

Armed with Knowledge:

The Wartime Schools at Harvard Business School, 1941-1946

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A Thesis in the Field of History

for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

Harvard University

March 2016



## Abstract

This thesis examines the experiences of the Army and Navy student-officers who attended the six Wartime Schools hosted at Harvard Business School during World War II, and seeks to answer the question, in what ways did the Wartime Schools students engage with, and become part of, the Harvard community? Drawing upon the official University records in the Harvard Archives, as well as thousands of letters and articles the Wartime Schools students wrote and published in the *Harvard Crimson* student newspaper between 1940 and 1946, it analyzes the student experience in a four-part framework of academics, athletics, extracurricular activities, and social life. When combined, the official records and the Wartime Schools students' own writings clearly show a group of student-officers who were deeply engaged in all aspects of campus life; who became part of the HBS, University, and broader Boston community; and who simultaneously balanced their obligations to the military with the academic demands of Harvard Business School.

## Frontispiece



Figure 1. Harvard Business School Deans Wallace Donham (L), who opened the door to the Wartime Schools students, and Donald David (R), who claimed HBS did nothing more than house and feed them.  
Harvard University Archives.

## Biographical Sketch

PJ Neal is a 2002 graduate of Bentley College in Waltham, MA. Originally from West Hartford, CT, he currently lives in Cambridge, MA, with his wife and family.

## Dedication

To my wife, Jennifer Albis Neal. For the last two years, you've listened to me talk endlessly about the Wartime Schools as I've unearthed every source, spent countless days in the archives, and discovered every little fact, figure, and personality. You must be *so thrilled* that they're now all bound together in a single volume that you can pick up and read anytime you want...

## Acknowledgements

I'm incredibly grateful for the support and guidance provided by my Research Advisor, Don Ostrowski of the Harvard Extension School, and my Thesis Director, Julie Reuben of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. They were both incredibly generous with their time and provided thoughtful feedback every step of the way.

The initial idea for my thesis topic came about during a discussion with Stephen Shoemaker of the Harvard Divinity School. I appreciate the feedback and advice he provided on my early research into the Navy Supply Corps School.

Last but certainly not least, I am indebted to the staff of the Harvard University Archives, and especially those of the de Gaspé Beaubien Reading Room at Harvard Business School's Baker Library. They were always willing to track down "just one more" box of archival materials for me, and to suggest additional sources for my research.

Without all of their help, this thesis would not exist.

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## Chapter I

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

In June 1941, Harvard Business School (HBS) Dean Wallace Donham called Charles Anderson, Robert Anthony, and Sterling Livingston into his stately office on the first floor of Morgan Hall. The men, all young, single, and members of the HBS class of 1940, had joined the school's research staff after graduation. They were all aware of world events, the growing feeling that the United States would soon be drawn into war, and the question of how Harvard would be impacted as a result of a global conflict. Donham got straight to the point: "We have just signed a contract with the Navy Supply Corps, and as part of that contract, we are to furnish three faculty members to that school. You three are volunteered for the job." There was just one catch: Donham promised the Navy three faculty members in uniform, not three civilians. "You'll go down to North Station this afternoon to be sworn into the Navy," he instructed them.<sup>2</sup> The men, who had woken up that morning as civilians, would be Navy officers by nightfall. The United States was going to war, and Harvard Business School was going with it.

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<sup>1</sup> Some parts of this thesis appeared as part of the author's earlier research and academic work at Harvard University, including: PJ Neal, "Armed with Knowledge: The U.S. Navy Supply Corps School at Harvard Business School, 1941-1945" (Harvard University Extension School, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey L. Cruikshank, *Delicate Experiment: The Harvard Business School 1908-1945*, First Printing edition (Boston, Mass: Harvard Business Review Press, 1987), 226.

Harvard University was significantly impacted by World War II. At the undergraduate College, which had a total enrollment of 3,554 in the fall of 1941,<sup>3</sup> “most of the 1941 freshmen returned as sophomores in the fall of 1942, [but] fewer than a quarter were still there by the spring of 1943. A year later the College had only about 650 civilian students; the University at large, some 1500.”<sup>4</sup> Of the 4500 students enrolled in the graduate schools before the war, only about 700 civilians remained.<sup>5</sup> At the Harvard Business School in Allston, MA, school leaders transformed the campus from a civilian academic institution to the home of six military training schools – three from the United States Navy and three from the United States Army.

Anderson, Anthony, and Livingston were among the first to experience the transformation that would put the HBS campus on a war footing during World War II. As the nation geared up for conflict in Europe and the Pacific, the mission of the B-School shifted from educating men in how to succeed in the workplace to training men how to win on the battlefield. From 1941 to 1943, the school was host to a Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) unit that provided part-time military training to the full-time business students – the first ever at a graduate school.<sup>6</sup> By December 1942, HBS

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<sup>3</sup> *Official Register of Harvard University, vol. 41, no. 25, Issue Containing the Report of the President of Harvard College and Reports of the Departments for 1942-1943* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, 1944), 82.

<sup>4</sup> Morton Keller and Phyllis Keller, *Making Harvard Modern: The Rise of America's University*, Updated edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 39.

<sup>5</sup> “Student Body Cut by 6000 since War: Servicemen Increase Enrollment to 8000,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 9, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/9/student-body-cut-by-6000-since/>.

<sup>6</sup> “HBS Archives Photograph Collection: Wartime Schools, 1942 - 1945: A Finding Aid” (Harvard Business School, Baker Library, January 2008), <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~bak00087>.

faculty would decide to stop all academic work not related to the war effort, ultimately suspending the MBA program from June 1943 to February 1946.<sup>7</sup>

To take the place of HBS' traditional academic programs, the Army and Navy each developed three schools that would run on the Allston campus in partnership with HBS, focusing on issues such as production and supply management, vendor management and contract negotiation, and statistical analysis.<sup>8</sup> These six schools would become known as the "Wartime Schools," and as they came to HBS, pistols and rifles supplemented slide rules and briefcases, mess halls replaced tennis courts, and crisp salutes took the place of collegial "hellos."

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., "Timeline: 1942" (Harvard Business School Institutional Memory, 2010), [http://institutionalmemory.hbs.edu/timeline/1942/in\\_december\\_faculty\\_votes\\_to\\_discontinue\\_12\\_courses\\_not\\_related\\_to.html](http://institutionalmemory.hbs.edu/timeline/1942/in_december_faculty_votes_to_discontinue_12_courses_not_related_to.html).

<sup>8</sup> "HBS Archives Photograph Collection: Wartime Schools, 1942 - 1945: A Finding Aid."



Figure 2. Wartime Schools students standing in formation in front of Baker Library. Harvard University Archives.

### Research Problem

During the course of the war, thousands of military officers would spend time at HBS, learning business skills that could be put to use in the military. Despite HBS Dean Donald David's<sup>9</sup> public claim in 1944, "We do not teach these officers, but we do house and feed them,"<sup>10</sup> this thesis will analyze the relationship between Harvard and the Wartime Schools students, and will show that the relationship was in fact much more complex and deeply intertwined than Dean David claimed.

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<sup>9</sup> Donald David replaced Wallace Donham as HBS Dean in 1942.

<sup>10</sup> Cruikshank, *Delicate Experiment*, 226.

This thesis seeks to answer the question, in what ways did the Wartime Schools students engage with, and become a part of, the Harvard community? I hypothesize that beyond simply being housed and fed by Harvard, the Wartime Schools students were fully integrated into the academic, athletic, extracurricular, and social life of the University, as well as being actively involved with greater Boston society. Wartime Schools students, while only on campus for a short period of time, and not traditional Harvard students by most definitions, nevertheless became integrated into the Harvard community just as traditional students at Harvard and other universities of this era would have.

#### The Wartime Schools in the Academic Literature

The history of the Wartime Schools and the relationship between Harvard Business School and the military during World War II has largely gone untold. Yet, the existence of the Wartime Schools and the activities of the Harvard Business School and the students are an important component of the histories of Harvard, the military, and the war itself – a conflict that many would argue was largely won on the basis of the logistics and supply capabilities of the Allied forces, the exact skills taught in the Wartime Schools.

Scholarship about World War II started even before the war ended, aided by academics such as Harvard's Samuel Eliot Morison, who received a commission in 1942 to undertake a historical study of the naval campaigns of the war, which was ultimately published as the 15-volume *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, 15 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1947).

Academic studies of the war have continued to appear ever since, as researchers continue to unearth new documents and materials, including first-person accounts provided by individuals on all sides of the conflict. The general public has continued to have a fascination with the war, fueling an endless supply of popular articles and books on key figures and major battles. Even today, nearly 70 years after the end of the conflict, almost 46,000 books about World War II are available for sale on Amazon, and just under 9,000 scholarly articles have been published about the war in just the last ten years.

In addition to the long-established interest in the individual leaders and battles of World War II, there is an emerging branch of historical study that focuses on issues related to supply, logistics, and other non-combat elements of the war effort. Scholars have recently been examining the American forces' food supplies,<sup>12</sup> resource mobilization efforts,<sup>13</sup> and the logistics of moving fuel around the Pacific Ocean to enable combat operations against the Japanese.<sup>14</sup> There have been similar studies of our allies, to understand how oil was rationed and used in Australia;<sup>15</sup> how Russia mobilized food,<sup>16</sup> and how the British used their colonies to supply the war,<sup>17</sup> smuggled supplies in

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<sup>12</sup> Dianne Newell, "The Politics of Food in World War II: Great Britain's Grip on Canada's Pacific Fishery," *Historical Papers* 22, no. 1 (1987): 178–197.

<sup>13</sup> Mark Harrison, "Resource Mobilization for World War II: The U.S.A., U.K., U.S.S.R., and Germany, 1938-1945," *Economic History Review* 41, no. 2 (1988): 171–192, doi:10.2307/2596054.

<sup>14</sup> "Logistics History: Oil Logistics in the Pacific War (Lessons for Transforming Logistics)," *Air Force Journal of Logistics* 28, no. 1 (2004): 29–44.

<sup>15</sup> Lorna Froude, "Petrol Rationing in Australia during the Second World War," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 36 (2002), <http://www.awm.gov.au/journal/j36/petrol.asp>.

<sup>16</sup> W. Bruce Lincoln, "The Bread of Affliction: The Food Supply in the USSR during World War II," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 521 (1992): 199–200.

<sup>17</sup> Ashley Jackson, "Supplying War: The High Commission Territories' Military-Logistical Contribution to the Second World War (Basutoland, Bechanaland, Swaziland)," *Journal of Military History* 66, no. 3 (2002): 719.

Europe,<sup>18</sup> and worked to stop German supply routes at sea<sup>19</sup> (and how the Germans managed their supplies to begin with<sup>20</sup>). Paul Kennedy’s recent book *Engineers of Victory*<sup>21</sup> argued that America’s “problem solvers,” such as supply officers, logistics professionals, and other non-combat specialists, were key enablers of the Allied war effort, positioning them to defeat the militarily superior Axis forces. Similarly, Arthur Herman’s *Freedom’s Forge*<sup>22</sup> examines how American industry was able to mobilize and supply the war effort, creating an “arsenal of democracy” that led to Allied victory.

Despite all these works examining World War II, especially the increased interest in supply and logistical efforts, there has been little written about the Harvard Business School, the Wartime Schools, or the role they played in supporting the war effort. One of the most detailed studies of Harvard University, Morton Keller and Phyllis Keller’s *Making Harvard Modern*,<sup>23</sup> spends several dozen pages on the impact of World War II on the University, but makes no reference to HBS or the Wartime Schools. Searches of academic journals turn up almost no mentions of the Wartime Schools, and when they do appear in the literature, it is often only as a passing reference to the fact that a subject

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<sup>18</sup> Neville Wylie, “British Smuggling Operations from Switzerland, 1940-1944 (Author Abstract),” *The Historical Journal* 48, no. 4 (2005): 1077.

<sup>19</sup> Richard Hammond, “British Policy on Total Maritime Warfare and the Anti-Shipping Campaign in the Mediterranean, 1940–1944,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36, no. 6 (2013): 789–814, doi:10.1080/01402390.2012.719196.

<sup>20</sup> Larry T. Balsamo, “Germany’s Armed Forces in the Second World War: Manpower, Armaments, and Supply,” *History Teacher* 24, no. 3 (1992): 263–277.

<sup>21</sup> Paul Kennedy, *Engineers of Victory: The Problem Solvers Who Turned the Tide in the Second World War*, 1st Edition (New York: Random House, 2013).

<sup>22</sup> Arthur Herman, *Freedom’s Forge: How American Business Produced Victory in World War II* (New York: Random House, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> Keller and Keller, *Making Harvard Modern*.

attended the school. Even Frank Allston's extensive study of the Navy Supply Corps, *Ready for Sea: The Bicentennial History of the U.S. Navy Supply Corps*,<sup>24</sup> makes minimal reference to the schools.

All of this is surprising not only because of the role these schools played in contributing significantly to the war effort, but because so much rich primary source material exists and is accessible to researchers. The central archives at Harvard University, and the Harvard Business School archives in particular, are full of documents and artifacts related to the academic, administrative, financial, and personnel records of the schools and their relationship with HBS. Likewise, the archives of student publications from the era richly document the lives of the Wartime Schools students while they were on campus, with articles often written by the students themselves, reflecting on their activities and experiences.

### Research Methods and Limitations

This thesis draws heavily on the historical materials in two archives to test the hypothesis. The first is the robust collection of institutional materials housed in the Harvard University and Harvard Business School archives that officially documents the Wartime Schools from Harvard's perspective. Over two weeks – the first in the spring of 2014 and the second in the summer of 2014 – I systematically examined nearly 30 linear feet of archival materials at the Baker Library Archives at Harvard Business School, reviewing all available materials related to the six Wartime Schools as well as HBS' short-lived Army Quartermaster Reserve Officer Training Corps program. These files

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<sup>24</sup> Frank J. Allston, *Ready for Sea: The Bicentennial History of the U.S. Navy Supply Corps*, 1st edition (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995).

include legal contracts, academic materials, meeting minutes, copies of letters and memorandum, and photographic and film records. Materials were examined, indexed, analyzed, synthesized, and in some cases manually transcribed or recreated (copying or photographic reproduction was not permitted). The results from this research was then organized by academic program (Navy Supply Corps School, Army Air Forces Statistical School, etc.), and serve as the foundation of Chapter II (The Military at Harvard During World War II) and Chapter III (Academics).

The second archive examined as part of this research is that of the *Harvard Crimson*, one of Harvard's student newspapers, which documented the lives of the Wartime Schools students at Harvard during World War II, frequently in their own words. In the spring and summer of 2015, I conducted an exhaustive review of the *Crimson* archives,<sup>25</sup> reviewing every article printed in the newspaper between January 1940 and December 1946, an estimated 25,000 – 30,000 articles in total. During this review, I identified approximately 3,400 articles specifically related to the Wartime Schools, the relationship between Harvard and the military, or the impact of the war on the faculty, staff, students, and community. Articles were transcribed into a Zotero database, then tagged by date, event, location, and people to allow for easier organization and keyword searches. The results from this research serve as the basis of Chapter IV (Athletics), Chapter V (Extracurricular Activities), and Chapter VI (Social Life).

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<sup>25</sup> The *Crimson* changed its name to the *Harvard Service News* for a period of time during World War II, as discussed in Chapter V. However, given that the only material change was the name of the publication, the *Crimson* today considers *Harvard Service News* to have just been the *Crimson* by a different name, and *Harvard Service News* archives are part of the *Crimson* archives in places like Harvard's Widener Library, this thesis will simply use "*Harvard Crimson*" throughout for the sake of simplicity and consistency.

Additionally, Harvard's Online Archival Search Information System (OASIS) was used to identify any available photographic records from the Wartime Schools. These photographs, where appropriate, have been used throughout this thesis. Similarly, additional research was conducted as necessary to provide background information, resolve open questions, and add context to this thesis.

Research was limited to archives and similar records, and does not include first person interviews, as most of the individuals involved in the Wartime Schools (faculty, staff, and students) are now deceased, and it would be prohibitively difficult to identify and track down any living subjects. Additionally, official military records have not been included in the research, as most personnel records of this era were destroyed in the 1973 St. Louis fire, and what remains is not directly relevant to the research question being answered.

This thesis has also been impacted by the nature and state of the Harvard Business School archives. Some school records are restricted for a period of 80 years, and will not be accessible to researchers until the mid-2020s. Furthermore, some student data (names and other personally identifiable information) have been removed from the records, often by cutting documents up, not only limiting the student information available but occasionally removing other information from those files in the process. Lastly, as with any set of records of this vintage, some materials have been damaged, misfiled, or lost over time.

## Thesis Structure

This thesis proceeds in six parts:

Chapter II examines the relationship between the military and Harvard during World War II, the role of the faculty and staff, and the support the University provided to students looking for opportunities to join the war effort.

Chapter III analyzes academics, looking at the Wartime Schools student's academic experience, including the mix of civilian and military faculty and staff, the development and use of course materials, and the transformation of the physical campus to support the needs of the Wartime Schools.

Chapter IV focuses on athletics, including the transformation of traditional athletic experiences, the development of University-wide conditioning programs, and the establishment of athletic programs with specific military application.

Chapter V looks at the extracurricular activities available to the Wartime Schools students, including student newspapers and yearbooks, religious and service organizations, and musical groups.

Chapter VI documents the Wartime Schools student's social lives while at HBS, including the opportunities available to them at the University and in the broader Boston community, and the romantic relationships the student-officers developed during their time at Harvard.

Finally, Chapter VII concludes the thesis, looking at the collective findings to answer the core research question.

## Chapter II

### The Military at Harvard During World War II

Harvard University is no stranger to war. The campus housed and organized Washington's troops during the American Revolution, found itself divided among the blue and the gray during the Civil War, and sent doughboys into the European trenches during World War I. But World War II – Harvard's seventh war – would be different. Undergraduate students would quickly transform into officers, campus activities would be altered or curtailed, and faculty and staff would leave in large numbers. Those who remained would find ways to support the war effort from Cambridge or by taking part in the omnipresent debate about the war and our national interests, often while facing criticism on campus from anti-war students for doing too much, and from pro-war students for not doing enough. This chapter examines the development of formal relationships between the Army and Navy and the University during the war, the role some faculty and staff played in the war effort, and the support the University provided to students who were seeking an opportunity to support the war effort, in uniform or out.

