Although this particular story may not be true, it was told to me several times in separate conversations with people whom I asked to recall the 1950s in Wayland. I also was told about an absurd 1950s rumor to the effect that certain residents, including Miss Hale, had painted their homes red to signify their support for the Communist cause.

Today, we may shake our heads in wonder when we hear stories about how people behaved in the face of the perceived threat from alleged Communist activity in our midst. At the time, however, the threat was taken very seriously. The Soviets had nuclear weapons. Their missiles were aimed at the United States. In response, our Civil Defense offices were advising citizens about how to take shelter in the event of a nuclear attack. Newspapers and magazines carried plans for the construction of underground bomb shelters. People were afraid. Frightened people often engage in behavior that may appear foolish with hindsight but seemed appropriate at the time.

In the spring of 1954, the Massachusetts Commission on Communism came upon the name of Anne P. Hale Jr. in a list of members of a Communist Party cell based in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Commission notified the Wayland School Committee of its discovery. The School Committee summoned Miss Hale to a meeting on April 23 at which she readily acknowledged that she had been a member of the Communist Party between 1938 and 1950 and stated that since leaving the Party she had had no further involvement with it. On May 13, the School Committee notified Miss Hale of its intention to vote on June 15 "on the question of dismissing you as a teacher in the schools of the Town" and suspended her from her teaching duties pending its vote. The following week, the Committee sent a letter to Miss Hale, stating that it seemed to the Committee "probable that your dismissal would be warranted for one or more of the following causes:

- 1) Conduct unbecoming a teacher, in that in your sworn testimony before the Committee on April 23, 1954, you failed to tell the truth or the whole truth about one or more of the following matters:
  - (a) Your connections with the Communist Party during the period from June, 1938, to April 23, 1954.
  - (b) Your support of the Communist Party during the same period.
  - (c) Your knowledge of the nature, purposes, or activities of the Communist Party during the same period.
  - (d) Your knowledge, during the period from October 28, 1949 to November 17, 1951, of Chapter 619 of the Acts of 1949.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> This Act was effective between the dates given in this Charge. The Act made it unlawful for the Commonwealth or any political subdivision thereof to employ a member of the Communist Party. It also prescribed the loyalty oath required of public employees: "I do solemnly swear that I will uphold the Constitution of the United States and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and that I will oppose the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional

- 2) Unfitness to teach, in that in view of your continued membership in the Communist Party after 1947 and your statements to us as to the nature, purposes, and activities of the Communist Party, you lack the perception, understanding and judgment necessary in one who is to be entrusted with the responsibility for teaching the children of the Town and representing the School Department in relationships with parents of such children.
- 3) Your membership in the Communist Party from 1938 at least through 1950 and your adherence thereafter to the program of the Communist Party.”

Under Massachusetts law, Miss Hale, as a tenured teacher, was entitled to a hearing prior to the School Committee’s vote on her dismissal. She requested such a hearing and further asked that it be a public hearing. The School Committee granted her request and scheduled the hearing to begin on the night June 8 in the Wayland High School gymnasium. The School Committee also declared that “The hearing will be open to all registered voters of the Town, teachers and other employees of the School Department, and accredited representatives of the press. In addition, if for good reason you wish other persons to attend and so advise us, we shall arrange to have them admitted.”

Who was this person that the School Committee charged with conduct unbecoming a teacher and with being unfit to teach? A social outcast who needed an affiliation with a radical organization to shore up self-esteem? An uneducated person lacking the sophistication to understand the implications of the Communist agenda? An émigré who was not yet acculturated to fully embrace American values? Hardly. Miss Hale could trace her heritage back to colonial America<sup>9</sup>. Her father had been a delegate to a Massachusetts Constitutional Convention early in the Twentieth Century. As to her education and intellectual qualifications, Miss Hale was a Radcliffe graduate and had taught in prestigious private schools in New York and Massachusetts before joining the Wayland faculty in 1948. With respect to her social standing in Wayland, the 46 year old Miss Hale resided alone in a home that she owned on Plain Road, was a popular teacher with her pupils and their parents, was a member of the League of Women Voters, was a member of First Parish Church in Wayland, and was a registered voter from 1952 through 1955.

