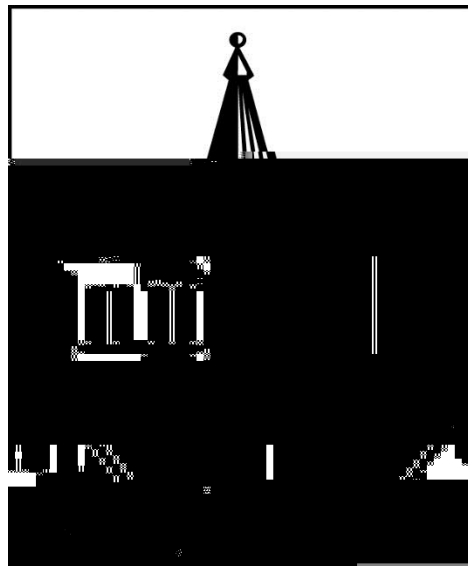


**THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT  
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**LETTER FROM THE EDITOR**

Dear Readers,

I am pleased to present to you ~~the~~ *2013-2014 University of Vermont History Review*, which











The traversing column, heavily loaded down with weapons and ammunition, had a difficult march through thick brush on the mountainside. At noon, Company I reached a shoulder of the mountain and reached a point from which they looked directly down on Torbole. There they halted. During the march north they had lost radio contact with the battalion command post, which had moved by this time into Tunnel 5. Very few the scheduled plan of attack on the town, including many of the NCOs, and the column remained immobile.<sup>14</sup> The hesitation of Company I left Company L moving against the objective alone.

There is evidence that Company L had to fight its way to the south edge of Torbole.

contact and organize the forward elements for the attack. His efforts were apparently successful, and movement toward the objective soon resumed. Company I was to take the mountain and attack Torbole, while Company K remained in reserve on the heights. Lt. Elufson, the commander of Company I, met with his platoon leaders and NCOs to observe the situation and select a route of approach. At the bottom of the steep slope could see a corridor of olive trees abutted by rock walls on either side, and determined to use that cover to get within striking distance of the town.

The 148 men of Company I set off down the mountain in single file, on a diagonal course to enter the town from the southeast. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Platoon led the column, followed by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Platoons, in that order. Largely due to their exhausted state, things quickly began to fall apart. They were spotted by German snipers in the town, who fired two shots, both of which missed, before



elements of Company M that were with the column, perhaps an additional forty men. Bernard Walcuz took over command of Platoon, Company I, which also followed in the movement toward the objective. In total, the attack was made by a force of approximately 255 men.

Their descent from the heights began at 2015. As the sun set behind the sharp mountains to the west, Allied planes bombed and strafed the German positions, but the infantry was able to move down the hillside undetected and without casualties. It would seem that the Allied air sorties caused the Germans to withdraw their armored vehicles. No sources make any mention of the panzers and self-propelled artillery that had barred Company I from advancing into the town being present by this time. Had the armored vehicles maintained their positions they would equally have blocked the approach made by Company K, but the second attack encountered only infantry. A German withdrawal of their armored forces in response to the allied air attack provides a reasonable explanation for their disappearance, though they may have run out of ammunition.

En route to Torbole, the K Company column crossed a large, barren, rocky plateau before making the final descent toward town. There they were pinned down by fire from three German snipers and two men with MP40 submachine guns. By rushing from rock to rock, they were able to gain the cover of a grove of trees at the base of the hill. Sgts. William Holbrook of the 3<sup>d</sup> Platoon of Company K nearly jumped into a foxhole before discovering that it was already occupied by a German soldier, who was then made a prisoner. Upon interrogation, the German revealed that there were three tanks and infantry from a number of different units in the immediate vicinity. The prisoner was sent to the rear, and Company K organized to move on the objective.

It was after dark when the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> Platoons of Company K advanced from the grove of trees to the edge of town, and immediately lost contact with the 2<sup>d</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Platoons. They searched and cleared the first house they encountered, and established the company command post and aid station inside. The 1<sup>st</sup> Platoon headed into the town itself, followed by the 3<sup>d</sup> Platoon. In the dark streets, eight figures were seen walking up the road from the direction of the tunnels. Company L was expected to attack from that direction, so the men held their fire until the J U R X S T V F R Q W L Q X H G D S E U G R D F K S o l d i e r s Y E D P a r t y K o p e n e d F i r e W R E which the Germans immediately returned, and a firefight developed.