#### The Military Comes to Campus

While Harvard had long been the source of a trickle of college-educated men who would transition each year from University life into the armed forces, there were few formal ties between the military and Harvard before the nation's entry into World War II. The Navy Supply Corps was an exception to that. HBS had a long-established

relationship with the Navy Supply Corps and annually admitted 15 supply officers into the two-year Master of Business Administration program. These officers would maintain their military commission, but otherwise became typical graduate students, living on or near campus, enrolling in the standard academic program, and even spending the summer between their first and second year working a job in civilian industry – the same as their non-military peers.<sup>26</sup> The existence of a formal relationship between HBS and the Navy Supply Corps, even such a small one, undoubtedly played a role when, in 1941, the Navy Supply Corps undertook a study of “suitable sites for relocation of the [Navy Finance and Supply School]” from Philadelphia, and identified HBS as an ideal new location.<sup>27</sup>

When W.J. Carter of the Navy Bureau of Supplies and Accounts met with HBS leaders on April 23, 1941 to propose establishing a Navy Supply Corps School on the HBS campus, it seemed like a solution that would benefit both partners equally. The Navy Supply Corps School would serve to train Navy officers to equip and supply the Navy, and to take on senior positions in the Navy Supply Corps, both on ships and on bases around the world. HBS would provide the Navy with academic and residential facilities, course materials, and experienced faculty. The Navy would provide HBS with students to fill the classrooms and revenue to fill the school’s coffers (\$60.00 - \$67.50 per student per month, or \$720 – \$810 a year, compared to pre-war annual tuition of \$600),

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<sup>26</sup> “‘Account of the School for Navy Supply Officers Attending It’ by AC Lyles, 1949,” n.d., Box 1, Folder 7, United States. Navy. Supply Corps School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.6), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>27</sup> Allston, *Ready for Sea*, 230.

two things that would soon be in short supply as students across the country postponed their educational pursuits to serve their nation in various roles.<sup>28</sup>

The Navy Supply Corps School at HBS would become one of the largest military programs at Harvard and would help make the Navy the largest military partner to the University during the War. It would also become one of the three Navy schools (and one of six military schools in total) that would comprise the Wartime Schools at HBS. The second Navy school founded at HBS would be the Navy Industrial Accounting Course, which would be established in 1943 and run until 1946. It existed to teach Navy officers advanced accounting skills, including product organization and control, personnel management, procurement, and cost analysis.<sup>29</sup> The third school would come a year later, in 1944. Running for just two years, the Navy War Adjustment Course was established to teach Navy officers material storage and handling, contract termination, cost analysis, personnel management, and supply administration.<sup>30</sup> All three Navy schools would run four-months-long programs.

On the other side of the Charles River, the Navy partnered with Harvard to establish a number of Naval Reserve programs on campus (all having “V” designations), including Navy V-1, the Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps; V-5, the Naval Aviation

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<sup>28</sup> “Mobilization and Training Agreements, 1939-1941,” n.d., Box 1, Folder 5, United States. Navy. Supply Corps School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.6), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; *Official Register of Harvard University, vol. 38, no. 20, Issue Containing the Report of the President of Harvard College and Reports of the Departments For 1939-1940* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, 1941), 259.

<sup>29</sup> “Summary by Navy, 1945,” n.d., Box 1, Folder 4, United States. Navy. Industrial Accounting Course (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.5), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>30</sup> “Material Distributed to Students, Circa 1944,” n.d., Box 1, Folder 15, United States. Navy. War Adjustment Course (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.7), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

Cadet program; V-6, General Service & Specialist program; V-7, the Midshipman Officer Candidate program; and V-12, the College Training Program. The undergraduate students at Harvard involved in the Naval Reserve programs found themselves part of what would be referred to as the Naval Training Schools at Harvard, each of which focused on specific needs. The largest of these programs was the Naval Training School (Indoctrination and Communications), which would later be split into two separate schools. Also running on campus at this time were the Naval Training School (Electronics) and Naval Training School (Radar), two schools whose very existence highlighted the evolving technical nature of warfare in the first half of the twentieth century.

Similarly, the Army established what was called the Army Training Schools, which encompassed eight programs across the University. The largest of these programs was the Chaplain Training Course, which educated over 6,600 clergy members at the Harvard Divinity School. Reserve Officer Training Corps programs were established to prepare undergraduates for the Field Artillery and Quartermaster Corps, and an Army Specialized Training Unit was created to provide extensive instruction in languages, psychology, and medical training to Army personnel. An Electronics Training Center was created in Memorial Hall to provide technical training, a School of Soil Controls was established in the science buildings to help with the building of bases and airstrips, and a School for Overseas Administration was setup for senior Army officers who would create and oversee military government procedures in occupied nations.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> “Annapolis on the Charles Trained 60,000 as Harvard Shouldered Guns for 7th War: 80 Labs Saved Thousands of Lives; WAVES CATS, ASTP, Chaplains. V-12 Trained Here,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 9, 1946, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1946/4/9/annapolis-on-the-charles-trained-60000/?page=2>.

In addition to these programs – which were closely affiliated with the undergraduate college at Harvard, the Harvard Divinity School, and the scientific and research facilities of the University – the Army also ran three schools on HBS' campus, the Army's contribution to the Wartime Schools. The first, and longest running, of these schools was the three-month-long Army Supply Officers Training School. Much like its Navy sibling, the Army Supply Officer Training School ran from 1942 to 1946, and existed to develop Army supply officers who could take on senior supply positions in the military, by training them in commercial and industrial practices related to manufacturing, supply, and business operations. This school was quickly followed by the establishment of the Army Air Forces Statistical School, initially five weeks long and later expanded to two months, which operated from May 1942 to October 1945, to train Army Air Forces statistical officers to gather and analyze information about military personnel, vehicles, and equipment, and to suggest operational improvements to the Army Air Forces. The third school was the two-month-long Army Air Forces War Adjustment Course, which ran from 1944 to 1945 in an effort to train contract termination teams comprised of contracting officers, contract negotiators, legal advisors, and accountants.

All across the University, military officers, officer-candidates, and enlisted personnel took up residence in the Houses, filled seats in the classrooms, and walked across Harvard Yard. Over the course of the war, Harvard would educate 60,000 of these men in total. One out of every five would attend one of the Wartime Schools. The Navy Supply Corps School would be the largest, educating approximately 7,700 student-officers, followed by the Army Air Forces Statistical School, which educated 3,282. The

remaining programs were much smaller: 700 in the Army Air Forces War Adjustment Course, 399 in the Army Supply Officers Training Course, approximately 250 in the Navy War Adjustment Course, and a small but unknown number in the Navy Industrial Accounting Course.<sup>32</sup>

HBS' impact on the military would be significant. The Navy Supply Corps grew from 1,425 officers in December 1941, to 13,982 in June 1945, an increase of 12,467 officers. Of those, nearly 62% were educated at the Navy Supply Corps School. During the same period, 4,200 Army Air Forces officers were trained in war adjustment, with one out of every six completing their training at HBS.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Erna Rische and Chester L. Kieffer, *The Quartermaster Corps: Organization, Supply, and Services, vol 2* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, Department of the Army, 1995), 176, [http://www.history.army.mil/html/books/010/10-13/CMH\\_Pub\\_10-13-1.pdf](http://www.history.army.mil/html/books/010/10-13/CMH_Pub_10-13-1.pdf); Julius Augustus Furer, *Administration of the Navy Department in World War II* (Washington, DC: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1960), 475–476; “Annapolis on the Charles Trained 60,000 As Harvard Shouldered Guns for 7th War: 80 Labs Saved Thousands of Lives; WAVES CATS, ASTP, Chaplains. V-12 Trained Here”; Jeff Mifflin, “United States. Army Air Forces. United States Army Air Forces War Adjustment Course (Harvard University) Records, 1944-1945: A Finding Aid” (Cambridge, Mass: Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Harvard University, October 1995), <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~bak00184>.

Table 1. List of Navy and Army schools and training programs at Harvard during World War II.

United States Navy	United States Army
<b>Wartime Schools</b>	
Navy Supply Corps School	Army Supply Officer Training School
Navy Industrial Accounting Course	Army Air Forces Statistical School
Navy War Adjustment Course	Army Air Forces War Adjustment Course
<b>Military Reserves</b>	
V-1: Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps	Field Artillery
V-5: Naval Aviation Cadet Program	Quartermaster Corps
V-6: General Service & Specialist Program	
V-7: Midshipman Officer Candidate Program	
V-12: College Training Program	
NTS (Indoctrination and Communications)	
NTS (Indoctrination)	
NTS (Communications)	
NTS (Electronics)	
NTS (Radar)	
<b>Other Programs</b>	
	Army Specialized Training Unit
	Chaplain Training Course
	Electronics Training Center
	School for Overseas Administration
	School of Soil Controls

### Harvard Faculty and Staff Join the War Effort

As the military came to Harvard's campus during the war, Harvard faculty and staff found ways, on campus and off, to support the war effort, spurred on by President Conant's remarks the day after Pearl Harbor that "each one of us stands ready to do his part in insuring that a speedy and complete victory is ours. To this end I pledge all resources of Harvard University."<sup>34</sup> Reflecting back at the end of the war nearly five

<sup>34</sup> "Annapolis on the Charles Trained 60,000 as Harvard Shouldered Guns for 7th War: 80 Labs Saved Thousands of Lives; WAVES CATS, ASTP, Chaplains. V-12 Trained Here."

years later, Sterling Dow, Associate Professor of History and Harvard's War Archivist, remarked that the University's "war effort was not remarkable for the enormous size of any one job, but rather for the extraordinary diversity and number of jobs undertaken."<sup>35</sup>

James B. Conant, Harvard's President from 1933 to 1953, became one of the most public examples of academic contributions to the war effort. A chemist by training, Conant had served as a major in the Chemical Warfare Service during World War I, and worked on the development of chemical weapons – including mustard gas – for trench warfare in Europe.<sup>36</sup> As President of Harvard, he was an influential member of the American Chemical Society, and was one of a small number of men asked to serve on the National Defense Research Council.<sup>37</sup> The men on the council served "to correlate and support scientific research on the mechanisms and devices of warfare, ... aid and supplement the experimental and research activities of the War and Navy Departments; and ... conduct research for the creation and improvement of instrumentalities, methods and materials of warfare."<sup>38</sup>

Throughout the war, Conant frequently spoke about the role of the university during wartime, how science and engineering can support national defense, and other related topics. He did not limit his talks to campus venues. In early February 1941, in

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> "Conant Prominent In U.S. Defense Research: University Laboratories for Work," *Harvard Crimson*, October 2, 1940, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1940/10/2/conant-prominent-in-us-defense-research/>; James Hershberg, *James B. Conant: Harvard to Hiroshima and the Making of the Nuclear Age*, 1st edition (New York: Knopf, 1993), 46.

<sup>37</sup> "Conant Serves on National Defense Research Committee: Group Correlates Scientific Work in Defense Industries," *Harvard Crimson*, December 13, 1940, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1940/12/13/conant-serves-on-national-defense-research/>.

<sup>38</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Order Establishing the National Defense Research Committee" (United States Government, June 27, 1940), FDR Library, Marist College, <http://docs.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/psf/box2/a13v01.html>.

some of his first public remarks after the United States' entry into World War II, Conant spoke at Yale on "The University and National Defense,"<sup>39</sup> and then travelled to Washington, DC, to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in support of the Lend-Lease bill.<sup>40</sup> He earned headlines around the country for the remarks. Back on campus, the *Harvard Crimson* reported that:

There was no mincing of words in President Conant's testimony before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday. Once again the Harvard executive, undismayed by his august audience, laid his cards on the table. He believes that the Axis powers, which threaten "our way of life," must be beaten at all costs, even at the price of an American armed force to protect England and defeat Hitler. It was a reiteration of his stand last fall that the question of when to send troops to Europe is a matter of strategy, nothing more, nothing less.<sup>41</sup>

Liberal student groups, such as the Harvard Student Union, who before Pearl Harbor had viewed Conant as being irresponsible for not speaking out more forcefully against the possibility of US entry into war, now felt Conant had quickly become "the leading spokesman for war and dictatorship since the beginning of the conflict."<sup>42</sup> They were not alone. Another student group, the Harvard Committee against Military Intervention, came out against Conant's remarks for similar reasons, describing his support of the Lend-Lease Bill (which would give the President of the United States

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<sup>39</sup> "Conant to Speak at Yale on University Defense Role," *Harvard Crimson*, February 6, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/2/6/conant-to-speak-at-yale-on/>.

<sup>40</sup> "Conant to Testify Today before Senate Committee," *Harvard Crimson*, February 10, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/2/10/conant-to-testify-today-before-senate/>.

<sup>41</sup> "Thus Far and No Farther," *Harvard Crimson*, February 12, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/2/12/thus-far-and-no-farther-pthere/>.

<sup>42</sup> "H. S. U. Cables to England; Warns against Conant Trip: Student Paper Hits President," *Harvard Crimson*, March 1, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/3/1/h-s-u-cables-to-england/>.

broad authority to sell military equipment to other nations) as “a religious crusade against Nazism.”<sup>43</sup>

If the highly public criticisms of Conant were intended to dissuade him and other Harvard affiliates from supporting the war effort, they were ineffective. Across the University, faculty and staff left Cambridge to take up defense jobs in industry, to fill civil positions in the state and federal government, and to join the military. They took on a wide variety of roles. In May 1942, William Bentinck-Smith, Editor of the *Alumni Bulletin*, left to join the Navy.<sup>44</sup> Henry Hart, a professor at Harvard Law School, was appointed as Associate General Counsel of the Office of Price Administration in July 1942.<sup>45</sup> That same month, John Steele, the head of Harvard’s Placement Office, left to assume command of a unit in the Amphibian Command of the Army Engineer Corps.<sup>46</sup> Ronald M. Ferry, Associate Professor of Biochemistry and House Master of Winthrop House, left for a commission in the Army in January 1943.<sup>47</sup> Countless others would join them.

Some parts of the University saw widespread attrition. In the Harvard Athletics office, Clarence Boston, the wrestling and football coach, left Harvard in February 1942

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<sup>43</sup> “Group Flays Conant for War Speech: Prominent Students Urge ‘Short of War’ Emphasis,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 12, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/2/12/group-flays-conant-for-war-speech/>.

<sup>44</sup> “Bentinck-Smith Leaves,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 18, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/5/18/bentinck-smith-leaves-pwilliam-bentinck-smith-37-editor/>.

<sup>45</sup> “Appoint Hart to OPA Legal Staff: Cutler ’06 Given Important Post in Army Medical Corps,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 13, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/7/13/appoint-hart-to-opa-legal-staff/>.

<sup>46</sup> “Steele of Placement Office Now in Army Engineer Corps,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 13, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/7/13/steele-of-placement-office-now-in/>.

<sup>47</sup> “Ferry, Leaving, Is Honored by Winthrop House Men,” *Harvard Crimson*, January 15, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/1/15/ferry-leaving-is-honored-by-winthrop/>.

to become a Second Lieutenant in the Field Artillery.<sup>48</sup> William J. Bingham, the director of Athletics, left ten months later to join the First Service Command as a Major in the Internal Security Division.<sup>49</sup> In February 1943, Lyal Clark, another football coach, accepted a commission in the Navy.<sup>50</sup> The next year, Norman Fradd, the Director of Physical Education, went to Fort Devens to help develop ways to rehabilitate service members who were wounded in action and sent back to the United States for convalescence.<sup>51</sup> With all the changes, by May 1943, Harvard Athletics would be described as “a shell of its former self.”<sup>52</sup>

Across campus, 80 scientific and research laboratories were set up, with faculty studying everything from the impact of weather on soldier performance, to radar and radio research, and the impact of soundwaves on aircraft.<sup>53</sup> (In what is unlikely to be a coincidence, the University had played a similar role in military research during World War I. One official record of the era reports that, “The Chemistry Department, notably Professor James B. Conant, became practically a section of the War Department,

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<sup>48</sup> “Chief Boston Leaves for Army: Coach Commissioned Second Lieutenant,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 11, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/2/11/chief-boston-leaves-for-army-pclarence/>.

<sup>49</sup> “Bingham Gets Leave of Absence, To Report Tomorrow as Major: No Successor to Be Appointed for War,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 2, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/12/2/bingham-gets-leave-of-absence-to/>.

<sup>50</sup> “Lyal Clark Enters Navy with Rank of Full Lieutenant: Ex-Line Coach Departs for Chapel Hill Training School,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 11, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/2/11/lyal-clark-enters-navy-with-rank/>.

<sup>51</sup> “Fradd, on Leave from University, Assists Army in Veteran Rehabilitation Program: Fort Devens Center for Reconditioning,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 16, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/2/16/fradd-on-leave-from-university-assists/>.

<sup>52</sup> Irving M. Horowitz, “Harvard May Support Nine During Summer: No Opponent Found for Trackmen, Crew,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 19, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/19/harvard-may-support-nine-during-summer/>.

<sup>53</sup> “Annapolis on the Charles Trained 60,000 as Harvard Shouldered Guns for 7th War: 80 Labs Saved Thousands of Lives; WAVES CATS, ASTP, Chaplains. V-12 Trained Here.”

producing masks for our troops and poison gas for those of the enemy.”<sup>54</sup>) Other professors would find ways to apply their research and knowledge to the war effort, including speaking to students during a multitude of organized lecture series and formal debates that brought to Cambridge experts from around the world to discuss and debate the major topics of the day.