Following her suspension from her teaching duties and prior to the public hearing, Miss Hale made several efforts to communicate with her pupils, their parents and the community at large, to inform them about her values and her position with respect to the charges against her. She sent a note to the parents of her 2<sup>nd</sup> grade pupils, asking that they read the following to their children:

“Dear Children. Your family will tell you that different people have different ideas about how the country should be run. I have been working for a long time in the best way I know to make sure that the “liberty and

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method.” Miss Hale had signed and reaffirmed this oath while employed in the Wayland School System. This 1949 Act was superseded by the Anti-Subversive Law which became effective November 17, 1951, and made it a criminal offense to be a Communist.

<sup>9</sup> An ancestor, Anne Hutchinson, emigrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634 where her views gradually placed her at odds with the Colony’s religious leaders, resulting in her banishment in 1637.

justice for all” of which we speak every morning<sup>10</sup> is always with us, and that it will grow better. Those who don’t agree with me may say harsh things. Just remember these things, which I am sure you know – I love my country and I love you.”

On May 30, she wrote to “Parents and Other Neighbors,” saying among other things:

“The most pertinent question is how my beliefs have affected my teaching. While they certainly have not affected my teaching of such skills as reading and arithmetic, I feel that because of those beliefs I have made more effort that I otherwise would have to develop in the children the following attitudes and abilities:

Love of and loyalty to their country.

A sense of responsibility for their own decisions and conduct.

Respect for the rights and opinions of others.

A sense of belonging to a group, and an ability to work as a group.

The ability to conduct classroom and playground affairs in a democratic manner.”

In her May 30 communication, Miss Hale listed the objectives toward which she had worked as a member of various organizations, including the Communist Party:

The improvement of schools through

Better teaching

Smaller classes

Greater democracy in the classroom and administration

The addition of nursery school, kindergarten and summer programs to the public schools

The improvement of teaching conditions and salary scales

Maintaining freedom of belief and intellectual integrity for the teacher.

The end of racial and religious discrimination in employment, education and social opportunity.

The improvement of wages, and of working and living conditions of workers.

The defense of Civil Liberties, such as freedom of speech, press and assembly.

Peace and friendship among all nations.

Miss Hale’s May 30 letter also contained the following statements:

“For the future, I believe that a fairer distribution of wealth through some form of planned economy will eventually secure maximum production and the end of depression and war. I believe that such a change in economic organization should naturally be carried out by peaceful means, and only when the majority of citizens are ready for it and elect a government committed to such a policy. I believe that such a time in this country is so remote that it need not be our present concern.

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<sup>10</sup> Miss Hale led her pupils in the Pledge of Allegiance each morning.

I have never advocated, nor heard any one else connected with the Communist Party at any time advocate sabotage, espionage, sedition or the violent overthrow of the government.”

Prior to the beginning of the public hearing, Miss Hale made a long statement to the School Committee in which she outlined the history of her political activities. She included the following, which perhaps explains her behavior during the hearing: “I am willing to speak freely of my own activities, but I am unwilling to submit anyone else to investigation or possible loss of job, and I shall therefore refuse to answer any questions regarding other people, claiming my rights under the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, to freedom of association.”

The June issue of the Wayland Town Crier carried an editorial that said in part:

“So far, both the School Committee and Miss Hale have been exemplary in their conduct. The Committee, known by everyone in Town to be composed of men of character and conscience, have the unenviable task of making a decision in which they obviously can’t please everybody. They are going about their job by following strictly the procedure laid down by Massachusetts statutes.

Miss Hale has pleaded her case in a frank and open manner. She has not evaded questions or taken refuge from questions about herself under the Fifth Amendment.

Both parties, in short, are refusing to make grandstand plays and are sticking to the issues at stake. And we can be certain that the hearing will be conducted on a similar level.

Wayland should be proud of the participants’ behavior.”

The editorial then goes on to say:

“Unfortunately the same may not be said of the conduct of some of our citizenry. Rumor and gossip have had a field day. Excited by the discovery of a former Communist in Town, they have jumped to the conclusion that there must be others. The reputations of those who knew Miss Hale have been attacked. Those for whom she worked as baby sitter have been talked about. The members of local organizations to which she belonged are now suspect.”

Because of Miss Hale’s popularity among parents of her present and past pupils, and because thoughtful people were becoming increasingly soured by McCarthyism<sup>11</sup>, it is probable that on the first night of the hearing she had many supporters in the audience. However, observers have noted that as the proceedings continued, Miss Hale’s refusal to answer many of the questions put to her gradually eroded at least some of the audience’s sympathy for her position. Moreover, a witness alleged that her legal counsel had been an adviser to the Communist Party and this, plus her lawyer’s frequent objections and citations of legal points, undoubtedly further sapped Miss Hale’s support.