Alerted to the infiltration, Germans began shooting from every direction. A machinegun held up one portion of the advance, and T/Sgt. Claude Ford led forward alone to



Torbole appeared to be firmly in American hands by 2200, and Company L moved up the road, leaving all or part of 3 Platoon in reserve south of town. Within an hour Company L was beginning to take up a defensive posture alongside Company K. Placement of the machineguns was almost complete when the enemy returned.

The moment the German counterattack began was a memorable one, for several sources vividly describe their experience of it. One unidentified soldier of Company K recalled that 3 DV 6 JW 5 HO \ HD FDPH XS WR Wd had Die Guns and began to fire X S K L orders, two tanks, up the road about 75 yards, began to fire on the buildings we were in. Until now everyone had been merely standing around; now we raced upstairs and took up firing SRVLWLRQV L Q St. Carr Z L QGRZV









Torbole soon became the target of a warm German artillery fire which diminished throughout the day, largely silenced by the US Army Air Corps. DUKW amphibious landing craft arrived at the town marina to deliver artillery pieces and evacuate the wounded by water. The Germans pulled out of Riva that afternoon, and headed for the Alpine passes and the Austrian border. That evening, after a long period of quiet, the Germans fired a parting shot from an 88mm gun. It detonated above a group of officers in conference beside the marina, wounding several, and killing Sgt. Maj. Evans and Col. William Darby, of the 5th Division, who earned a posthumous Medal of Honor for his actions. The shell that killed Col. Darby has received far more attention from modern historians than the sixteen hours of battle that preceded it. Two major books about the division have been written about the shell that killed Col. Darby, and the fame of the shell has eclipsed the fame of the battle.

The shell that killed Col. Darby has received far more attention from modern historians than the sixteen hours of battle that preceded it. Two major books about the division have been

foothills at the end of April.<sup>77</sup> One such outfit, Kampfgruppe Bosco, was tasked with holding the western flank of the Blue Line from Lake Garda east through the Adige Valley as commanded by Oberst (Colonel) Rudolf Boehmler, and was comprised of the remnants of the 94<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, reinforced by the faculties and students of a German paratrooper school and an SS mountain school, and by three replacement battalions of the 14<sup>th</sup> Fallschirmjäger Division.<sup>78</sup> A picture emerges wherein the Germans initially encountered at Torbole were a conglomerate force, comprised of some combination of air and service troops, students from the war schools, likely tempered with numbers of veterans from several divisions who were banded together as an emergency expedient. The intelligence provided by a German spy, SULVRQHU WKDW WKH LQLWLD O \*HUPDQ IRUFH FRQVLVWH, lends weight to this interpretation. Additionally, the bodies of two SS soldiers were discovered on the slope east of town after the fighting, and a third was discovered nearby as late as August 1979.<sup>80</sup>

The counterattack may have been made by reinforcements from the veteran 94<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division. In response to an alarm, that division sent a battalion-strength force to the north end of Lake Garda, where they were engaged with US forces. A set of maps included with the *Combat History of the 10<sup>th</sup> Mountain Division: 1944-45* was used in several works authored by veterans. One such map contains an image of the direction of the 94<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division Headquarters at Rovereto toward Torbole confronting the mountain troops there.<sup>81</sup> The 7<sup>th</sup> Pioneer Battalion was commanded by Major Joachim Fischer. A circumstantial claim can be made that this battalion, or reinforced remnants of it, comprised the forces sent.

Due to the ad hoc, conglomerate nature of the German force and the resulting breakdown in record keeping, German casualties at Torbole may never be known with certainty. The Gruppo Culturale Nagò Torbole relates that over one hundred Germans fell, with a dozen more captured.<sup>82</sup> This figure likely includes those killed in the botched demolition of Tunnel 5, leaving something over seventy Wehrmacht troops killed, wounded or captured during the fighting in Torbole. A fairly accurate estimate can be made of the casualties sustained by the 86<sup>th</sup> Mountain Infantry Regiment. Excluding the round that felled Col. Darby, casualties by company were as follows; I Company: 2 killed, 17 wounded; K Company: 1 killed, 18 wounded, 3 captured (some of those captured may be among those counted as wounded); L Company: 18 wounded. Casualties from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion Headquarters

<sup>77</sup> Senger und Etterlin, 302.

<sup>78</sup> Luca Valente *Dieci giorni di guerra: 22 aprile ±* PDJJLR OD ULWLUDWD WHGHVFD H O 1 in *Veneto e Trentino* (Verona Italy: Cierre edizioni, 2006), 214.