Elsewhere on campus, faculty and staff found ways to support students as they prepared to become military officers. President Conant told students in April 1942, “for young men the needs of the armed services now overshadow all other considerations.”<sup>55</sup> To that end, James Casner, a faculty member at Harvard Law School, founded the War Service Information Bureau, which was taken over by Elliott Perkins, Master of Lowell House, in June 1942.<sup>56</sup> The Bureau’s role was to support students as they identified ways to join the war effort after graduation, help faculty and staff do the same if they were planning to take leave from their roles, and to coordinate volunteer and part-time opportunities for current students.<sup>57</sup> Perkins was creative in his approach to the work, giving weekly radio addresses over the Crimson Network, distributing information to

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<sup>54</sup> Hershberg, *James B. Conant*, 44.

<sup>55</sup> “Armed Forces Come First, Conant Asserts: Conant Emphasizes Demand for Speed,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 30, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/4/30/armed-forces-come-first-conant-asserts/>.

<sup>56</sup> “Perkins Gets Advisor Post: Casner, First Chief, Leaves to Become Major in Army,” *Harvard Crimson*, June 3, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/6/3/perkins-gets-advisor-post-pelliott-perkins/>.

<sup>57</sup> “Casner’s Service Bureau Enlarged: Mahon, Steele, Perkins Will Assist in Office; Faculty to Be Offered Advice,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 7, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/4/7/casners-service-bureau-enlarged-powing-to/>.

students via the *Harvard Crimson*, and hosting a variety of speakers in the Bureau's office on campus.<sup>58</sup> It seemed he was willing to do whatever he could to achieve his goal.

### Conclusion

Harvard University was significantly impacted by the United States' entry and involvement in World War II. While most of the war would take place in Europe and the Pacific Theater, the University's Cambridge and Boston campuses found themselves welcoming uniformed military personnel, supporting civilians as they went off to war, and finding ways to support the Allied war effort. The relationship between the University and the military – which started with just a handful of Navy Supply Corps officers coming to HBS each year – blossomed into a deep and intertwined relationship that touched every part of the University, and had a widespread impact on the military and war effort.

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<sup>58</sup> "Network Presents Perkins on War," *Harvard Crimson*, July 15, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/7/15/network-presents-perkins-on-war-pelliott/>.

## Chapter III

### Academics

“Praise the Lord, and pass me my commission,” one student wrote in May 1943. The term was ending, and students were nervous about their academic standing, and wondering if they would be permitted to graduate and take their new positions on bases, ships, and military offices around the world. They had completed months of coursework, spending six days a week in the classroom, and countless hours in academic labs, on fieldtrips, and in the company of their civilian and military faculty. “The day of Judgement has arose... Some time today, probably this morning, Midshipmen who are to be interviewed by the Scholarship Committee will be satisfied. By noon tomorrow, our worries will be over, or they will have just begun, as the case may be.”<sup>59</sup> For now, they would need to reflect on their experience, and wonder if they had done enough to satisfy their academic requirements. This chapter examines the Wartime Schools students’ academic experience at HBS during World War II, including their interactions with both civilian and military faculty, the course materials they used in the classroom, and the transformation of the physical campus where they learned and lived.

#### Faculty Composition and Leadership

Harvard was significantly impacted by the outbreak of war in Europe, having to alter every aspect of University operations, including the academic programs and role of

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<sup>59</sup> M.J. Roth, “Midshipmen,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 28, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/28/midshipmen-ppraise-the-lord-and-pass/>.

the faculty.<sup>60</sup> Much of this was driven by changes in the student body. While most of the schools retained a civilian academic program, they were dramatically reduced in size. As discussed in Chapter II, across the University, faculty and staff sought ways to support the war effort, and by the fall of 1942, about 20% of Harvard faculty were in full- or part-time war service.<sup>61</sup>

The academic situation at Harvard Business School was different from the other Harvard schools. Rather than trying to hold on to the civilian Master of Business Administration students who still remained at the school in the early days of the war, the faculty voted in December 1942 to discontinue a dozen courses that were unrelated to the war effort, and voted again in January 1943 to completely suspend the civilian academic programs at the end of the spring term, allowing HBS to focus exclusively on the training and education of military personnel from the Army and Navy.<sup>62</sup> Some of this teaching would be done by civilian faculty members, and some by faculty members who were first drafted into military service, and then reassigned right back to HBS, including Charles Anderson, Robert Anthony, and Sterling Livingston, who found themselves in Dean Donham's office in Morgan Hall that morning in June 1941, and in Navy uniforms that evening. Other instruction would be conducted by military officers assigned to the Business School with the responsibility to teach and administer the Wartime Schools.

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<sup>60</sup> Keller and Keller, *Making Harvard Modern*, 39.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>62</sup> "Timeline: 1942"; "Timeline: 1943" (Harvard Business School Institutional Memory, 2010), [http://institutionalmemory.hbs.edu/timeline/1943/faculty\\_writes\\_600\\_cases\\_for\\_classroom\\_instruction\\_of\\_military\\_personnel.html](http://institutionalmemory.hbs.edu/timeline/1943/faculty_writes_600_cases_for_classroom_instruction_of_military_personnel.html).



Figure 3. Army Air Forces Statistical School faculty meeting.  
Harvard University Archives.

At the establishment of the Navy Supply Corps School, the faculty was comprised of a dozen men, led by Navy Captain Kenneth C. McIntosh, with Navy Commander R.F. Batchelder as his Executive Officer. The faculty members of the previous Supply Corps school in Philadelphia, all Navy officers, transferred up to Boston to join them.<sup>63</sup> At the Navy War Adjustment Course, HBS marketing professor Malcolm McNair directed 20 civilian faculty members, one-fifth of HBS' total pre-war faculty body, in the delivery of

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<sup>63</sup> "Naval Supply Corps School Opens With 250 Commissioned Officers: Naval Reserves, Regulars Study at Business School," *Harvard Crimson*, September 22, 1941, 250, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/9/22/naval-supply-corps-school-opens-with/>.

the four-month-long program that started in June 1945.<sup>64</sup> The Navy Industrial Accounting Course was run mostly by HBS faculty “with a minimum of military supervision and regulation,” but headed by Navy Commander William H. Shannon, who reported to the head of the Navy Supply Corps School, and represented the Navy in all academic and administrative matters.<sup>65</sup>

McNair, the HBS marketing professor who led the Navy War Adjustment Course, had previously held the position of Education Director of the Army Supply Officers Training School.<sup>66</sup> He worked with a mixed group of civilians and military officers who shared responsibility for overseeing and running the school, collaborating with individuals including Army Lt. Colonel G.F. Connor who served as Commandant, and civilian professor R.S. Claire who chaired the school’s Ratings Board.<sup>67</sup> A similar organizational structure would be found at the Army Air Forces Statistical School, where a dozen civilian faculty would work under a civilian Director of Training and an Army Lt. Colonel in the role of Commandant.<sup>68</sup> While records show that the Army Air Forces

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<sup>64</sup> “102 Naval Officers Studying War Reconversion Problem: Surplus Disposal Demands ‘Sound Business Practice,’” *Harvard Crimson*, August 9, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/8/9/102-naval-officers-studying-war-reconversion/>.

<sup>65</sup> “Summary by Navy, 1945.”

<sup>66</sup> “Class Rank, Correspondence Regarding, 1943,” n.d., Carton 1, Folder 11, United States. Army. Supply Officers Training School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.2), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>67</sup> “Rating Board, Minutes, 1943,” n.d., Carton 1, Folder 15, United States. Army. Supply Officers Training School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.2), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; “Registration Materials, 1943,” n.d., Carton 1, Folder 16, United States. Army. Supply Officers Training School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.2), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>68</sup> “Miscellaneous: Table of Contents, 1942-1943,” n.d., Series I. Administration and Teaching, 1942-1946. Carton 4, Folder 1, United States. Army Air Forces. Statistical School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.4), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

War Adjustment Course was under the direction of Army Lt. Colonel John F. Helflin, who served as Commandant after previously leading the Army Air Forces Statistical School, the composition of the faculty is unknown.<sup>69</sup>

### Faculty and Student Relations

By many accounts, there were good relationships between the Wartime Schools students and the faculty. One Navy Supply Corps School student noted that “some of the instructors at the School really have a keen sense of humor.”<sup>70</sup> Some of the students apparently did, too, asking questions in class such as, “[On] a submarine which carried an airplane would the airplane pilot get both aviation and sub pay?”<sup>71</sup> (Sadly, no record exists of the instructor’s response.) Elsewhere:

An instructor recently told a student not to worry about a certain point. “Don’t worry,” he said “the course will be broken down more and more as we go along.” To which the student replied: “Yes, and I’m afraid I’ll be broken down with it.”<sup>72</sup>

Students also took the opportunity to mimic (and mock) the memoranda common in the military. Their work would have fit in nicely among the submissions to the *Harvard Lampoon*. One undated example (believed to be from late 1944), spoofed the Government regulations they were being taught, noting:

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<sup>69</sup> “New Group from Army Air Forces Arriving Monday: Officers to Continue Work at War Adjustment School,” *Harvard Crimson*, September 29, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/9/29/new-group-from-army-air-forces/>.

<sup>70</sup> J.D. Wilson, “The Navy Supply Corps School,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 27, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/8/27/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pa/>.

<sup>71</sup> J.D. Wilson, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 20, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/20/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pthe/>.

<sup>72</sup> J.D. Wilson, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Seniors,” *Harvard Crimson*, September 28, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/9/28/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pwe/>.

It has been brought to the attention of this office that many officers are dying in the offices and refuse to fall over after they are dead. This must stop immediately. On and after 1 Jan 1945, any officer caught sitting up after he has died will be taken off the payroll immediately (i.e., within 90 days). In those cases where it is clearly shown that the officer is being supported by a desk or other property clearly marked "U.S. GOVT" an additional 90 days to clear property (during which time the officer shall be carried on the payroll) may be granted.<sup>73</sup>

The humor and good natured back-and-forth between faculty and students was likely necessary given the reality of what these students would face when their time at Harvard ended and they went off to war, and was supported by the frequent interactions students and faculty would have outside the classroom (as discussed in Chapter VI). It was also a release from their regimented daily life. As one student noted, "It took Churchill [visiting Harvard in 1943] to break our class and drill routine."<sup>74</sup>

#### Academic Materials

The design of the academic programs was driven by the needs of the military and was focused on educating officers who could be flexible and adaptive in challenging situations. The Army Supply Officers Training School summarized the academic needs and goals in a 1943 report:

These officers have already been given a knowledge of Army procedures. It is now desired to give them as wide a knowledge as possible of large-scale business methods of control and administration so that they will be able to intelligently adapt Army procedures to fit changing situations and large-scale operations. Reports from the Theaters of Operation and from the storage and distribution divisions in this country indicate the need for flexibility of mind and resourcefulness in Supply Officers.

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<sup>73</sup> "Humor," n.d., Box 1, Folder 4, United States. Navy. Supply Corps School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.6), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>74</sup> J.D. Wilson, "Navy Supply Corps School: Seniors," *Harvard Crimson*, September 10, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/9/10/navy-supply-corps-school-pas-we/>.

It is desired that these officers be made familiar with the practices and methods used in business, especially in the fields of warehousing, statistics and reports, office organization, accounting (with particular reference to EAM), procurement, stock control, and cost analysis.<sup>75</sup>

The fact that this objectives statement is relatively service-agnostic may explain why the Navy Supply Corps School and Army Supply Officers Training School academic programs were so similar in nature.

While specific courses and class schedules changed slightly over the years, the Navy Supply Corps School largely resembled the Harvard Business School's pre-war MBA program. Students were fully engaged in academic work from 9:00am to 4:00pm Monday through Friday, and 9:00am to 2:00pm on Saturday. Courses included Industrial Statistics & Controls, Fuel Studies, Principles of Industrial Management and Administration, Sources of Supply, Interpretation of Industrial Accounting, and Foreign Resources and Port Facilities. Study periods, as well as scheduled time in a Statistics Lab and Accounting Lab, were mandatory.<sup>76</sup> Students would be told that their coursework "amounts to 41 semester hours under standards of the American Council on Education,"<sup>77</sup> an important fact for those who would decide to continue their education after the war.

Students attending the Army Supply Officers Training School would follow a similar schedule. Classes ran from 8:00am to 5:00pm Monday through Friday, and 8:00am to 12:00pm on Saturday, with additional activities (training films and supervised

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<sup>75</sup> "Class Rank, Correspondence Regarding, 1943."

<sup>76</sup> "Registration Materials, 1944," n.d., Box 1, Folder 8, United States. Navy. Supply Corps School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.6), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>77</sup> "'And Here We Are Now' (Newsletter, 1st MIDOFF Class, 1946)," n.d., Box 1, Folder 1, United States. Navy. Supply Corps School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.6), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

study periods) in the weekday evenings from 7:00pm to 10:00pm. Classes included Accounting Methods and Interpretation of Statements, Army Supply Studies, Government Control of War Production, Industrial Management and Administration, Organization Controls, Sources of Supply Procurement and Distribution, and Statistical Methods and Reports. Outside of class, in addition to the supervised study halls and training films, students also had physical training, and statistics and accounting laboratories.<sup>78</sup> On Tuesday afternoons, they participated in field trips to local companies, manufacturing plants, or other commercial operations to gain first-hand experience in industrial practices. In 1943, for example, organizations such as Dennison Manufacturing Company in Framingham, MA, and Field and Flint Company in Brockton, MA, hosted student groups.<sup>79</sup> One student described a September 1944 visit by saying,

Just back from our tour through several manufacturing plants, we find an all-pervading smell of rubber in our hair, clothes and taste buds. But it was an exhilarating experience and I think some of us are just beginning to realize just what business production in particular is all about. Another one of these trips would be in order any time the School should decide to plan one for us.<sup>80</sup>

The military officers assigned to HBS in the early days of the war found that the academic materials that already existed at the Business School would meet some of their needs, but not all. Commander Shannon, who oversaw the Navy Industrial Accounting

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<sup>78</sup> "Photography Album, circa 1943," n.d., Box 2, United States. Army. Supply Officers Training School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.2), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> W.M. Cousins Jr. and T.X. Cronin, "The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School," *Harvard Crimson*, September 8, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/9/8/the-lucky-bag-pjust-back-from/>.

Course, described the problem that, “up to the inception of this program, very little material had been written on cost accounting as applied to Naval Activities; particularly was this true in respect to material susceptible to classroom presentation.” By partnering with HBS faculty in the development of additional course material for use by the Wartime Schools, they were able to “incorporate material on production processes, personnel problems, procurement, current economic problems, and accounting (both commercial and Navy) in the curriculum,” and the end result was an academic experience that was “well-rounded” and academically demanding.<sup>81</sup>

Classroom instruction was conducted largely via the case method, a signature component of the Business School, and one that can involve a steep learning curve for students, and many late nights of studying. A case study must “combine the suspense of a Hitchcock movie with the pedagogy of Socrates,” in the words of one student.<sup>82</sup>

Professor Malcom McNair agreed: “A good case should be like a detective story. Clues ought to be there, but not obvious enough to give the answer away.”<sup>83</sup> Some students viewed their case experience negatively: One former Wartime Schools student would describe the academic experience at HBS as “toil and torment meted out by the case method masters.”<sup>84</sup> HBS Dean Donham argued that more than toil and torment, case teaching was designed to be flexible and adaptive, thus easily enabling the “successful

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<sup>81</sup> “Summary by Navy, 1945.”

<sup>82</sup> “Busy School Men Must Play Detective in Case System,” *Harvard Crimson*, October 30, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/10/30/busy-school-men-must-play-detective/>.

<sup>83</sup> “Case System Needs Sleuthlike Research Man,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/12/1/case-system-needs-sleuthlike-research-man/>.

<sup>84</sup> “‘Account of the School for Navy Supply Officers Attending It’ by AC Lyles, 1949.”

conversion of [HBS'] curriculum to war conditions"<sup>85</sup> to meet the needs of the military. By 1943, the HBS faculty had written 600 cases specifically for use in the military training programs running on campus.<sup>86</sup> In addition to their use driving class discussions, cases would also be used to evaluate students. Examinations would often consist of students being provided two cases, a set of questions to answer, and three hours to complete the work.<sup>87</sup>

Wartime Schools students described academic challenges that would be familiar to any student of the era, regardless of if their academic program was military or civilian: Pop quizzes<sup>88</sup> and scheduled exams ("In the face of Disbursing exams all other considerations cease to carry any weight and we forget all else but the single objective of getting over the hurdle without being tripped too seriously"<sup>89</sup>), formidable "account current" problems on Accounting exams,<sup>90</sup> and Auditing homework that "seems to have thrown quite a number of people for a loss."<sup>91</sup> When learning of test answers,

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<sup>85</sup> "Timeline: 1942."

<sup>86</sup> "Timeline: 1943."

<sup>87</sup> "US Navy Supply Corps School - Midshipmen Officers - Examination Papers, Vol. 1, July 12, 1943 - Jan 21, 1944," n.d., Box 1, Folder 3, United States. Navy. Supply Corps School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.6), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>88</sup> J.D. Wilson, "The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors," *Harvard Crimson*, July 1, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/1/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pthe/>.

<sup>89</sup> J.D. Wilson, "The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors," *Harvard Crimson*, July 16, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/16/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pthe/>.

<sup>90</sup> J.D. Wilson, "The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors," *Harvard Crimson*, August 13, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/8/13/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pthis/>.

<sup>91</sup> Wilson, "The Navy Supply Corps School," August 27, 1943.

“remembering what we put down we can only wonder that we are still permitted to take the course,” commented one student.<sup>92</sup>

### Classroom Adjustments

The HBS faculty found that the Wartime Schools students differed from their pre-war civilian counterparts in some ways. At first, the Navy Supply Corps School student-officers coming in were “for the most part, college graduates” with several years of business experience. By the third class, they were college graduates, but lacked any professional experience. The fourth class had many members who had never completed college. Dean David noted this change, and the impact it had on the faculty, in 1944:

It now seems possible that we shall soon be receiving trainees eighteen or nineteen years old. Thus for the first time we have been asked by the Armed Services to give advanced professional training to men who we should normally feel were not sufficiently mature to handle this work effectively. The change in age and experience of the midshipmen-officers has added a third objective to this program. That is, to mature the judgment of these officers. For instance, the faculty has found that it has to put greater stress on the matter of human relations in all aspects of its instruction, in order to supply what these men might otherwise have gained by some years of experience in Navy, industrial, or other organizations.<sup>93</sup>

While David’s comments indicate an increasingly younger student body, it must be taken as part of a broader set of data about the student-officers: Some were younger and had less experience (as David states), while others were older and had wives, children, and previous careers (as will be discussed in Chapter XI). This indicates that, on the whole, the Wartime Schools students were likely more diverse in terms of age

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<sup>92</sup> Wilson, “Navy Supply Corps School: Seniors.”