The School Committee had a difficult role in the hearing. It had to function as both judge and jury. When objections or procedural issues were raised, the Committee

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<sup>11</sup> Recall that the tide had begun to turn against McCarthy in the televised US Senate Army-McCarthy hearings that were being televised on the afternoons of many of the days on which Miss Hale’s evening hearings were held.

conferred to arrive at a ruling. Attendees had no vote and were given no opportunity to comment<sup>12</sup>, but, as is inevitable in a public meeting despite the Chair's admonishments, the audience's applause or audible murmurs in response to a witness's testimony must have sent signals to the Committee. Nevertheless, persons now recalling the hearing say that the proceedings were orderly, the audience was attentive and well-behaved, and Town Counsel Roger Stokey<sup>13</sup>, although diligent and often forceful in the development of evidence, acted fairly throughout.

The thrust of the School Committee's case was aimed at Miss Hale's contention that she had not heard anyone connected with the Communist Party advocate the violent overthrow of the government. Mr. Stokey called witnesses and introduced evidence intended to demonstrate that either Miss Hale must have known the Communist Party's agenda and therefore lied about her knowledge, or that she lacked the "perception, understanding, and judgment" to discern the implications of the Party's agenda and therefore was not fit to be entrusted with responsibility for teaching the children of Wayland.

Mr. Stokey introduced clippings of articles in Boston papers to illustrate the press attention that had been given to the Massachusetts legislature's debate and passage of a 1949 Act requiring public employees to sign a loyalty oath. Given the publicity about this legislation, how could Miss Hale not have been aware of the perceived threat posed by the Communist Party? He called a Federal Bureau of Investigation agent to testify about the agent's experience while planted for five years as a member of the Communist Party. The FBI agent described the Party's nature, purpose and activities as gleaned from his 1949 attendance at a Communist Party's training school and his subsequent observations of the Party's activities. How could Miss Hale, as an active member of the Communist Party, not have been similarly exposed to the Party's agenda? Mr. Stokey introduced copies of the Communist Party's newspaper, The Daily Worker, to illustrate the Party's policies and positions on various issues, including its accusation that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was responsible for starting the Korean War. Inasmuch as Miss Hale, in describing her activities as a Communist Party member, mentioned that she had at various times sold or distributed The Daily Worker, how could she not have been aware of the Party's agenda? And so it went for eight evenings.

In the end, School Committee members Maguire and Newton voted to dismiss Miss Hale and Chairman Waldron voted against dismissal. Waldron later explained that he did not find the charges against Miss Hale proven by the facts developed during the public hearing. However, he said, if the Committee had anticipated the possibility that she might refuse to answer questions at the public hearing and had it included such refusal as a basis for dismissal, he would have voted for dismissal.

Maguire and Newton, in their majority report, noted that "We cannot believe that Miss Hale, in her twelve years of activity in the Communist Party, did not learn the

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<sup>12</sup> But citizens did contact School Committee members apart from the formal hearing. For example, First Parish Church archives contain a copy of a June 21, 1954 letter written by Wayland resident Dunbar Holmes to the Chairman of the School Committee. (The hearing wasn't concluded until June 25)

<sup>13</sup> Mr. Stokey's widow, Edith, remembers that he debated with himself as to whether he should conduct the hearing on behalf of the School Committee because he feared that the prevailing anti-Communist hysteria would cause the hearing to become a witch hunt and media circus. On reflection and despite his reservations, he decided that by agreeing to conduct the hearing he could assure a fair hearing for Miss Hale.

doctrine, or hear it advocated, or know of the distribution of literature advocating it. Her experience was too long, her activities too varied, her acquaintances too wide spread, her study of doctrine too extensive, to permit us to reach such a conclusion. We conclude that she did not tell the truth [at the School Committee's meeting with her] on April 23, that she did so in order to defend the Communist Party, that charge 1(c) is substantiated and that she should therefore be dismissed."

With respect to other charges against Miss Hale, the majority who voted for dismissal found incredible her claim that she had not been aware that Chapter 619 of the Acts of 1949 made it illegal for the Commonwealth or any political subdivision thereof to employ a member of the Communist Party. In their view, she did not tell the truth in her April 23 statement to the School Committee and therefore should be dismissed.