<sup>79</sup> 3 5 L W W H U N U H X ] W U I J H U 5 X G R O S K % | K P O H U 2 E H U V W ) D O O V F K L U P M I J H und WaffenSS 1939/1945, accessed December 28, 2013. <http://www.ritterkreuztruppe.de> 45.de/Luftwaffe/B/BBoehmlerRudolf.htm.

<sup>80</sup> Gruppo Culturale Nagò 7 R U E R O H 3 1 D J R - H 7 R U E R O H W U R Y D P H Q W R G L X Q 6 6 ' Penede, no. 5 (Dec. 1995), 286.

<sup>81</sup> Bernhard Steinmetz *Erinnerungsbuch der 94. Infanterie Division an die Kriegsjahre 1939-1945: Lieferung 4, 1943-1945, Einsatz in Italien* (Hannover, Germany, 1973), 33.

<sup>82</sup> Meinke, 355365.

<sup>83</sup> Bernhard Steinmetz *Erinnerungsbuch der 94. Infanterie Division*, 37.

<sup>84</sup> Gruppo Culturale Nagò 7 R U E R O H 3 1 D J R - H 7 R U E R O H W U R Y D P H Q W R G L X Q 6 6 ' (

<sup>85</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion, 8<sup>th</sup>, Q I D Q W U \ 5 H J L P H Q W . L O O H G D Q G : R X Q G H G L Q \$ F W L R Q ' ( Archivist Dennis Hagen, 1 1 0 0 1 90.024 64 0 0 190.411 0 771 321.05 89.424 Tm -0.00144 Tc(th)] TJ ET BT /F3 9.



LW ZDV WKH RQO\ LQVWDQFH RI SURORQJHG VWUHHW IL  
being ignored, the Battle of ~~Ti~~ ought to take a place alongside Riva Ridge, Mount Belvedere, Rocca Roffeno, and other battles by which the Mountain Division gained and maintained its reputation as one of the best American fighting units of World War Two. On 3 May 1945, General Hays gave a speech to the men in praise of their outstanding performance during the war. Standing on the back of a DUKW amphibious vehicle parked in the rubble

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TO BE OR NOT TO BE? APPROACHES TO GERMAN JEWISH SUICIDES  
DURING THE THIRD REICH

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MEAGAN INGALLS

7 R E H R U Q R W W R E H W K D W L V W K H T X H V W L R Q  
in the mind to suffer the stings of arrows of outrageous fortune,  
or to take arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them?  
Shakespeare *Hamlet*

Against the backdrop of Nazi racial policy, nearly 10,000 German Jews made the decision to end their own lives.

In his work *On Suicide: A Discourse on Voluntary Death*, Holocaust survivor and essayist Jean Amery analyzes suicide from the point of view of those who are or have been suicidal. Amery adamantly rejects the pejorative words for suicide, especially the German word *Selbstmord*, which translates to self-killing. He argues that suicide is an act of freedom, and dignity. Rather than endure an existence filled with physical and emotional pain, helplessness, isolation, or degradation, he suggests that people commit suicide to maintain their freedom of their situation, rather than giving themself over to it. He argues that suicide is a way to maintain one's freedom and dignity.











Kristallnacht to arrest C., he locked himself in the bedroom and refused to open the door for the landlady. Eventually, she broke the glass panel on the door and unlocked it from the inside. As the Gestapo flooded into the room, a panicked C. leapt from the window to his death.<sup>33</sup> The fear of the unknown had driven him frantic and, seeing no other way out, he ended his life. Kaplan provides a chilling account of a similar act of despair committed in the wake of the 1 RYHPEHU SRJURP 2QH -HZLVK ZRPDQ VHQVLQJ WKH KR begged her husband to accompany her into voluntary death. Her husband refused and both made an agreement that the only way they would commit suicide would be together. Yet when her husband was arrested on a trivial matter, she grew increasingly distressed and gassed herself in her home. Her final letter to her husband and children is filled with anxiety:

Please try to understand me. I am desperate, crushed without hope. F D Q ¶ W  
 continue WR EUHDWKH , DP DIUDLG RI WKH SULVRQ ZDOO  
 PH WKDW , OHDYH \RX OLNH WKLW , DP SRZHUOHVV «  
 perspiring with fright day and night.<sup>34</sup>

The tone and language is unmistakably that of a distraught woman. Her action is not an effort to maintain dignity or communicate her non-cooperation with the Nazis. Rather, it is an act of despair and utter hopelessness.