<sup>93</sup> Cruikshank, *Delicate Experiment*, 227.

(both older and younger) and professional experience (both more and less) than HBS' pre-war civilian students. This diversity was likely just as challenging for faculty to deal with as would have been a simple shift toward younger and more professionally inexperienced students.

### Student Evaluations

The Wartime Schools classroom experience was very similar to the pre-war civilian program, as was the evaluation of students. Wartime Schools students were evaluated on their academic coursework throughout their studies, in a manner nearly identical to civilian students before the war. Faculty were given a "Statement on Scholarship" that reminded them of the importance of academic rigor, as well as the necessity of giving feedback to the students in their classes. It included guidance that:

Although not released to the men, numerical grades are recorded in each course in accordance with the following schedule:

Distinction – 85 and above  
 High Pass – 79 to 84  
 Pass – 72 to 78  
 Low Pass – 65 to 71  
 Unsatisfactory – Below 65<sup>94</sup>

In addition to the standard academic evaluation of students, the staff and faculty of the Wartime Schools also evaluated them on a number of factors related to their effectiveness as military officers. Each student was regularly rated on six factors: Personality, Attitude, Judgment, Intelligence, Resourcefulness (or occasionally Initiative), and Probable Performance on the Job (or occasionally Confidence in

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<sup>94</sup> "1945 Teaching Materials (Handouts to ASOTS Teaching Group), 1943," n.d., Carton 1, Folder 20, United States. Army. Supply Officers Training School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.2), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

Performance). The Intelligence section was further broken down into three sub-areas: Comprehension, ability to analyze situations, and ability to present his point of view.<sup>95</sup> While adjusted to meet the needs of the military, this type of evaluation existed for the civilian MBA students at HBS before the war, but with a different focus. Students were evaluated on Personal and Mental Qualities (Personality, Industry, Judgment & Common Sense, Reliability, Initiative, Cooperation, and Native Ability) and Types of Work (Executive – both Planning and Handling of Men, Salesmanship, and Analytical Work).<sup>96</sup>

A Ratings Board at the Wartime Schools existed to complete these evaluations, and was comprised of both civilian faculty (the majority of Board members) and military officers assigned to the school,<sup>97</sup> but meeting minutes from the period make it clear that the military officers had the final say in ratings and discipline:

Professor McNair, as Civilian Director of NWA, clarified the function of the Rating Board, drawing a line of distinction between actions appropriate to the Business School and to the Navy. He stated that the Business School should make recommendations as to academic matters, indicating specifically whether designated officers were meeting Business School standards, but that it was the function of the Navy to act or to take no action on the basis of those recommendations.<sup>98</sup>

The existence of the Ratings Board serves as a reminder that a Wartime Schools student was both a Harvard student and a military officer simultaneously, and had to live

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<sup>95</sup> “Class Outline and Guidelines for Grading, 1944,” n.d., Box 1, Folder 1, United States. Navy. Industrial Accounting Course (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.5), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>96</sup> “Georges F. Doroit Student Application, 1921-1922,” n.d., MBA Registrar Student records (Student Files, 1909-1925), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>97</sup> “Rating Board, Minutes, 1943.”

<sup>98</sup> “Rating Board Meetings, 1944-1945,” n.d., Box 1, Folder 16, United States. Navy. War Adjustment Course (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.7), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

up to performance expectations in both arenas. However, the statements by Professor McNair, a civilian faculty member, and the atmosphere of the Business School during this period, indicate that the military officers running the Wartime Schools were very much in charge.

### Physical Transformation of the HBS Campus

All across Harvard's campus, the military took over buildings, classrooms, and laboratories. In most cases, they used the facilities without making physical changes to them – what worked for civilian students before the war worked for the student-officers during the war. This was not the case at HBS, where the military needed to extensively renovate buildings, remove athletic facilities, and erect new structures on campus to meet their needs. Most of this work was done by the Navy, which was the first branch of the military to establish a Wartime School at HBS, and the largest branch of the military to come through the school in the 1940s.

Vice Admiral Robert Carney, a highly decorated World War II naval officer, remarked that his military experience had made him “insistent on the point that logistics know-how must be maintained, that logistic is second to nothing in importance in warfare, [and] that logistic training must be widespread and thorough.”<sup>99</sup> The Navy Supply Corps School would redefine “widespread.” When the initial class of 390 arrived at HBS, joined by 35 sailors who arrived earlier to help setup the program, it would represent the largest class of Supply Corps Officers ever trained at one time in the nearly

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<sup>99</sup> United States Joint Forces Command, “Doctrinal Implications of the Joint Deployment Distribution Operations Center (JDDOC)” (United States Department of Defense, February 10, 2006), 21, <http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/doctrine/jwfc/jwfc pam8.pdf>.

170-year history of the Navy. Similarly, when these 425 were joined by the 12 faculty officers, they would represent the largest gathering of Supply Corps officers at one time in the history of the Navy.<sup>100</sup> It would also be a class nearly eleven times larger than the last graduating class at the Navy Finance and Supply School (425 students compared to 40 students).<sup>101</sup> To accommodate that many people at once, significant changes needed to be made to the HBS campus. Classroom space would need to be renovated or built from scratch, dining facilities would need to be created, and athletic facilities would have to be renovated.

To create classroom space to train these Navy officers, HBS agreed to allow the Navy to renovate Baker Library, the centerpiece of the HBS campus. It had taken 20 months for contractors Hegeman-Harris to build Baker Library in 1925-1927<sup>102</sup> but less than a week for a team of thirty-five sailors to completely redesign, gut, and rebuild the main floor of it to transform it into classroom space in June 1941:

On Monday, June 9th, the carpenters began by laying out plans for the several classrooms in Baker Library. By Tuesday night Classroom A was completed, and by Wednesday noon the famous thirty-five have arranged all desks, equipment, and publications in both Class rooms A and B. Thursday and Friday saw the prompt completion of Classrooms C and D. By Saturday noon E, F, and G were fully equipped to meet the exacting demands of the “thundering four-hundred.”<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> ““Around the Hook, 1941, Navy Supply Corps School’ DB5 File (v.f.),” n.d., Box 1, Folder 2, United States. Navy. Supply Corps School (Harvard University) Records (Call number Arch E80A.6), Harvard University Archives, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

<sup>101</sup> Allston, *Ready for Sea*, 222; ““Around the Hook, 1941, Navy Supply Corps School’ DB5 File (v.f.).”

<sup>102</sup> Cruikshank, *Delicate Experiment*, 121, 125.

<sup>103</sup> ““Around the Hook, 1941, Navy Supply Corps School’ DB5 File (v.f.).”

The renovations resulted in thirteen classrooms and labs on the ground floor of the building:

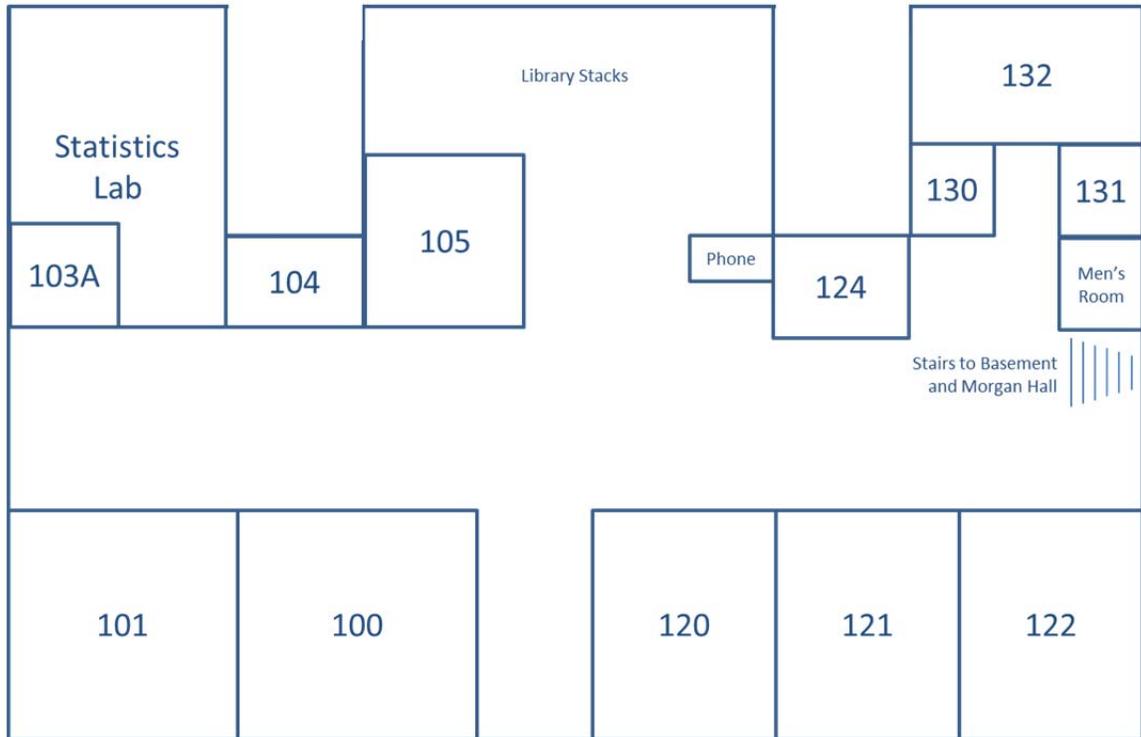


Figure 4. Baker Library floor plan, post-renovation.  
Author's illustration.

As the nation formally went to war in December 1941, the Navy decided to double the number of students in 1942. As a result, Baker Library could no longer meet the classroom needs of the Navy Supply Corps School, and the Navy began looking for additional classroom space on campus. Rather than repurpose another campus building, they decided to build a new one – Carpenter Hall – on Harvard athletic fields adjacent to North Harvard Street, across from the HBS campus. Carpenter Hall, a 2-story, 10-classroom building, was built in the summer of 1942.<sup>104</sup> Aesthetically, it stuck out like a

<sup>104</sup> Cruikshank, *Delicate Experiment*, 226.

sore thumb – a drab, Government-issued, tan-colored building among the lush, ivy-covered, Georgian-style, “semi-domestic character” campus designed by renowned architects McKim, Mead & White.<sup>105</sup> But functionally, it met the needs of the military and of HBS, and allowed the Navy to significantly increase the throughput of Navy Supply Corps School students.



Figure 5. Carpenter Hall.  
Harvard University Archives.

Contemporaneously to the building of Carpenter Hall, Carey Cage, an adjacent athletic facility building, was also being renovated. The Navy gave the small Harvard

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<sup>105</sup> Charles Killam, “McKim, Mead & White,” *Harvard Business School Alumni Bulletin*, 1945, <http://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/buildinghbs/mckim-mead-white.html>.

gym new floors, a new roof, and a speaker's platform and podium, transforming it into an auditorium that could be used for 800-person events.<sup>106</sup> It was renamed Potter Auditorium. Until that point, classrooms were the largest indoor gathering spaces on campus, and none were large enough to address a single Navy Supply Corps School cohort, let alone the multiple cohorts now running simultaneously.

The last of the four major campus transformations – and the third to take place in the summer of 1942 – was focused on addressing a fundamental issue: The need to feed all these men. The initial agreement between HBS and the Navy was to “accommodate a maximum of 400 Supply Corps Reserve student-officers,” including the use of HBS dormitories, where “each dormitory has a dining hall located in the building,” and “the maximum seating capacity of each mess hall is approximately 150.”<sup>107</sup> The Navy was now far exceeding 400 student-officers at a time, and the existing dormitory dining halls could not meet capacity. A central dining facility would need to be constructed.

Behind Baker Library and the faculty offices in Morgan Hall was a set of twenty tennis courts, the only athletic facilities that belonged solely to HBS and not to the whole of the University (plans for an HBS-only gymnasium were dropped from the initial campus design in an effort to save money).<sup>108</sup> The Navy tore down six of these tennis courts and in their place built Cowie Mess Hall, a dining facility that could accommodate the needs of the growing Navy Supply Corps student population. The opening of Cowie Hall meant that rather than the students going back to multiple mess halls, they now all

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<sup>106</sup> Cruikshank, *Delicate Experiment*, 226.

<sup>107</sup> “Mobilization and Training Agreements, 1939 - 1941.”

<sup>108</sup> Cruikshank, *Delicate Experiment*, 189.

convened at one, resulting in a “daily race ... from Carpenter to Cowie Hall at twelve-thirty sharp” for lunch that was, “in many respects, a compensating substitute” for the dwindling number of Harvard track meets.<sup>109</sup>



Figure 6. Cowie Hall  
Harvard University Archives.

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<sup>109</sup> John Collins, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Ward Room Topics,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 5, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/3/5/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pboston/>.

## Conclusion

The Harvard Business School faculty, course materials, and physical campus provided a strong academic foundation for the Wartime Schools, while also being flexible enough to change and grow to support the needs of the military. Civilian faculty members partnered with experienced military officers in the classrooms and administrative offices of the campus. The research and publication work that was taking place before World War II started was continued throughout the war, while evolving to meet the particular needs of the military. And the physical campus continued to expand and change to meet new demands and accommodate the large classes of Wartime Schools students. The end result of all of this was that Wartime Schools students went through an academic experience very similar to that of the civilian students who preceded them at HBS, while also including experiences unique to military life.

## Chapter IV

### Athletics

At 4pm on Friday, April 30, 1943, two baseball games took place on Harvard's Soldiers Field that could not have been any more different. On the first diamond, a team of Harvard students faced off against a group of naval officers from Amherst, MA, who were killing time until being shipped off to Chapel Hill, NC. The Amherst team was no bunch of amateurs, however: Players included former professional ballplayers Red Williams, Johnny Pesky, Johnny Sain, and Buddy Grempp, under the leadership of the famed Ted Williams (who would have been playing himself were it not for a recent hernia operation). In stark contrast, the next diamond over hosted a "beer-soaked brawl" between the editors and writers of the *Harvard Crimson* and those of the *Harvard Lampoon*, who were, in the words of one *Crimson* writer, an "alleged humorous magazine whose horrendous edifice has besmirched the fair appearance of Bow and Mt. Auburn Streets since the 1870s."<sup>110</sup>

The games on this day are in many ways representative of athletics at Harvard during World War II. Teams and competitions were formed wherever and however they could be, sometimes with former collegiate or professional athletes who happened to be on campus, but just as often with students who were just looking for a game to play (or athletic credit to earn). These ragtag teams filled the void when traditional Harvard athletics slowed down or closed all together, and provided events that brought together

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<sup>110</sup> "Williams, Pesky Face Nine; Crime-Lampy Revel Today," *Harvard Crimson*, April 30, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/30/williams-pesky-face-nine-crime-lampy-revel/>.

the diverse wartime student body. At the same time, sports and athletic activities came to campus that would have been unthinkable in peacetime, including teaching students the basics of guerrilla warfare. This chapter examines athletics at Harvard in all its forms during World War II, and seeks to examine the role that Wartime School students played on the teams, in practices, and as spectators while they were part of the Harvard community.

### Traditional Athletics

Athletics had historically played an important role at Harvard. “For all the differences of character and purpose,” one historian has noted, “stadium and classroom had one thing in common: They were locales that drew students together across the social and economic lines that otherwise divided them.”<sup>111</sup> This was true before World War II, when Crimson athletics were a sense of pride and united the campus against academic rivals such as Yale and Princeton, as well as during the war, when athletics unified the military and civilian members of campus, and served not only as recreation but as conditioning for military life.

During the 1942-1943 academic year, Harvard began to scale back the University’s intercollegiate athletic programs.<sup>112</sup> The football team would cancel most of their regular season games starting in 1943, and become what one student described as “nothing more than an all-star intra-mural team” that played local schools, including pre-

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<sup>111</sup> Keller and Keller, *Making Harvard Modern*, 41.

<sup>112</sup> Lawrence G. Raisz, “‘42-’43 Year of Transition,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 1, 1943, 43, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/1/42-43-year-of-transition-pa-year/>.

collegiate teams at Andover Academy and Medford High School.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, the Crimson hockey team would start taking on teams such as Rindge Tech, the local Cambridge high school.<sup>114</sup> With enrollment dwindling, and many former collegiate athletes now in uniform, athletic programs struggled to fill their rosters, and gasoline rationing across the nation led colleges and universities to restrict student travel for intercollegiate athletic activities.<sup>115</sup>

Harvard's decision to hold on to traditional athletics during the war – even if in a reduced or otherwise modified format – set them apart from many other academic institutions of the period. At Yale, track, tennis, golf, and crew were completely stopped by early 1943; the swim team was not allowed to compete in the Eastern Intercollegiate competitions, held that year at Harvard, or at National Collegiate Athletic Association competitions in Columbus, Ohio; and similar restrictions were placed on Yale's wrestlers and fencers.<sup>116</sup> In New Jersey, Princeton abandoned football ahead of the 1944-1945 season, with Princeton University President Harold W. Dood pointing to the lack of available players, and the fact that “the severity of wartime schedules does not afford

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<sup>113</sup> “Football to Be Informal: Harvard Cancels Schedule, To Play Only Local Colleges,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 14, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/14/football-to-be-informal-pharvard-football/>.

<sup>114</sup> Irving M. Horowitz, “Crimson Squads Resume Action; Many Athletes in Armed Services: Withington, Fisher, Garland Wear Khaki,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 1, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/2/1/crimson-squads-resume-action-many-athletes/>.