The majority report also addressed the "unfitness to teach" charge (Charge 2) and concluded: "We are aware of Miss Hale's testimony that she has attempted to teach such ideals [i.e. ideals listed earlier in the majority report as "democracy, loyalty, love of country, and respect for our tradition of freedom"] to her pupils. However, we conclude that her lack of judgment, her lack of understanding of our free institutions, and her lack of perception of the nature of our democratic system, make her unfit to be a teacher. Her deficiencies must inevitably, as was shown during the course of the hearing, manifest themselves in her speech and conduct. We conclude that Charge 2 has been substantiated and that Miss Hale should therefore be dismissed."

And finally, with respect to Charge 3, the majority report states that "The evidence shows that Miss Hale was a member of the Communist Party from 1938 through 1950; that although after 1950 she was not a formal member of the Party, her attitude toward the Party doctrine was unchanged; that she was not disillusioned regarding the Party, and that she came to the [School Committee's] meeting of April 23 to defend it. We believe that Charge 3 has been proved; furthermore, we believe that this vitally affects Miss Hale's ability to discharge her duties as a teacher. In this respect, we refer to our statements above regarding Charge 2. As a practical matter of school administration, we believe that retention of Miss Hale would be inconsistent with maintaining the efficiency of the school system. We conclude that Charge 3 has been substantiated and that Miss Hale should therefore be dismissed."

Life became difficult for Miss Hale following her dismissal. Acquaintances became wary about acknowledging that they knew her. She found it difficult to find employment. Her brother, Mathew, was fired from his position as a lawyer in a Federal agency when it was discovered that his sister had been a member of the Communist Party.

In a letter to the editor of The Wayland Town Crier following Miss Hale's death in 1968, Florence C. Shohl recalled:

"When she moved her things down into her cellar and tried to rent her house, Route #128 employers blacklisted her apartment for their employees. She obtained a job cleaning cages and caring for animals at the Angell Memorial Hospital, but had to leave when her name was discovered on a list of subversives. Anne didn't give up. After a while, she got work as a ward maid at a state hospital. Her concern for patients' problems led to study, and then to work, out of state, with handicapped children. Over a long road she worked up again, to teaching of brain-

damaged children, and to consultation and training of others in this field. The valiant struggle of years she carried on without complaint or bitterness, her mind and heart always filled with concern for others.”

The obituary for Miss Hale in the October 10, 1968 issue of The Town Crier notes that:

“The publicity and notoriety [created by the public hearing that resulted in her dismissal] forced Miss Hale to leave Wayland, but she maintained her home on Plain Road. During the past five years, she was at different times a teacher and director of Governor’s Center School for Children with Learning Disabilities in Providence, R.I, commuting to Wayland on weekends. Miss Hale died at the Waltham Hospital on October 2, after an illness of several months. Before her illness, she had accepted a position in the Wellesley Public Schools, as a teacher of dyslexic children. In the words of a friend, ‘It was her vindication.’”

Miss Hale is buried in the Hale family lot in Riverside Cemetery, Elizabethtown, New York.

## Acknowledgments

Much of the information for this paper came from the archives of The First Parish Church in Wayland where Miss Hale, Mr. Waldron, and Mr. Stokey were members in 1954, and from Wayland Historical Society files. The Rev. Mr. Kenneth Sawyer, Minister of the First Parish Church in Wayland generously shared with me material from his personal files. Wayland Schools Superintendent Gary Burton, after consulting with legal counsel, allowed me to review Miss Hale's personnel file. In addition, back issues of The Wayland-Weston Town Crier maintained by the Wayland Library, plus voter registration files maintained by the Wayland Town Clerk's office, were very useful to my research.

I also would like to thank the many people who shared with me their recollections of the "red scare" on both the national and local scenes, including the Anne Hale episode. George Lewis, Rosalind Kingsbury, Edith Stokey, Mary Trageser and Joyce and Jack Wilson were helpful in dusting away the cobwebs that accumulate in one's memory of events that took place a half century ago.

I'm also indebted to Leonard Entin for the application of his fine editorial eye that unerringly uncovered my grammatical, punctuation and spelling misdemeanors.

Finally, I must note that I found a great deal of information on the Internet about the House Un-American Activities Committee's hearings in the late 1940s and about Senator McCarthy's investigations. Readers wishing to replicate my experience with this Internet material need only type "HUAC" or "McCarthyism" or "Army-McCarthy" into the search engine at [www.Google.com](http://www.Google.com) and be prepared for hours of interesting reading.