Yet suicide in late 1938 was not solely an act of despair or fear. There were other more calculated suicides that may fall under the category of opposition and non-conformity. The suicide and farewell note of Hedwig Jastrow is an example of such a suicide undertaken in response to her dissatisfaction with Nazism. Only weeks after Kristallnacht, the 76-year old former teacher took her own life after learning she would be evicted from her flat. Before her final act, she drafted this poetic farewell letter:

Nobody must undertake any attempts to save the life of someone who does not want to live! It is not an accident, nor an attack of depression. Someone leaves her life whose family has had German citizenship for one hundred years, following an oath and always kept this oath. For forty years, I have taught German children and have helped them in all misery and for much longer, I have done welfare work for the German Volk GXULQJ ZDU DQG SHDFH , I want to live without a Fatherland, without Heimat, without citizenship, without a flat, being outlawed and HD I D P ¶ G «

Like Fritz Rosenfelder, Jastrow is unable to live under the current regime. The shame of being evicted from her apartment and home, physically and symbolically, was too much for her to EH DU 8 OWLPDWHO \ - DVWURZ ¶ Ver teilsafts behenved wknthe DQLIH VRFLHW \ WKDW VKH ORYHV DQG WKDW KDV EHHQ KHU IDP DFW R D VWHHQIWLRLQ RI KHU ULJKW WR N ¶ HS FRQWURO RYH , Q \HW DQRWKHU UHVSHDFW VD P W O B Z ¶ W \ V W R F 5 B V H Q I H VXUH WKDW RWKHUV NQRZ WKDW KHU VXLFLGH ZDV 3QRW

<sup>33</sup> Goeschel, *Suicide in Nazi Germany*, 103.  
<sup>34</sup> Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 182.  
<sup>35</sup> Goeschel, *Suicide in Nazi Germany*, 103.  
<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

final words emphasize her commitment to her German Fatherland and the work she has done to secure its freedom and ~~sure~~ its future. Nowhere in the letter does she condemn the Nazi regime for her position. Though it is certainly passionate and poetic, the tone is not accusatory. ~~RU GHVSHUDWH 5DWKHU~~ *Does not mean* [SURHVLMM VQREMOVKDWW] ~~OL~~ A différence that may seem pedantic but in actuality bears significant difference. Jastrow departs voluntarily, not as an act of despair, but an act of opposition to a regime whose legislation has threatened her personal freedom and dignity.

It may QRZ EH SUXGHQW WR UHWXUQ WR \$PHU\¶V WKHR it can aptly be applied to the phenomenon of German Jewish suicide at certain stages of Nazi SROLF\ 7KH LGHD RI VXLFLGH DV ³YROXQVDDVUUGRZD WKLQ DFWV DQG OHWWHUV 5RVHQIHOGHU FOHDUO\ VWDWHV V EHFDXVH KH FDQ QR ORQJHU VWDQG WR OLYH LQ D VRFL PLUURUV VLPLODU VHQWLP and live with our Fatherland. *Mat*,<sup>3</sup> GRHVQ¶

DVNHG IRU 7KHNOD¶V PRQRORJXH DQG ZH ORRNHG I  
OHDUQHG D KXQGUHG RI 6FKLOOHU¶V SRHPV E\ KHDU  
RU OHVV«¶\$QG WKHQ VKH ZDVKHG KHUVHOI YHU\ W  
garments, plaited her hair, remembering KHU IDOVH WHHWK DQG OD\ GRZG  
D ODUJH TXDQWLW\ RI VOHHS<sup>43</sup>LQJ WDEOHV«LQ WKH

7KH ROG ZRPDQ¶V ILQDO PRPHQWV DV REVHUYHG E\ H  
desperation. She recalls happy moments of her childhood ~~and~~ <sup>with</sup> children, reading passages  
from beloved German classics and reciting poetry. Each action she undertook had a purpose,

of being deported, she leapt from the lavatory window and died on the way to ~~pit~~<sup>pit</sup> 17s  
In examining the way in which Z. took her own life, it is easy to assume that her act was motivated by sheer terror and desperation. Her decision to commit suicide appears to be a hasty and spontaneous decision as the Gestapo began breaking ~~down~~<sup>down</sup> her. Facing certain arrest, her options must have seemed limited to deportation or death by her own hand. The violent act of jumping out of the window is a direct contrast to the typical means of suicide among German Jews who mostly tried to end their ~~lives~~<sup>lives</sup> in a peaceful and dignified manner, and undoubtedly reflects a measure of despair.<sup>48</sup>