<sup>115</sup> “Princeton Authorities Move to Abandon Formal Football,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 16, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/5/16/princeton-authorities-move-to-abandon-formal/>.

<sup>116</sup> “Yale To Give Up 3 Sports: Track, Tennis, Golf Will Be Abolished, Others Curtailed,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 23, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/2/24/yale-to-give-up-3-sports/>.

adequate time for training which is more than ever essential.”<sup>117</sup> (The Princeton Tigers would be back on the gridiron just a year later, in 1945, as would many others.<sup>118</sup>)

With Soldiers Field and Harvard Stadium devoid of Ivy League athletic rivals, the Wartime Schools students filled in. Athletic leagues were established that pitted the small number of undergraduates against each other, Wartime Schools students against civilian and military reservists undergraduates, and Wartime Schools students against each other.

Wartime Schools students found time to take part in athletics while at Harvard. Teams regularly competed in softball tournaments,<sup>119</sup> including against all-female teams,<sup>120</sup> an unusual opponent in this day and age. Student-officers considered these games “one of the best forms of recreation we have at the school,” and said that there is “something about it which is typically American.”<sup>121</sup> It also provided students the ability to maintain their fitness levels, which was important not only for their general health, but because as student-officers they would regularly be given fitness tests.<sup>122</sup> The administration was all for it. Lieutenant Montgomery, one of the Navy officers at the Navy Supply Corps School, would make it clear to students that “there’s no reason why a Supply team or Supply teams cannot engage in outside games, be it basketball, softball,

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<sup>117</sup> “Princeton Authorities Move to Abandon Formal Football.”

<sup>118</sup> “Princeton Planning Return to Formal Football in 1945,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 5, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/12/5/princeton-planning-return-to-formal-football/>.

<sup>119</sup> “The Navy Supply Corps School: Class D Tops NSCS Softball Standings,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 30, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/30/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pthe/>.

<sup>120</sup> “The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 21, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/21/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pmabel/>.

<sup>121</sup> Wilson, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors,” July 20, 1943.

<sup>122</sup> Wilson, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Seniors.”

hardball, or tiddly-winks, just so long as regular class and study hours are maintained.”<sup>123</sup>  
 He even made information about local golf courses available to students.<sup>124</sup>

Some of the military personnel and student-officers on campus had been professional athletes before the war, and continued playing while at Harvard. Kirby Jordan, who was the Athletic Director for the Naval Training School (Radar), had played baseball for Texarkana, the Philadelphia A’s minor league team in the East Texas League; for the New York Giants in an exhibition game in Cuba; and in the Pacific Coast League for the San Diego Padre’s minor league team, where he was favorably compared to Ted Williams.<sup>125</sup> The Navy Reserve athletic program was run by Frank Patrick, a former All-American athlete at the University of Pittsburgh who led the team to a Rose Bowl championship in 1937, and who later played professional football for the Chicago Cardinals in the National Professional League.<sup>126</sup> Harvard’s athletic conditioning program during the war was run by Ulysses Lupien, a Boston Red Sox player who worked with the Harvard student-officers in the off-season to increase both strength and physical coordination.<sup>127</sup> Mickey Cochrane of the Detroit Tigers was a physical

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<sup>123</sup> Long, “Navy Supply Corps School: A Beaver’s Tale,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 25, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/2/25/navy-supply-corps-school-pmost-any/>.

<sup>124</sup> E.T. Long, “Navy Supply Corps School: A Beaver’s Tale,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 5, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/5/5/navy-supply-corps-school-pafter-a/>.

<sup>125</sup> “Kirby Jordan Claims He’s Best Dressed Harvard CPO: Rosy Career Nipped in Bud by Jap Attack,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 11, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/8/11/kirby-jordan-claims-hes-best-dressed/>.

<sup>126</sup> “NROTC Conditioning Plan To Get Under Way Today: Ex-All American to Head Navy Program,” *Harvard Crimson*, October 6, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/10/6/nrotc-conditioning-plan-to-get-under/>.

<sup>127</sup> “Balance in Mental, Physical Training Sought by Lupien: Conditioning Plan Considered Success,” *Harvard Crimson*, November 6, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/11/6/balance-in-mental-physical-training-sought/>.

education staff member at the Navy Supply Corps School.<sup>128</sup> At other times, the Harvard students found themselves playing games against teams comprised of some of the biggest names in sports, as happened in the April 1943 match against the Navy officers from Amherst.

Athletics was such a well-regarded activity that, at one point, even the faculty officers formed a softball team to compete against the students.<sup>129</sup> One student joked that he welcomed the opportunity “to get even for that 11 page three hour exam of last week.”<sup>130</sup> An earlier proposal to have faculty officers undertake calisthenics with the class (“essentially the same ones, day after day”<sup>131</sup>) seems to have gone nowhere.<sup>132</sup>

### Physical Conditioning

For the student-officers in the Wartime Schools, physical activity was part and parcel of military life. In addition to required drills and activities, sailors were told in 1940 that “the Navy is anxious to have every man go in for some type of athletics. Nearly every kind of sport is played.”<sup>133</sup> Starting in 1942, the same would be true for all military and civilian students at Harvard, when the University mandated physical

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<sup>128</sup> E.T. Long, “Navy Supply Corps School,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 18, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/2/18/navy-supply-corps-school-pleiut-montgomery/>.

<sup>129</sup> Long, “Navy Supply Corps School: A Beaver’s Tale,” May 5, 1944.

<sup>130</sup> E.T. Long, “Navy Supply Corps School: A Beaver’s Tale,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 14, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/4/14/navy-supply-corps-school-pthis-week/>.

<sup>131</sup> J.D. Wilson, “The Navy Supply Corps School,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 31, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/8/31/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pseniors/>.

<sup>132</sup> M.J. Bratton, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Seniors,” *Harvard Crimson*, June 11, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/6/11/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pas/>.

<sup>133</sup> *The Bluejackets’ Manual*, 10th ed. (Annapolis, Maryland: United States Naval Institute, 1939), 23.

conditioning for all students. The men in charge of the conditioning programs made clear that their efforts were in support of the nation and the needs of the military. When it was announced in the spring, athletic officials said it was created “to meet the military requirements of physical fitness and toughness,”<sup>134</sup> and to “rouse upperclassmen from the depths of physical lethargy.”<sup>135</sup> Norman Fradd, the Assistant Director of Physical Education, defined the goal that “every student should be able to chin himself ten times, push up from the ground 20 times, run 100 yards in less than 13 seconds, and do the 100 yard obstacle course in 24 seconds.”<sup>136</sup> Henry Lamar, who oversaw boxing instruction, said he aimed to “turn out aggressive and alert army material,” and to “achieve the alertness and physical equipment vital to national preparedness.”<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> “Compulsory Sports Program Planned for All Students: Athletics Will Stress Physical Toughness,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 6, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/2/6/compulsory-sports-program-planned-for-all/>.

<sup>135</sup> “Students Support Fitness Campaign: Conditioning Drive Begins As 1000 Men Participate,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 8, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/4/8/students-support-fitness-campaign-pupperclassmen-responded/>.

<sup>136</sup> “Contact, Competitive Sports Boosted in Exercise Program: Army Pack Test Will Check Conditioning Class Result,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 3, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/8/3/contact-competitive-sports-boosted-in-exercise/>.

<sup>137</sup> “Compulsory Athletics Will Include Boxing Training Aims At Greater Combat Alertness: Lamar Claims Program Will Develop Fighting Technique,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 9, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/3/9/compulsory-athletics-will-include-boxing-training/>.



Figure 7. Student-officers conducting drills in Harvard Yard.  
Harvard University Archives.

Harvard was not alone among peer institutions at implementing a conditioning program, and Harvard's program was developed in partnership with the presidents of Yale and Princeton.<sup>138</sup> In New Jersey, Princeton students were required to take at least two sports per term, choosing from swimming, calisthenics, gymnastics, wrestling, ju jitsu, boxing, and sabre.<sup>139</sup> At Yale, the focus shifted to non-traditional activities that ignored organized sports for an emphasis on activities that built strength and endurance,

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<sup>138</sup> "Compulsory Sports Program Planned for All Students: Athletics Will Stress Physical Toughness."

<sup>139</sup> "Princeton Adopts Required Sports," *Harvard Crimson*, February 16, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/2/16/princeton-adopts-required-sports-pprinceton-followed/>.

such as wood-chopping and ditch-digging, as well as athletics with a clear military application, such as obstacle courses, climbing walls, and jumping activities. In reporting this development to the student body, the *Crimson* addressed a likely student concern, noting that, “Men on the [Yale] football team will not be required to practice for the Harvard game by splitting rails, but as soon as the season is over they will come back to the axe.”<sup>140</sup>

Physical conditioning was part of the daily life of Wartime Schools students at HBS, with initial fitness tests leaving some students with the realization that they were not as fit as they thought they were.<sup>141</sup> A two-hour-long athletic event such as a baseball game, plus two additional hours of exercise, was normal for the student-officers each week.<sup>142</sup> Drilling and marching across campus, along the Charles River, and up to the Cambridge Reservoir was common, and the men of the Army Air Forces Statistical School earned the nickname “Singing Statisticians” due to their harmonic habits while on long marches.<sup>143</sup> Regardless whether the conditioning was of civilian students under Harvard staff instruction or military student-officers being led by their senior leaders, mandated weekly physical activity became a unifying element across the University during World War II.

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<sup>140</sup> “Elis Will Chop Wood And Scale Walls to Get Tough,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 19, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/2/19/elis-will-chop-wood-and-scale/>.

<sup>141</sup> “The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors.”

<sup>142</sup> M.J. Roth, “NSCS Midshipmen,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 7, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/7/nscs-midshipmen-pback-up-your-case/>.

<sup>143</sup> “New Army Air Force Class Arrives Here: Singing Statisticians Live at Business School, Yard,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 14, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/8/14/new-army-air-force-class-arrives/>.



Figure 8. Student-officers marching in Harvard Yard.  
Harvard University Archives.

## Guerrilla Warfare Training

As the athletic opportunities at Harvard shifted toward sports and conditioning with military applications in mind, the University went as far as to begin training students in guerilla warfare techniques. The effort began after Steve Greene, a member of the Harvard class of 1937, spent time at the Asterlee Park School in London as a war correspondent, and observed England's Home Guardsmen as they were trained in guerrilla warfare methods in the event of a German invasion.<sup>144</sup> The guerrilla tactics of the Chinese in defense against the Japanese were already being studied by Charles Gardener, Associate Professor of Chinese History at Harvard, who discussed their impact and effectiveness with students in early 1942.<sup>145</sup> That summer, Harvard invited Bert Levy from the British War Office to speak on the topic to the Navy Supply Corps School students, military reservists, and other interested individuals. Levy's talk addressed the use of guerilla tactics in Spain, where he had been a member of the International Brigade, and he spoke that day of "the best way to kill a sentry without making any noise, by muffling his mouth and turning the knife so it goes into his back 'smooth and easy,' or by cutting his throat so the blood runs the other way."<sup>146</sup>

Alan Grant, an undergraduate student, decided to organize an official guerrilla warfare training group at Harvard beginning in August 1942, with support and guidance

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<sup>144</sup> "Alumnus Finds U.S. Gaining Great Respect in England: Steve Greene '37 Describes Trip in War-Torn Britain," *Harvard Crimson*, February 11, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/2/11/alumnus-finds-us-gaining-great-respect/>.

<sup>145</sup> "Guerrilla Action May Slow Further Japanese Conquest: Successful Resistance in China Hailed by Gardener," *Harvard Crimson*, February 25, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/2/25/guerrilla-action-may-slow-further-japanese/>.

<sup>146</sup> "Levy, Commandos' Teacher, Talks on Guerilla Warfare: Shows Ways to 'Dispatch' Sentries and Impede Tanks," *Harvard Crimson*, July 15, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/7/15/levy-commandos-teacher-talks-on-guerilla/>.

from Levy via mail. The training, which would take place five days a week on Soldiers Field, would cover “among other things, how a German tank works, how to make Molotov cocktails, and how to deal with sentries.” More than 175 students showed up at the first organizing meeting.<sup>147</sup> Approximately 75 showed up for the first official training, which took place in swampland next to Harvard Business School and awarded athletic credit to students who participated.<sup>148</sup> It was a strong enough start to catch the attention of other universities. After the success of the Harvard program – approximately 90 students ultimately participated and completed the training – Yale decided to setup a similar course, drawing more heavily on the training program used by Olympic pentathlon competitors, with the goal of increasing strength and establishing a foundation to enable further military training.<sup>149</sup>

### Conclusion

Athletics was a unifying element across the University during World War II. Students improved their physical conditioning and athletic abilities on the Soldiers Field grass, during long road marches through neighboring towns, and in the swampland adjacent to HBS. Wartime Schools students were fully engaged in these activities, going head-to-head against their civilian counterparts, and filling the roles on sports teams

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<sup>147</sup> “175 Turn Out for Guerrilla Unit: Program to Start August 10 Will Give Athletic Credits,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 31, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/7/31/175-turn-out-for-guerrilla-unit/>.

<sup>148</sup> “Guerrillas Gather in Rough Swampy Field to Institute Active Training: Group to Meet Every Day; Gives Full Athletic Credit,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 12, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/8/12/guerrillas-gather-in-rough-swampy-field/>.

<sup>149</sup> “Ellis Training for Commando Duty: Crimson Guerrillas Have Finished Basic Training,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 26, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/8/26/ellis-training-for-commando-duty-pin/>.

previously held by traditional undergraduate students before the war. While the physical conditioning was necessary for them as military officers, the athletic opportunities offered by the University also served other needs: Creating bonds among teammates, forming shared experiences across students and schools, and providing entertainment and an outlet for student-officers facing the specter of war.

## Chapter V

### Extracurricular Activities

The Army and Navy personnel who came to Harvard during World War II were described as a group who worked hard and played hard, too.<sup>150</sup> While some student groups closed (many of the Finals Clubs), and others modified themselves to stay alive (such as Hasty Pudding, which became a military officers club), students found ways to get engaged on campus in a variety of ways. Sometimes they were on their own:

One club, the Porcellian, that always prided itself on the continuity of certain family members, reopened with only one undergraduate member, a naval student whose family had always belonged. “War has closed or restricted many clubs along the Gold Coast but the old house at 12 Holyoke Street keeps alive – and stimulates a spirit without which Harvard would not be the same.”<sup>151</sup>

This chapter seeks to understand in what ways the Wartime Schools students were involved in those extracurricular activities and students groups, “without which Harvard would not be the same,” while on campus.

### Student Newspapers

Student publications have a long and distinguished history at Harvard, with the most prominent student newspaper, the *Harvard Crimson*, beginning publication in January 1873. Other newspapers have come and gone at the University over the years,

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<sup>150</sup> “Servicemen and Civilians Mix to Make Up Wartime Harvard: Fall of Club, Yard Mark Changes, Here,” *Harvard Crimson*, September 3, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/9/6/servicemen-and-civilians-mix-to-make/>.

<sup>151</sup> Douglas F. Allen, “A Harvard Experience? Naval ROTC in World War II” (ALM Thesis, Harvard University, 1989), 15.

and several were in production at the time World War II began. Students arriving in January 1943 were told that despite all the changes going on around campus, “If they still have time to spare, extra-curricular activities are still available. The *Crimson*, the *Advocate*, and the *Lampoon*, once renowned as the College’s funny magazine, are still in the publishing field, and activity clubs are still functioning.”<sup>152</sup>

The *Crimson* changed as the war progressed. In March 1942, it suspended Saturday publication, producing just five issues per week, while also promising to increase the number of pages each day, and to continue publication during the summer months. The editors cited a drop in advertising revenue, increased costs, and the additional demands on students’ time as driving the decision.<sup>153</sup> Fourteen months later, another change would occur, when the *Crimson* decided to become the *Harvard Service News*, and reduce its printing schedule to just Tuesdays and Fridays. Aside from the change in name and schedule, little else changed at the newspaper. The *Harvard Service News* was produced at 14 Plympton Street in Cambridge, the same facilities as the *Crimson* had been; the group’s organizational structure and business practices stayed the same; and many of the same individuals who were working on the last issue of the *Crimson* at the end of May 1943 were found working on the first issue of the *Harvard Service News* at the beginning of June 1943.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> R. Scot Leavitt, “New Freshmen Will See War-Geared Harvard: Former Strongholds of Class Are Gone,” *Harvard Crimson*, January 22, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/1/22/new-freshmen-will-see-war-geared-harvard/>.

<sup>153</sup> “Crimson Editors Announce Suspension of Saturday Issues for Duration of the War,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 7, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/3/7/crimson-editors-announce-suspension-of-saturday/>.

<sup>154</sup> “Crimson Replaced by Revised ‘Service News’: To Include Section on Undergraduates,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 27, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/27/crimson-replaced-by-revised-service-news/>.

Long-time readers would note one major difference between the *Harvard Crimson* and the *Harvard Service News*, that of the noticeable lack of editorials in the wartime newspaper. As James Trager, one of the *Harvard Service News* editors, explained in 1946:

Get this straight: the idea of not having an editorial page in the Service News didn't come from University Hall, and it didn't come from the U. S. Navy either. In a memorandum constituting the Service News in the spring of '43 the editors of the CRIMSON recognized that "maintaining the independence of the Service News from the Army and the Navy will be a difficult task, especially since cooperation with the Services is so vitally important," and therefore decided that it would be dangerous for the HSN to publish editorials. This decision was based on the anticipation of a younger, less responsible student body a greater turn-over in the paper's staff and a definite desire to keep Service News policies and standards distinct from those of the CRIMSON.<sup>155</sup>

Similar to what was seen with university athletic programs, student newspapers at Harvard's peer institutions fared far worse during World War II. The *Brown Herald* in Providence stopped in the fall of 1942.<sup>156</sup> In New Jersey, publication of the *Princetonian* was suspended in February 1943 for lack of writers and editors as the Princeton University student body shrank.<sup>157</sup> The *Yale Daily News* closed down in May of that

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<sup>155</sup> James G. Trager, Jr., "Parasol in Hand, Service News, Teetered Down Editorial High Wire in Search for Will O' the Wisp Impartiality: 'Strange Fruit,' Gilbert-Poor Affair, and Political Advertising Became Causes Celebes for Voiceless Wartime Paper; Editorial Page Highlight of Crime Comeback," *Harvard Crimson*, April 9, 1946, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1946/4/9/parasol-in-hand-service-news-teetered/>.

<sup>156</sup> "Yale Daily News Suspends Publication for the Duration," *Harvard Crimson*, May 3, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/3/yale-daily-news-suspends-publication-for/>.

<sup>157</sup> "Princetonian Suspended As Manpower Losses Hit Staff," *Harvard Crimson*, February 9, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/2/9/princetonian-suspended-as-manpower-losses-hit/>.

year, but attempted to put out a short bulletin (the *Yale News Digest*) after that time.<sup>158</sup>

The *Dartmouth College Daily* ceased operations in June 1943.<sup>159</sup>

As civilian students left Harvard, “new blood now flows in the veins of the University’s war-serving bi-weekly” as student-officers found themselves taking up writing and editing positions at the *Crimson* to keep the newspaper running.<sup>160</sup> Most of the leadership positions were taken by Navy V-12 and ROTC students from the College.<sup>161</sup> Students from the Wartime Schools started writing regularly for the newspaper during the war, however, chronicling their day-to-day lives, off-campus adventures, and academic experiences while at HBS.

For the Wartime Schools student-officers, and especially those from the naval schools, the willingness to write so frequently for the *Crimson* may have been partially the result of the Navy’s decision to ban diary-keeping in October 1942. The Secretary of the Navy issued the order out of concern that a diary may fall into enemy hands, and give the Germans or Japanese information on men, training, and military activities. One student responded to the order with a humorous note:

This blow to the reminiscent and egoistic side of Naval personnel is announced in this morning's Scuttlebutt. Each introspective gem, says

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<sup>158</sup> “Yale Daily News Suspends Publication for the Duration”; “Yale News Digest Joins Air Corps Weekly at New Haven,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 6, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/6/yale-news-digest-joins-air-corps/>.

<sup>159</sup> “Dartmouth College Daily Is Suspended for the Duration,” *Harvard Crimson*, June 25, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/6/25/dartmouth-college-daily-is-suspended-for/>.

<sup>160</sup> “Repentant Latecomers Still Welcomed to HSN Comp,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 14, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/7/14/repentant-latecomers-still-welcomed-to-hsn/>.

<sup>161</sup> “Russell K. Headley Named Service News Head; James G. Trager Elected as Managing Editor,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 20, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/2/20/russell-k-headley-named-service-news/>; “James G. Trager, Jr. ’46 Succeeds R. Headley As Service News Head: Summer Plans Projected,” *Harvard Crimson*, June 28, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/6/28/james-g-trager-jr-46-succeeds/>.

Secretary Knox, must be destroyed, and great clouds of smoke are even now arising from the burning books in the Yard. Apparently the Navy had nightmare visions of a diary falling into the hands of enemy agents and giving them the wrong sort of information. But as far as the S-O's in the Yard are concerned, there's probably nothing much more dangerous than, "Wellesley girl last night. And so to bed."<sup>162</sup>

### Yearbooks

As with the student newspapers, the Harvard yearbooks changed during the war. At the undergraduate College, a single combined album covering all of the Houses and student activities was created, reducing the number of different yearbooks published at Harvard. At the same time, the design was changed to put more student photos on each page, while including fewer details and photos of student activities, in an effort to reduce the total number of pages produced. All of this was out of a concern over finding advertising dollars to cover the cost of the yearbook, and a view that, in the words of Harry Newman, the student chair of the Senior Album Committee, "large sums of money should not be spent during wartime on such luxury publications."<sup>163</sup>

The first Wartime Schools student-officers, who arrived with the Navy Supply Corps School, were quick to produce "a 'year book' with the pictures, names and addresses of each of the men and instructors and informal snapshots taken during the Summer" of 1941, keeping alive this traditional college experience.<sup>164</sup> The process of

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<sup>162</sup> "Death to Diaries Is Latest Move by Secretary of Navy," *Harvard Crimson*, October 8, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/10/8/death-to-diaries-is-latest-move/>.

<sup>163</sup> "War Forces 1943 Albums to Merge: Yearbooks Join to Permit War Issues," *Harvard Crimson*, March 11, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/3/11/war-forces-1943-albums-to-merge/>.

<sup>164</sup> "Naval Supply Corps School Opens With 250 Commissioned Officers: Naval Reserves, Regulars Study at Business School."

publishing a yearbook for the student-officers of a Wartime School was entirely different from publishing one for traditional students. Students were only at HBS for a few months, so work had to be done in an accelerated timeline. It also required widespread student support: “In the publishing of a Yearbook where time is so limited as it is here, the job can be accomplished only by the full and vigorous support of the staff by all [student-]officers,” one editor wrote.<sup>165</sup> Representatives were identified for each of the classes and units, and a call for help was issued to the student-officers as soon as editors and yearbook leaders were identified:

If you have a special talent, volunteer your efforts. If you have a typewriter and can type, donate a half hour a week to the Yearbook. If you like to take snapshots, take them of members of your class, of activities and surroundings of the school. About two or three hundred pictures will be needed for the book. We may be able to use yours. The book is also looking for cartoonists. From sketches which float around the class rooms, there seems to be a goodly number of officers with ability. Any of them who wish to be considered for sketching for the Yearbook should submit copies of their work to any members of the staff or their class representatives.<sup>166</sup>

Each group of student-officers continued the yearbook tradition, but found ways to make it their own. The yearbook name changed from class to class, using military terms such as “All Hands” and “First Cruise” as titles. Walt Disney contributed illustrations to one edition, with Donald Duck wearing the student-officer uniform and living the life of a Wartime Schools student.<sup>167</sup> In another edition, Navy Supply Corps School students submitted photos of their wives and girlfriends for inclusion in the

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<sup>165</sup> Alfred F. Connors, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Supply Corps Yearbook,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 5, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/3/5/the-navy-supply-corps-school-preparations/>.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> “Navy Classbook Goes to Conant, Macgowan,” *Harvard Crimson*, October 2, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/10/2/navy-classbook-goes-to-conant-macgowan/>.

yearbook, and Alberto Vargas, *Esquire* illustrator and the creator of the “Varga Girl” pin-ups that became famous during the war, agreed to select one as the “Sweetheart of the Navy Supply Corps School.”<sup>168</sup>



Figure 9. Army Air Forces Statistical School class photo, August 1942.  
Harvard University Archives.

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<sup>168</sup> W.M. Cousins Jr. and T.X. Cronin, “The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School,” *Harvard Crimson*, June 2, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/6/2/the-lucky-bag-pthere-was-a/>; “Varga, Famous Artists to Pick Queen of Navy: Will Judge Photos of Supply School Wives,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 25, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/8/25/varga-famous-artist-to-pick-queen/>.



parties” they could attend, bringing them together with students from across the University who were similarly away from family.<sup>171</sup>

### Music

As with most college students of the era, music was a common interest among the Wartime Schools student-officers. The musical act at a dance or party was often a deciding factor on whether or not to attend (this is discussed in more detail in Chapter VI), and certain performers became regulars, attracting a crowd weekend after weekend. Professional musicians from the Boston Symphony Orchestra – such as Jean Bedetti (cello), Felix Fox (piano), and Roland Hayes (tenor) – frequently gave smaller concerts and performances for the military officers, or in support of the war effort.<sup>172</sup> And after an event, the student-officers in attendance let it be known to their classmates when certain performers, like Ruby Newman and his orchestra, had been “in the groove.”<sup>173</sup> While students and staff often got to know performers as a result of regular attendance at their events, the connections were sometimes older and deeper. At one Wartime Schools concert in August 1943, the bandmaster turned out to have been a former sailor who had

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<sup>171</sup> “V-12, Civilians Start Holiday: Faculty Recess Sends 2000 Students Home for 7 Days,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 21, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/12/21/v-12-civilians-start-holiday-pharvards-faculty/>.

<sup>172</sup> “Navy Recreation,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 14, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/3/14/navy-recreation-pbmovies-at-music-hallb/>; “Navy Recreation,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 24, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/3/24/navy-recreation-pv-12-and-nrotc-dance/>.

<sup>173</sup> M.J. Bratton, “The Navy Supply Corps School,” *Harvard Crimson*, June 25, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/6/25/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pa/>.

served on the *USS Tennessee* years earlier with Captain McIntosh, now the head of the Navy Supply Corps School.<sup>174</sup>

In the absence of a university band during the war, music was provided by local military units for official Harvard events, and events run by the various military schools. The Coast Guard Band from the First Naval District played hymns at religious services, provided military music at Navy Day ceremonies, and entertainment for Navy V-12 dances.<sup>175</sup> For Army events, including Chaplain graduations, military reviews, and award decorations, the Coastal Artillery Band played the same role.<sup>176</sup> Given the frequent use of these two bands, Wartime Schools students had no opportunity to join a formal school band or orchestra while at Harvard.

Many of the student-officers were musicians themselves, and performed for their peers (often at parties, typically with the support of alcoholic beverages). At an event in March 1943, “Singing, Rathskeller style, was led by F. Payton and later in the afternoon

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<sup>174</sup> Wilson, “The Navy Supply Corps School,” August 27, 1943.

<sup>175</sup> “Mather to Speak in Divine Service,” *Harvard Crimson*, October 8, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/10/8/mather-to-speak-in-divine-service/>; “Naval Training School Personnel Will Pass In Review October 27: V-12 Excused from Navy Day Exercises,” *Harvard Crimson*, October 19, 1943, 27, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/10/19/naval-training-school-personnel-will-pass/>; “V-12 Unit Will Present Dance Saturday Night,” *Harvard Crimson*, September 28, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/9/28/v-12-unit-will-present-dance-saturday/>.

<sup>176</sup> “18th Chaplain Unit Finishes Training,” *Harvard Crimson*, November 5, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/11/5/18th-chaplain-unit-finishes-training-pthree/>; “300 Chaplains Finish Course: Lieut.-Col. Deibert Delivers Address in Sanders Theatre,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 7, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/7/300-chaplains-finish-course-papproximately-300/>; “Chaplains to End Courses,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 13, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/8/13/chaplains-to-end-courses-pwith-graduation/>; “Chaplains to Graduate 260: Exercises to Be Held Today at 9:30 in Sanders Theatre,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 14, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/12/14/chaplains-to-graduate-260-ptwo-hundred/>; “Purple Heart Conferred on Leland Henry: Chaplain Decorated For Service Wounds,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 23, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/23/purple-heart-conferred-on-leland-henry/>; “Review to Honor Retiring Colonels: ATS Parads Sept. 29 for Wood and Fox,” *Harvard Crimson*, September 21, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/9/21/review-to-honor-retiring-colonels-pevery/>; “Saltonstall to Review ROTC on Wednesday: FA and QM Units to Take Part in Parade,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 26, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/26/saltonstall-to-review-rotc-on-wednesday/>.

J. Rub and H. Platt entertained with several piano novelties.”<sup>177</sup> (Payton, Rub, and Platt were all student-officers.) At another event two years later, several promising artists “were discovered in the audience” during an evening event when it seems both students and faculty took to the stage.<sup>178</sup> And in the dorms on campus, students were occasionally found singing their own creations, inspired by their time at the Wartime Schools. In August 1944, it was reported that “the hallowed walls of F-31 are resounding with the refrain of Dave Blumberg's new song, “I Was Raised to the Tune of the Telegraph Key” or “Shoot the Loco' to me Koko,”” written after hours of studying communications and transportation course materials.<sup>179</sup>

### Conclusion

While the Wartime Schools students lacked the range of clubs and student groups available to traditional students before the war, it is clear that they found ways to create their own, and engage with those available to them. Their active participation in the *Harvard Crimson* student newspaper enabled it to continue operations during the war, and their establishment and printing of yearbooks helped create a sense of community and connection among the students who came together at HBS for such a short period of time. Phillips Brooks House, which served the spiritual and service needs of civilian students before the war, was just as busy with Wartime Schools student-officers looking

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<sup>177</sup> Stanley Cole, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 5, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/3/5/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pbbebecause/>.

<sup>178</sup> Larry Hyde, “The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 6, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/3/6/the-lucky-bag-pas-was-obvious/>.

<sup>179</sup> W.M. Cousins Jr. and T.X. Cronin, “The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 18, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/8/18/the-lucky-bag-ptheres-an-old/>.

for religious guidance, or connections with other students stuck here during the holidays. And while the Coast Guard Band and Coastal Artillery Band filled the need for formal musical groups at University events, the students nonetheless found outlets for their musical talent and interest by performing for their classmates and faculty at social events and in the dorms.

## Chapter VI

### Social Life

In the summer of 1945, Frank Hayes' fellow student-officers stopped calling him "Frankie" and started calling him "Hoover," in recognition of "his proclivity for 'latching on' to anything unattached within 50 feet of him."<sup>180</sup> Hayes made the most of the social opportunities offered to the Wartime Schools students during their time at HBS, attending movies, concerts, and dances, and doing his best to meet single women. He wasn't alone. Across the Wartime Schools, students spent their limited free time socializing with their classmates, engaging in Harvard-organized events, and getting out and about in Boston and the local suburbs. The married men found the school welcoming of their spouses and children, and the single men had no trouble meeting women and starting relationships, with more than two dozen of them marrying during their time at Harvard. This chapter examines the social lives of the Wartime Schools students to understand what opportunities they had to take part in social activities across campus and in the broader community, including their engagement with movies, concerts, and the arts; their participation in the numerous dances that took place during this period; and their romantic and family relationships.

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<sup>180</sup> Larry Hyde, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, June 14, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/6/14/the-lucky-bag-pthe-inevitable-taken/>.

## Movies, Concerts, and the Arts

Despite concerns from the film industry that Americans would stop going to the movies after the nation went to war, the exact opposite happened, with movie attendance spiking between 1943 and 1946,<sup>181</sup> and theaters combining movies with newsreels to provide both entertainment and updates on world events to Americans across the nation.<sup>182</sup> In May 1942, just five months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, several actors and directors came to Harvard to discuss the role of film in war, and how movies can be used to increase support for the war in the United States. “We must do with words and pictures and symbols what was done in England with German bombs in order to stimulate American morale to a war pitch,” said actor Melvyn Douglas.<sup>183</sup>

In the coming years, films were used across campus for a variety of educational, informational, and entertainment purposes. The Fight for Freedom Committee, a pro-war student group, showed *Thumbs Up* (“a 35-minute movie vividly portraying the evacuation of Dunkirk, the burning of London, and shots of the British War Relief Society at work mopping up”) and *Warning* (“an official British movie of air raid precautions, actual raids, and the destruction of Nottingham”) to stir up interest among students to support England and join the war effort.<sup>184</sup> The Mountaineering Club played movies of climbs to get students interested in joining their organization, which tested

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<sup>181</sup> Tim Dirks, “The 1940s: The War and Post-War Years, the Beginnings of Film Noir,” *The History of Film* (AMC, n.d.), <http://www.filmsite.org/40sintro.html>.

<sup>182</sup> Bob Campbell, “The History of Movie Newsreels: A Bijou Flashback,” *Classic Movie Blog*, June 18, 2010, <http://www.moviefanfare.com/the-history-of-movie-newsreels/>.

<sup>183</sup> “Actor Tells Role of Cinema in War: Douglas, Kanin, Ford Speak in Film Society’s Forum,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 1, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/5/1/actor-tells-role-of-cinema-in/>.

<sup>184</sup> “Fight For Freedom Group to Present War Movies Tonight,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 26, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/5/26/fight-for-freedom-group-to-present/>.

military equipment for Army use in high-altitude environments, and prepared students to join mountain warfare units after graduation.<sup>185</sup> The wives of student-officers were shown movies as entertainment,<sup>186</sup> Disney created animated shorts to encourage War Bond participation,<sup>187</sup> and prospective campus air raid wardens were shown movies of British air raids and the resulting response as part of their training.<sup>188</sup>

Wartime Schools students went to the movies for news and entertainment, too. Hollywood films first came to campus starting in December 1943 as part of the Navy Motion Picture Circuit program, and were shown in the Music Hall auditorium on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Tickets were sold through the Welfare Officers, and attendees included not only students, but faculty, staff, and family members.<sup>189</sup> Films were shown on campus about one month after their commercial theater releases, as demonstrated by several movies shown in early 1944: *Higher and Higher* with Jack Haley and Frank Sinatra opened New Year's Day 1944 and was shown on campus February 4,<sup>190</sup> the Academy Award-winner *Lady in the Dark* reached theaters on February 10 and student-

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<sup>185</sup> "Mountaineers See Movies of Climbs; To Train for High Altitude Warfare: Club to Publish Bulletin of Trip Write-Ups in Fall," *Harvard Crimson*, January 13, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/1/13/mountaineers-see-movies-of-climbs-to/>.

<sup>186</sup> "Navy Wives' Group Has Large Party: NTS Glee Club Sings for 200 in Union Lounge after Film," *Harvard Crimson*, April 16, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/16/navy-wives-group-has-large-party/>.

<sup>187</sup> "Disney Short to Open War Bond Meeting: Speeches and Pearl Harbor Pictures Part of Program," *Harvard Crimson*, March 18, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/3/18/disney-short-to-open-war-bond/>.

<sup>188</sup> "Embryo Air Raid Wardens Meet First Time Tonight," *Harvard Crimson*, November 13, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/11/13/embryo-air-raid-wardens-meet-first/>.

<sup>189</sup> "Weekly Movies Shown To Men of Navy Units," *Harvard Crimson*, December 17, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/12/17/weekly-movies-shown-to-men-of/>.