Motives behind German Jewish suicides, especially between the years 1941 and 1943,



men.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps even more telling was that, of these older Jewish women left in Germany, many were widowed and this increasing social and physical isolation is clearly visible in their high numbers of suicide. Their children and grandchildren, like much of the Jewish youth, had more opportunities to emigrate before the ban in October 1941, and those who were not able to do so had a better chance of hiding than their parents or grandparents. Middle-aged and elderly Jewish women were also less apt to leave their homes and the familiarity that, in most cases, their situation gradually became clear, more and more Jewish women exercised agency in the only way available to them. As demonstrated, their motivations ranged from despair to opposition, specifically a desire to maintain human dignity and assert control.

With each wave of exclusionary measures leveled against the Jews of Germany, suicides occurred by the hundreds and, eventually, by the thousands. Responding to Nazi policy, peaks of Jewish suicide directly correlated with events such as the Jewish boycott in April 1933, the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, the Anschluss and November pogrom of 1938, and finally, the deportations beginning in 1941. While it is clear that there exists a distinguishable pattern of Jewish suicide during the Third Reich, clear are the motivations behind the phenomenon. Whether motivated by an extreme desire to express agency and retain their dignity, or by fear and despair, more than 10,000 German Jews took their own lives from 1933 to 1945.<sup>52</sup>

The study of German Jewish suicides offers a unique window into the social psyche of an entire community and their response to Nazi persecution. As Goeschel suggests, German Jews, alienated from society; they were convinced that the society in which they could exist had been destroyed. Suicide, then, what seems the embodiment of a choiceless choice, presented Jews with a rare opportunity to control their own fate, and thus, was a viable alternative to Nazi persecution.

<sup>51</sup> Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 182-3.

<sup>52</sup> . ZLHW 37KH 8OWLPDWH 5HIXJH '

<sup>53</sup> Goeschel, *Suicide in Nazi Germany*, 117.



work, then, is meant remedy this oversight, namely by elucidating much of the context surrounding the creation of this document, its role as a reflection of Puritan values and dilemmas, and the significance of its use as a constantly evolving and often employed early bill of rights. As a whole, this analysis will attempt to fill an otherwis

inferiour sort in which should be reserved *inter optimates penese quos est sancire leges* [between the leaders that sanction the laws]<sup>7</sup>

21 FRXUVH :DUG ¶ V YLHZV RI WKH WRZQVIRON- DV DQ 3  
 LQVSLUHG VFRUQ UDWKHU WKDQ D PRUH FRQFUHWH OHJD  
 RI :DUG ¶ V <sup>Willingness to compose the</sup> *Body of Liberties* in spite of his apparent  
 belief in the inferiority of the common people, though it is an important notion to keep in mind  
 when discussing potential biases within the document itself. Indeed, despite this <sup>widely</sup>  
 EHOLHI DPRQJ PDQ\ RI WKH OHDG <sup>How power structure began</sup> ¶ Q\ :LQ  
 WR EH 3JUDGXDOO\ VXSSOHPHQWHG E\ DQ LQFUHDVLRQJ H  
 7KH DXWKRU ¶ V XVH RI 3VXSSOHPHQWHG <sup>is that this was not</sup> ¶ DWDQW  
 sudden and revolutionary populist change of heart by the Puritan leaders by any stretch of the  
 LPDJLQDWLRQ 7KLV LV UHDOGLO\ DSSDUHQW LQ :DUG DQO  
 well as the relatively slow and polite manner <sup>in which</sup> the *Body of Liberties* was eventually  
 created. Even with the *Body of Liberties* there remained a heavily authoritarian system at play,  
 though certainly the document still represents an extremely significant shift in the legal and  
 societal history of the colony. The reason for this gradual shift is quite simple: the magistrates  
 had become too powerful for their own good. John Ward Dean writes <sup>in his</sup> *Rev.*  
*Nathaniel Ward* WKDW 3WKH SHRSOH KDG HDUO\ GHVLUHG VXFK  
 OHIW ZLWK WKH PDJLVWUDWHV WKD <sup>The locks on firing the</sup> GHUHG  
 PDJLVWUDWH ¶ <sup>Body of Liberties undoubtedly</sup> gives credence to the fact that the  
 :LQWKURS ¶ V EHOLHI LQ WKH OLP <sup>restraint of these impositions</sup> FRQVFL  
 RI SRZHU KDG TXLFNO\ EHHQ GLVSURYHQ 7KH PDJLVWUD  
 WKH SUHSDUDWLRQ RI D FRGH ´ GHPRQVWUDWLQJ HYHQ I  
 as a restraint on their power <sup>was not</sup> KRZHYHU VLP SO\ WKH GHVLUH V  
 power that led to the creation of <sup>the</sup> *Body of Liberties*; the increasing turmoil in England led to  
 less and less fear of violating the colonial charter, and thus made the writing of a code of laws  
 more and more conceivable. It is not coincidence that the code was passed only a year before  
 WKH RIILFLDO EHJLQQLQJ RI WKH (QJOLVK & LYLO :DU :LW