<sup>190</sup> "Navy Recreation," *Harvard Crimson*, February 4, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/2/4/navy-recreation-pbmovies-at-music-hallb/>.

officers on March 14,<sup>191</sup> and Humphrey Bogart's *Passage to Marseille* came out on February 16 and arrived at Harvard on March 24.<sup>192</sup>

Movies were such a strong part of the social life of the student-officers that one Army Supply Officers Training School student went to far as to encourage his classmates to think of their dreaded three-hour midterm exams simply as "a double feature down on Tremont Street" instead. Their one shorter exam, "the two hour matinee playing Saturday afternoon only at Baker Library, is a little horror [film] known as Accounting Methods and Interpretation of Statements."<sup>193</sup>

Despite the ubiquity of movies at Harvard during World War II, Wartime Schools students and other military personnel on campus were also exposed to live theater and concerts. Musicians such as Carmen Cavallero, known in the 1940s for his South American Sway performances, came to campus as part of tours among domestic military facilities,<sup>194</sup> and classical music concerts were played in the Fogg Museum on campus on Friday evenings.<sup>195</sup> The Boston Symphony Orchestra, then under the direction of Arthur Fiedler, held annual "Officer Night" performances at Symphony Hall in Boston for the military officers stationed at Harvard, with a "Salute to our Armed Forces" medley of

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<sup>191</sup> "Navy Recreation," March 14, 1944.

<sup>192</sup> "Navy Recreation," March 24, 1944.

<sup>193</sup> "Asotellites," *Harvard Crimson*, September 10, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/9/10/asotellites-pspeaking-of-cheerful-news-the/>.

<sup>194</sup> "Carmen Cavallero to Play for Navy Men Here Friday," *Harvard Crimson*, May 5, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/5/carmen-cavallero-to-play-for-navy/>.

<sup>195</sup> "Navy Recreation," February 4, 1944.

songs. When played, “officers rose to the respective airs, including Marines, Army Air Force, Artillery Corps, and the Navy.”<sup>196</sup>

### Campus Dances

Dances were a central part of the social life at Harvard before World War II. From formal events such as the end-of-year Freshman Jubilee to informal events held on weekends throughout the semester, students gathered across campus and in Boston to hear live music, dance and socialize, and meet potential romantic partners. (Much had changed in Cambridge since then—President Increase Mather lectured students in 1684 against the “profane and promiscuous” act of dancing.<sup>197</sup>) America’s entry into World War II impacted the dances on campus – as well as the dancers themselves – but these social events were able to adapt and remain a part of the Harvard experience for both civilian and Wartime Schools students.

Starting in the fall of 1941, Phillips Brooks House and the campus Houses started hosting visiting soldiers overnight, allowing them to take leave from their military duties for a weekend, attend a campus dance on Saturday, and then return to their stations on Sunday.<sup>198</sup> The initial group of six visitors arrived in December 1941, the weekend

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<sup>196</sup> “Pops Has Officers’ Night,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 14, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/14/pops-has-officers-night-pthe-boston/>.

<sup>197</sup> Increase Mather, *An Arrow against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing : Drawn out of the Quiver of the Scriptures.*, Early American Imprints. First Series ; No. 370 (Boston: Printed by Samuel Green, sold by Joseph Brunning, 1684), <http://id.lib.harvard.edu/aleph/002317509/catalog>.

<sup>198</sup> “P.B.H. Committee to Coordinate Student Defense Service Work: Houses May Soon Open Up Facilities to Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines on Leave,” *Harvard Crimson*, October 2, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/10/2/pbh-committee-to-coordinate-student-defense/>; “Three Houses Approve Visitors From Devens: Lowell, Adams, Winthrop in Favor; Masters to Decide,” *Harvard Crimson*, October 9, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/10/9/three-houses-approve-visitors-from-devens/>.

before the attack on Pearl Harbor. All were based at Fort Devens. Robert Hedstrom, a Chicagoan, remarked that “the fellow are swell, the buildings are wonderful, and I think Harvard co-eds are beautiful.” Roger Bessette, from New Bedford, enjoyed the dining facilities: “I’d really rather eat here than at the post,” he said. “At least you get a selection here, and those waitresses create that certain touch.” And Ernest Davian, from Holyoke, joked that when they got back to base, the other troops “will probably rib us for weeks back at camp about ‘going to Hahvuhd.’”<sup>199</sup>

The war brought other changes. Starting in spring 1942, commencement and reunion dances were continued, but were smaller in scale than before the war.<sup>200</sup> At the same time, there was a push on campus to ban corsages at student dances, part of a broader effort to reduce consumption of “luxury” items, and to contribute that money to the war effort instead. Some students pushed back, saying the impact would be negligible. So did Harvard Square florists, who worried about a loss of business. “A determined policy against pin-ons should be agreed to before the dances begin,” one student argued, “thus ensuring that no one will arrive with one, and ergo no one’s feelings will be hurt.”<sup>201</sup>

Attendance at dances that spring dropped, and with it the profitability of those events to the Houses. That summer, the Student Council created a committee to

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<sup>199</sup> “6 Soldiers Spend Weekend As Guests of P.B.H. Group: Men Here in First Experimental Visit,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 1941, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1941/12/1/6-soldiers-spend-weekend-as-guests/>.

<sup>200</sup> “War Curtails 25th Reunion: Class of 1917 to Simplify Traditional Celebrations,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 3, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/3/3/war-curtails-25th-reunion-ptadition-without/>.

<sup>201</sup> “Corsages in Wartime,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 24, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/4/24/corsages-in-wartime-platey-there-has/>.

investigate and propose changes to the dance system, including the recommendation to create an Inter-House Dance Committee to centrally “offer advice on bands, prepare reports on Boston orchestra agents, select dates for dances, and examine all contracts.”<sup>202</sup> The recommendation did not go over well, with Professor Roger Merriman, the Master of Eliot House, saying the plan had “much that is good and much evil,” but that ultimately “it works against house autonomy.” Charles Gates, the student chairman of the Dunster House dance committee, saw value in having an advisory and support organization, but objected to centralized control over what he considered to be House decisions. With Gates’ objection, and the need for unanimous acceptance of any proposal by the Houses, the plan was doomed.

Student dances would change even without the creation of a centralized planning committee. Civilian attendance at Harvard would decrease 75% between the summer of 1942 and the same time in 1943, substantially reducing the number of students on campus and available to attend events, as well as seeing a number of the Houses transformed from civilian dorms into military housing. Similar changes would be seen at peer institutions, including at Dartmouth where the annual Winter Carnival eliminated dances given “no prospect of women,”<sup>203</sup> and at Princeton where Dean Christian Gaus

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<sup>202</sup> “Regulation for Dances Proposed: Student Council Will Guide House Groups,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 10, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/7/10/regulation-for-dances-proposed-pas-a/>.

<sup>203</sup> “War Freezes Women Out of Dartmouth Winter Carnival,” *Harvard Crimson*, January 19, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/1/19/war-freezes-women-out-of-dartmouth/>.

moved to eliminate “unnecessary extra-curricular activities,” and to stop civilians from using “transportation facilities for pleasure purposes.”<sup>204</sup>

As civilian students left campus, military students arrived, and military-organized dances became a key part of the Harvard social scene. When the Navy Supply Corps School rebuilt Cary Cage in the spring of 1942, it created what one observer called “potentially one of the finest ballroom floors in the Greater Boston area.”<sup>205</sup> The Wartime Schools students had many opportunities to put it to use. Social dances were organized for the student-officers throughout the year, held on campus, as well as off-site in locations such as the Grand Ballroom of the Copley-Plaza in Boston, host to the prestigious Supply Corps Ball.<sup>206</sup> In addition to purely social dances for the student-officers, there were numerous charity dances organized by the wives of students and faculty, held to raise funds for organizations such as the Navy Relief Society and the American Red Cross.<sup>207</sup> As one student described it, “each entering group [of student-officers] desires an affair.”<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> “Princeton Cancels All Dances for Duration: Step Taken to Halt Transportation Jam,” *Harvard Crimson*, October 22, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/10/22/princeton-cancels-all-dances-for-duration/>.

<sup>205</sup> “Supply Corps Decides On Building Mess Hall,” *Harvard Crimson*, August 10, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/8/10/supply-corps-decides-on-building-mess/>.

<sup>206</sup> “Supply Corps to Dance on June 17: Entertainment Will Feature Regimental Trio, Vocalist,” *Harvard Crimson*, June 16, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/6/16/supply-corps-to-dance-on-june/>.

<sup>207</sup> “Dances Assist in Navy Relief: Supply Corps School Wives Amass \$3459 in Two Years,” *Harvard Crimson*, November 7, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/11/7/dances-assist-in-navy-relief-psince/>; “Supply Corps Officers Hold Tea Dance for Navy Relief,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 2, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/2/2/supply-corps-officers-hold-tea-dance/>; “NSCS Plans Dance for Navy Relief,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 3, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/12/3/nscs-plans-dance-for-navy-relief/>.

<sup>208</sup> “Dances Assist in Navy Relief: Supply Corps School Wives Amass \$3459 in Two Years.”

Just as the men desired dances, event organizers desired the men. One newspaper article from April 7, 1944 listed five dances the men could choose from that weekend:

The Women's Republican Club sponsors an officers' dance every Saturday at the Sherry Room of their club at 46 Beacon Street, Boston, at 2000. The Army-Navy Officers' Club is having a dance at the Copley Plaza tomorrow at 2000. The Class of '39 at Emmanuel College is having a dance at the Salle Moderne in the Hotel Statier at 2000. The Carlton Club is sponsoring an Easter Dance at the Hotel Commander at 2000. The Cambridge Dance League is holding a dance at the Hotel Continental at 2030.<sup>209</sup>

For the student-officers, attending a dance was an attractive opportunity for a number of reasons: escaping from the day-to-day routine of the Wartime Schools, hearing performances from well-known musicians and orchestras, and perhaps most of all for the ability to meet women. One student spoke of a dance at the Hasty Pudding Club (then a military officers club), saying, "we understand that it's fine to bring along a wife or a sweetheart, but we're going stag because we understand that Wellesley will be well represented."<sup>210</sup> (Wellesley being an all-female college just outside of Boston.)

For male student-officers who did not want to travel out to Wellesley, MA, they could simply go down the street in Cambridge. With the arrival of female student-officers at Radcliffe came the opportunity for both male and female student-officers to socialize. Morale Officers from both schools worked together to plan dances, with the male student-officers playing the role of host, to which Ruth Wolgast, one of the female student-officers, remarked, "Gentlemen, we are happy to be your guest."<sup>211</sup> The men

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<sup>209</sup> "Navy Recreation," *Harvard Crimson*, April 7, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/4/7/navy-recreation-pbofficers-dance-tomorrowb-pthe/>.

<sup>210</sup> Alem Dworkin, "Midshipmen," *Harvard Crimson*, June 4, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/6/4/midshipmen-pnow-hear-this-pyou-can/>.

<sup>211</sup> Ruth Wolgast, "Creating a Ripple," *Harvard Crimson*, May 7, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/7/creating-a-ripple-pthis-week-the/>.

were pleased to play the host role, but it did occasionally come with some awkwardness: Married males occasionally found themselves hosting unmarried females out of a sense of obligation and fairness, ensuring that the female student-officers were able to attend the dance (while doing everything they could to avoid creating any indication they were seeking a relationship).<sup>212</sup>

In addition to campus dances, the Wartime Schools students were frequently invited to events across Boston. The Army-Navy Officers Club, located near Copley Square in Boston, regularly held formal dances in downtown venues such as the Hotel Statler, and invited officers from all the military branches, in addition to women from Boston. Similar events were put on by various social organizations, including the Cambridge Teachers Association<sup>213</sup> and the Private School Association of Boston, whose dances at the Hotel Vendome were rumored to have “the very best in female pulchritude that Boston can boast.”<sup>214</sup>

The allure of these events – and of the women attending them – occasionally led to student-officers making foolish decisions in an effort to get in the door, as illustrated by Army Supply Officers Training School student J.F. Shultz:

Lt. Shultz, a married man, attempted to crash a Saturday night dance in Cambridge. Being denied entrance because of a failure to possess a ticket, Shultz said, “My face is my ticket.” Said the doorman, “Okay, I’ll punch

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<sup>212</sup> Ruth Wolgast, “Creating a Ripple,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 14, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/14/creating-a-ripple-pwho-says-the/>.

<sup>213</sup> “Navy Recreation,” February 4, 1944.

<sup>214</sup> “Army-Navy Officers’ Club to Hold Dance Tomorrow: Will Repeat Affair Two Weeks Later,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 26, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/2/26/army-navy-officers-club-to-hold-dance/>.

it.” (You can still see the remnants of the deep black discoloration around the left eye.)<sup>215</sup>

It could have been worse. On November 29, 1942, the Coconut Grove nightclub in Boston caught fire while filled past legal capacity, killing 492 people in what would be the deadliest nightclub fire in history.<sup>216</sup> The blaze was believed to be caused in part by an unknown military officer who removed a lightbulb from the ceiling in order to have a dark area in which to make out with his date. Among the dead were four student-officers from Harvard, all Naval Training School (Communications) students: Ensigns John N. Albritton and John B. Bauer, and Lieutenants John H. Noyos and Kenneth D. Simpson. Several other student-officers were injured but survived.<sup>217</sup> Many student-officers were luckier, and avoided injury all together, including one whose girlfriend decided they should go elsewhere at the last moment, and another who was refused a drink because of his age, and left to find a bar that would serve him less than five minutes before the start of the fire.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> “Army Supply,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 1, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/1/army-supply-pthe-big-event-of/>.

<sup>216</sup> United Press, “Over the Wire: Boston Night Clubs Closed after Tragedy,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 2, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/12/2/over-the-wire-pboston-all-entertainment-was/> The death toll was ultimately 492, revised upwards after this article, which listed it at 460.

<sup>217</sup> “Navy Learns Loss in Fire: 4 Communications Students Die at Grove Conflagration,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 10, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/12/10/navy-learns-loss-in-fire-pfour/>.

<sup>218</sup> “No College Casualties Added to Previous List: Many Students Tell of Narrow Escapes,” *Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/12/1/no-college-casualties-added-to-previous/>.



Figure 11. Aftermath of the Coconut Grove nightclub fire.  
Boston Public Library Archives.

### Dating and Relationships

Men were looking to meet women at the dances and elsewhere, and many would enter into short- and long-term relationships with them during their time at Harvard. They would, unfortunately, have to find them on their own – as one Wartime Schools student observed, the military “provided everything except the women.”<sup>219</sup> A number of

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<sup>219</sup> “West Point’s Commander to Review Stadium Parade: Marchers Need Not Sit in Single Group,” *Harvard Crimson*, October 20, 1942, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1942/10/20/west-points-commander-to-review-stadium/>.

student-officers would come to Boston already married or in a relationship, with some bringing their wives along with them and having to balance school and family, and others navigating the challenges of long-distance relationships in the era of the paper letter and the shared telephone. For those who struggled to meet someone, like Bob Foley, “who didn’t want his name mentioned above a whisper in this regard,” there was the personal advertisement in the local newspaper to help make the match.<sup>220</sup> Regardless of how or where they met women, the end result was that “sex was everywhere” for the Wartime Schools student-officers, and along with it came the challenges of navigating those relationships on top of their academic responsibilities and military duties.<sup>221</sup>

(It is worth noting that while there were female student-officers at Radcliffe and Wellesley, the Wartime Schools student body at HBS was exclusively male. Additionally, there were almost certainly gay student-officers at the Wartime Schools, but no explicit reference to them exists in the archival materials, student newspapers, or other records discovered and reviewed as part of this work. Many of them would have kept their sexual orientation a secret. In the absence of hard facts and examples, and with a desire to avoid speculation and hypotheticals, this section will focus on male student-officers and their heterosexual partners, and use pronouns that reflect that focus, while acknowledging that there is a segment of the student-officer population not examined here, and whose story has not been told.)

Dating as a Wartime Schools student had its challenges. Military obligations came before romantic attachments, and at major athletic events, student-officers often

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<sup>220</sup> Larry Hyde, “The Lucky Bag,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 20, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/2/20/the-lucky-bag-psince-our-last/>.

<sup>221</sup> Lawrence G. Raisz, “‘42-’43 Year of Transition.”

had to sit together as a group, separate from their dates.<sup>222</sup> Schedules caused problems, too. Men had to regularly stand watch on campus in the evenings, cutting into time they could spend out with a woman. The student-officers traded watch schedules to get certain nights off, including Red Schuetts, who offered to take three watches from someone else if they would take one of his (as one classmate remarked, “you oughtta see her picture, you’d know why”).<sup>223</sup> As one student wrote to the female Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services (WAVES) officers, “Our apologies to the WAVES for chasing them all around our calendar, but if you read the school regs, you’ll see that all liberty is a privilege and not a right, and ‘additional scheduled activities may at any time take preference.’”<sup>224</sup>

The men were also mindful of their limited time on campus, and many of them attempted to get into committed relationships as quickly as possible. Noting the lack of interest in a dance at Pine Manor College in April 1943, one Wartime Schools student speculated that his classmates were “investing in steady dates” at the expense of organized social events where they could meet women.<sup>225</sup> One man returned home from a date looking chagrined, telling his roommate, “She was all right, but with 12 more

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<sup>222</sup> “West Point’s Commander to Review Stadium Parade: Marchers Need Not Sit in Single Group.”

<sup>223</sup> “The Navy Supply Corps School: Midshipmen,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 26, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/2/26/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pmidshipmen/>.

<sup>224</sup> M.J. Roth, “Straight Dope,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 9, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/9/straight-dope-pgentlemen-weve-got-a/>.

<sup>225</sup> “NSCS Midshipmen,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 9, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/9/nscs-midshipmen-pif-this-column-ever/>.

Saturday nights in Boston, do you think I'm going to put up with this 'wait 'till we know each other better' routine?"<sup>226</sup>

For couples who decided to split up – with the husband coming to HBS and the wife staying behind – the distance often placed a strain on the relationship. A poem published at the time summed up the pain one student felt: “Absence is to love / What wind is to fire. / It puts out the little. / It kindles the great. (sigh).”<sup>227</sup> For many couples, the separation couldn't last. For Marlin Withrow, “the sudden arrival of a lonely spouse” resulted in his “abrupt and complete curtailment” of social activities.<sup>228</sup> Verle Clarke came to HBS while his wife remained in Utah to teach school, but Verle found it too difficult to be separated. After six months, it was reported that “the teaching contract was broken and Vivian arrived last weekend.”<sup>229</sup>

When spouses arrived, there were logistical and financial challenges to navigate. At the beginning of the war, married men were required to live on campus with their bachelor classmates. That restrictive policy would not be lifted until the fall of 1943.<sup>230</sup> Married Wartime Schools students received additional pay from the military to support spouses and families: Single Navy ensigns and Army second lieutenants were paid \$216

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<sup>226</sup> E.T. Long, “Naval Training School: (Supply Corps),” *Harvard Crimson*, February 11, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/2/11/naval-training-school-pthe-navy-is/>.

<sup>227</sup> M.J. Roth, “Straight Dope: NSCS Midshipmen,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 2, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/2/straight-dope-punless-were-corrected-again/>.

<sup>228</sup> Cole, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors.”

<sup>229</sup> Stan Cole, “Ward Room Topics: Navy Supply Corps School,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 23, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/23/ward-room-topics-pwhen-verle-clark/>.

<sup>230</sup> M.J. Roth, “Straight Dope,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 1, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/1/straight-dope-phey-army-lookee-here/>.

per month – \$150 in base pay, \$21 for food, and \$45 for housing. Their married peers received \$252 – an additional \$26 to help with food and rent.<sup>231</sup>

Once in Boston, wives found many ways to keep busy. MJ Bratton’s wife helped her husband write his *Harvard Crimson* columns (but asked not to get byline credit).<sup>232</sup> Tom Reynold’s taught dancing for Arthur Murray, and gave free demonstration lessons to the men.<sup>233</sup> As a group, they were regularly invited to events organized by the school and by the spouses of the senior officers, including visits to the Gardner Museum, Museum of Fine Arts, tours of the Harvard campus, and a frequent series of afternoon teas.<sup>234</sup> In a more formal role, wives also participated in promotion ceremonies, pinning the new rank insignia to their husband’s uniform.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> M.J. Roth, “NSCS Midshipmen,” May 7, 1943.

<sup>232</sup> M.J. Bratton, “The Navy Supply Corps School,” *Harvard Crimson*, June 25, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/6/25/the-navy-supply-corps-school-pa/>.

<sup>233</sup> M.J. Roth, “Straight Dope,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 16, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/16/straight-dope-pnow-see-here-men/>.

<sup>234</sup> Fitzpatrick, “Electronics School: Catching Up,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 2, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/2/electronics-school-pnot-to-be-outdone/>; “Tour in Yard, Tea Schedule: Statisticackles,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 9, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/9/tour-in-yard-tea-schedule-pfor/>; “Army Supply Units Take Sunday Tour,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 7, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/5/7/army-supply-units-take-sunday-tour/>; “Navy Recreation,” February 4, 1944; “Navy Recreation,” March 14, 1944; “Navy Wives Meet Wednesday,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 20, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/4/20/navy-wives-meet-wednesday-pnavy-wives/>.

<sup>235</sup> “Statisticians Commissioned,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 1, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/1/statisticians-commissioned-pgold-bars-were-again/>.

In addition to the men who were married before arriving at the Wartime Schools, at least twenty-six additional men got engaged and or married while enrolled, with more than a quarter getting married on campus in Harvard's Memorial Church:<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Based on author's analysis, drawing from: Stan Cole, "Ward Room Topics: Navy Supply Corps School"; "Statisticackles," *Harvard Crimson*, June 18, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/6/18/statisticackles-plet-it-never-be-said/>; M.J. Bratton, "The Navy Supply Corps School"; M.J. Roth, "Straight Dope," *Harvard Crimson*, August 6, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/8/6/straight-dope-pall-hail-the-privileged/>; W.M. Cousins Jr. and T.X. Cronin, "The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School," August 18, 1944; "The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School," *Harvard Crimson*, November 7, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/11/7/the-lucky-bag-pa-plane-reservation/>; T.X. Cronin, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, November 17, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/11/17/the-lucky-bag-pof-course-the/>; Jack T. Shindler, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, December 15, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/12/15/the-lucky-bag-pthe-yale-log/>; Jack T. Shindler, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, January 12, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/1/12/the-lucky-bag-ptto-charge-the/>; Jack T. Shindler, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, February 2, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/2/2/the-lucky-bag-preports-are-just/>; Jack T. Shindler, "The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School," *Harvard Crimson*, February 9, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/2/9/the-lucky-bag-pevery-room-in/>; Larry Hyde, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, March 30, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/3/30/the-lucky-bag-pby-now-its/>; Larry Hyde, "The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School," *Harvard Crimson*, April 6, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/4/6/the-lucky-bag-pmy-day-by/>; Jack T. Shindler, "The Lucky Bag," January 12, 1945; Pearson Twins, "The Lucky Bag: Double Talk," *Harvard Crimson*, May 22, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/5/22/the-lucky-bag-pstill-recovering-from/>; Larry Hyde, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, June 8, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/6/8/the-lucky-bag-pthe-event-of/>; Larry Hyde, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, July 12, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/7/12/the-lucky-bag-pthe-first-six/>; Jack T. Shindler, "The Lucky Bag: 'Life, Fife, Cost of Sales, How Many Tons in Thirty Bales?,'" *Harvard Crimson*, September 26, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/9/26/the-lucky-bag-pat-long-last/>; Jack T. Shindler, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, December 22, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/12/22/the-lucky-bag-pbijingle-bells-jingle/>; Larry Hyde, "The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School," April 6, 1945; Larry Hyde, "The Lucky Bag," June 14, 1945; Larry Hyde, "The Lucky Bag," *Harvard Crimson*, August 9, 1945, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1945/8/9/the-lucky-bag-pits-almost-an/>.

Table 2. List of student engagements and marriages at the Wartime Schools.

<b>Student Name</b>	<b>Spouse (If Known)</b>	<b>Location (If Known)</b>	<b>Wedding Date</b>
Tom Campbell	Nancy Gordon		April 1943
Frank X. Daily	Gloria Joy		April 1943
Donald F. Peters	Helen Wood		June 1943
Duane Kacina	Eleanor MacDonald		June 1943
Wilford C. Doss	Mary McCrae	Appleton Chapel	August 1943
Norm Brown	Janet		October 1944
Don Phillips	Beth Bidwell	Appleton Chapel	November 1944
Bob Shepherd		Appleton Chapel	November 1944
Fred Drexler		Appleton Chapel	November 1944
Jason Widmer		Appleton Chapel	December 1944
John Schirmer		Appleton Chapel	January 1945
Sam Nikkel		Appleton Chapel	January 1945
Lou Swain			February 1945
John White			February 1945
(F.N. Unknown) Dye			March 1945
Howie Busby			April 1945
Jack Cornwell			May 1945
(F.N. Unknown) Michaels			June 1945
E.H. Busbice			June 1945
Ernie Hyne			July 1945
Ernie Mataset	Jane Peterson		
Nat LaRocca			
Bob Berra			
Robespierre Foley			
Bob Grinaker			
(F.N. Unknown) Fish	Margie		

While the men who got married were widely congratulated on the event, some of their peers were also openly critical of aspects of married life. When Fred Drexler got married in November 1944, he was described as leaving “the happy ranks of us bachelors and descend[ing] into the arena of marital strife.”<sup>237</sup> “The boys now seem to be divided into two classes,” Larry Hyde commented in July 1945. “Those who have unlimited time

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<sup>237</sup> Cronin, “The Lucky Bag.”

for extracurricular work in Boston and those who can't leave home at night, i.e., the brave married men.”<sup>238</sup> Of his married peers: “We watch Mrs. Dye and Mrs. Busby dutifully watching for their husbands at the end of the pay line last week and wondered if they didn't bring some of the stark reality of married life home to those contemplating the step in June.”<sup>239</sup>

For many who took “the step,” along with wives came children. Child care was available through the Philips Brooks House on campus for those who needed it – and many of them would.<sup>240</sup> Some of the older student-officers arrived already married and with children. Others would become fathers during their time as a student in the Wartime Schools, including several in the spring and summer of 1943 – Herb Goldner (February), Frank Pinet (April), and Ed Unwin (July) – all of whom were celebrated by their peers and by the faculty.<sup>241</sup>

As with the older student-officers, the military officers serving as faculty and staff at the Wartime Schools often brought their families to Boston, too. Students profiled them in the *Harvard Crimson*, and talked about their spouses and children.<sup>242</sup> The wives of the senior officers often played host at events, helped organize teas and social events

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<sup>238</sup> Hyde, “The Lucky Bag,” July 12, 1945.

<sup>239</sup> Hyde, “The Lucky Bag,” June 8, 1945.

<sup>240</sup> “University's War Pamphlet Tells All to 3500 Officers: History of College, Guide, Map Provided,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 5, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/3/5/universitys-war-pamphlet-tells-all-to/>.

<sup>241</sup> Cole, “Ward Room Topics: Navy Supply Corps School”; “The Navy Supply Corps School: Midshipmen”; Roth, “Straight Dope,” July 16, 1943.

<sup>242</sup> J.D. Wilson, “Ward Room Topics: Juniors,” *Harvard Crimson*, July 23, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/7/23/ward-room-topics-pthe-big-event/>; “AAFTTS: From Major Heflin,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 19, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/2/19/aafdds-pthe-officer-candidates-at-the/>.

for the wives of the student-officers, and helped run fundraising efforts for Navy Relief and the American Red Cross.<sup>243</sup>

For female staff working with the all-male students, there were other challenges. Some of the older women developed motherly relationships with the young student-officers, but some of the younger ones became objects of their attention. Tommy Donovan went on a date in September 1944 with Nancy, the Foreign Resources class grader. Not only was the date reported in the *Crimson*, but the newspaper also listed the names of other students she had dated before.<sup>244</sup> In April 1944, Navy Supply Corps School student A.E. Wulffaert reported that men are “wearing black these days as a result of the recent announcement that Mrs. Monnahan has re-engaged herself in wedlock.”<sup>245</sup> (Mrs. Monnahan is believed to be one of the cleaning staff in the dorm.) Elsewhere, a female staff member named Helen, “is back from her vacation and so again the corridor will be lined with gaping young wolves from 0850 to 0859.”<sup>246</sup> In a profile of Florence Joan Lupo, one of the female civilian staff members at the Navy Supply Corps School:

One hundred and twenty-five pounds of good humor, five feet five and eyes of hazel, “Miss Lupe” thinks Midshipmen are “swell says,” and she’s sure we’ll make the world’s best officers. Being very coy about her social life, all Lupo would say is, “Yes, I have dated ensigns,” and “No, I’ve never been out with a Midshipman.”<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Among many examples: “House Masters Hold Tea for Midshipmen: Men Visit Leverett and Eliot after Viewing Yard’s Sights,” *Harvard Crimson*, March 15, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/3/15/house-masters-hold-tea-for-midshipmen/>.

<sup>244</sup> Shindler, “The Lucky Bag: ‘Life, Fife, Cost of Sales, How Many Tons in Thirty Bales?’”

<sup>245</sup> A.E. Wulffaert, “The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 14, 1944, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1944/4/14/the-lucky-bag-peven-the-singing/>.

<sup>246</sup> Cousins and Cronin, “The Lucky Bag: Navy Supply Corps Midshipmen Officers School,” August 18, 1944.

<sup>247</sup> M.J. Roth, “NSCS Midshipmen,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 23, 1943, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1943/4/23/nscs-midshipmen-pbefore-geting-to-the/>.

Amusingly, as the faculty, staff, and students were often all invited to the same social events, some unmarried faculty found themselves trying to get the attention of a specific woman, only to find themselves vying for it against a Wartime Schools student. At a school dance in June 1943, “one of the Faculty officers found himself cut in on by a student – naturally no one from his class. But all the students in the instructor’s class were very careful to keep away from the officer who cut in lest they be linked, even indirectly, with the deed.”<sup>248</sup>

### Conclusion

In many ways, the Wartime Schools student’s social lives mirrored those of their civilian predecessors at Harvard before World War II, and even those of their civilian counterparts elsewhere at the University in the 1940s. Social activities such as movies, concerts, and dances were plentiful and open to all, and were common occurrences before the attack on Pearl Harbor. At the same time, there were stark differences. The older Wartime Schools students often arrived at Harvard with wives and children, which would have been highly unusual for Harvard students in the pre-war years. Additionally, the accelerated nature of the Wartime School student’s education – with programs just a few months long – meant that the student-officers were either looking to avoid long-term relationships (as they would soon be broken up by orders for the student-officers go off to war), or in a rush to get serious fast, given that they would be leaving campus in just a few months.

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<sup>248</sup> Wilson, “The Navy Supply Corps School: Juniors,” July 1, 1943.

## Chapter VII

### Conclusions

This thesis answered the question, in what ways did the Wartime Schools students engage with, and become a part of, the Harvard community? The evidence shows that in almost every regard, the Wartime Schools students fully engaged in, and integrated with, the Harvard Business School, Harvard University, and greater Boston community. Additionally, in the limited time they had on campus, they created for themselves an experience very similar to that of civilian students before the war, and by contemporaneous students elsewhere at Harvard.

Academically, the Wartime Schools students fully embraced the case method of teaching that was at the heart of the Harvard Business School. Similarly, HBS adapted its research efforts and academic materials to meet the needs of the military. Whether in class, completing homework, or taking exams, the student-officers experienced what in most regards can be described as a typical academic experience during their time on campus. Off campus, they were welcomed at manufacturing plants and company offices around the region, learning from companies that were involved in the war effort, could demonstrate best practices, or otherwise bring classroom lessons to life for the students.

Athletically, the students filled a void on sports teams and athletic fields, filling in for civilian students who had left the University and gone off to war, while many peer institutions chose to significantly reduce or shut down their athletic programs instead. In addition to their involvement with traditional athletics – baseball, football, golf, etc. – the

Wartime Schools students also undertook military conditioning activities, and the civilian students joined them. Calisthenics and marching were common, unifying activities for everyone at Harvard during World War II. The student-officers embraced athletics during their time at Harvard, and the Harvard athletic programs, in need of players and in support of the war effort, welcomed them with open arms.

The Wartime Schools students moved beyond just the classrooms and athletic fields while at Harvard, taking up roles in various student clubs. From writing and editing student newspapers, to creating and selling class yearbooks, to engaging with religious and service organizations, the Wartime Schools students embraced the extracurricular opportunities available to them while part of the Harvard community, and sought to find ways to stay active and engaged in their limited free time. Perhaps most critically, they became active contributors to the *Harvard Crimson*, leaving behind a legacy of thousands of letters and articles that documented their thoughts and actions, and shed light on the people and places that were important to them, and which ultimately provided the foundation for this thesis.

Socially, the Wartime Schools students were extremely active at HBS, across the University, and in the greater Boston area. They were invited to attend events while at the school, and they jumped at the chance. Wartime Schools students were regularly seen at the movies, in the audience at concerts and performances, and at the popular hot spots around the city. They dated, too, trying to start relationships with college students from Wellesley and Radcliffe, and with local residents and occasionally with the female staff members at the University.

### Additional Scholarship

This thesis systematically examined the academic, athletic, extracurricular, and social lives of the Wartime Schools students to ultimately answer the core research question. While doing so, it also generated other questions, many of which are worthy of additional scholarship.

What role did spouses play in the Harvard community during World War II? They appear to have been seen a single group by social hosts, invited collectively to events. Did they serve as a cohesive element across all the military personnel at the University, or did they perceive themselves as being associated simply with the school their spouse attended?

How were the small number of civilian students who remained at Harvard during World War II impacted by the large military presence on campus? The campus was physically transformed around them, and the student body changed just as dramatically. Did they feel they got a true Harvard experience while students? How strongly were they connected to the University after graduation compared to their peers?

Did the Harvard civilians (students, faculty, and staff) distinguish between the different military schools and branches on campus, or did they see the military personnel as a single cohesive group? Did it matter who was in the Navy and who was in the Army, or who was at the Soil School and who was at a Naval Training School? If so, how did those perceived differences result in different behaviors or relationships, if at all?

And lastly, what was the long-term impact to Harvard Business School from the decision to focus exclusively on the Wartime Schools during World War II? The Wartime Schools impacted every aspect of HBS' existence for a half-decade. What

aspects of the Wartime Schools did HBS retain after the end of World War II, and which did they discard? Was the existence of the Wartime School at all responsible for the success of HBS in the second half of the twentieth century?

### Closing Thoughts

The students studied in this thesis demonstrated a remarkable ability to be military officers and college students simultaneously, embracing all that Harvard had to offer in the limited amount of time they had on campus. That said, it was not an exact replication of what their civilian peers experienced. The examination of the social lives of the Wartime Schools students provides examples of where the student-officers lived lives separate from the majority of the University, and different from their civilian peers. Many were married, and some had children. Additionally, more than two dozen of them arrived on campus as bachelors, and left as engaged or married men. These Wartime Schools students balanced their obligations as officers with the demands of the Harvard academic experience, and had to take care of wives and families on top of all of that. They stood apart from their peers – they were not out on the town as often, and frequently lived off-campus – having to pick and choose how they spent their time while managing a multitude of demands.

But perhaps the greatest divide between the students examined in this thesis and their pre-war civilian peers is the matter of destiny. For decades prior to 1941, most students who spent time at Harvard knew they would leave campus after graduation and take up a career in business, academia, or government, establish a family, and live a quiet, successful life. That idyllic expectancy was shattered on December 7, 1941. The

sound of the bombs that exploded in Pearl Harbor would resonate across the Harvard campus for the next five years. From 1942 to 1945, the students who graduated from Harvard knew that they and their friends were heading to the bloody European Theater or to any number of contested islands that dotted the Pacific Ocean. Their jobs would not be in corner offices, but on battleships and in trenches. They would carry the tools of business in one hand, and a weapon in the other. They would salute before they shook hands.

They had been Harvard students, but they were graduates of Wartime Schools.

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