& R W W R Q « D Q G 0 U 6 K H S D U G N E Z H D J G U H Q I W U 6 T H E C O D E B Y Z I T E « W R P D  
demonstrates both the longstanding desire for a codification as well as the deliberate and cautious pace the colony took in preparing this code. Interestingly, Nathaniel Ward was not included in the list of names originally Q D O O \ 3 H Q W U H D W H G « W R P D N H D G U D  
will see he quickly became heavily involved. The general court then made the significant choice in ordering that

The freemen of every town (or some part thereof chose by the rest) within this jurisdiction shall assemble together in their several towns and collect the heads of such Q H F H V V D U \ D Q G I X Q G D P H Q W D O « D Z V D V P D \ Governor, together with the H V W R I W K H 6 W D Q G L Q J & R X Q F L O D Q : D U G « P D \ X S R Q W K H  
: Heads of Towns, Make a Compendious abridgement of the same

This distinctly democratic move is of particular importance in multiple ways. First, it gives J U H D W H U F U H G H Q F H W R W K H L Q J H Q X L W \ R I : D U G \ V F R Q V document was formed via the suggestions of the people, and thus would of course be F R Q V L G H U H G D V O D Z V E \ D O O X Q G H U W K H F R O R Q \ \ V M X U desire for a codification of laws that were specifically Puritan in character. Thus, it was not simply a top-down rejection of English authority, but instead an incredibly significant reflection of widely held Puritan values and worries the society wished to extol and combat. Through this survey, the *Body of Liberties*, though capably written by Ward, an individual, is in fact just as much a document influenced and indirectly written by all of Puritan society

Though Ward from this point on was one of the main players in the creation of a code of laws, it was in fact John Cotton who R N 3 W K H I L U V W F R Q F U H W H V W H S L Q D Z U L W W 8 R W R V R I Q ' Z D V W K H I L U V W W R W D N H W K H J H Q H U D in 1636, and presented his own model to the court in October of 1636. Though the code was never en D F W H G L W L V V W L O O L Q W U L J X L Q J W K D W : D U G \ V Y H







WKL V PD\ EH D SURGXFW RI WKH 3XULWDQ\ V UHODWLYHO  
their relatively progressive and reformist nature.

It is also worth discussing that along with these more general liberties, there were  
3 VSHFLDO OLEHUWLHV DQG SURWHFWLRQV IRU ZRPHQ FK  
common law rules about the right of the paterfamilias rule the home with little state  
LQWHUPTHEHDFH of the disenfranchised parts of the population are outlined from  
clause 79 to 93, specifically the liberties of women, children, servants, foreigners and strangers,  
DQG 3EUXWH FUD\WLFHV RI WKH 1850s. These rights would be sorely missed in the still  
FRPH %LOO RI 5LJKWV PRVW QRWDEO\ WKH H[SOLFWR EDQ  
WDNHQ LQ MXVW ZDUV DQG VXFK VWUDQJHV 36 The Law ZLOOLQ



towards a more modern system of public civil codes swung into full force in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Though Massachusetts was not the only Puritan colony in the Americas, its legal system was widely adopted throughout the New England colonies, laying the foundational political and ecclesiastical influence in New England, the center of the American Revolution, and the leader in the development of the American legal system. The *Body of Liberties*, which allowed for peaceful and civil litigation while at the same time guaranteeing the rights necessary for social stability, can be given partial credit for the rise of Massachusetts into the 18<sup>th</sup> century as the epicenter of colonial resistance in the American Revolution. Thus, the *Body of Liberties* does more than reveal the 17<sup>th</sup> century Puritan character; it is in fact an early affirmation of proto-American culture in all of its faulty glory.

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<sup>46</sup> Haskins, *Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts*, 223.







and ammunition carriers due to their ability to slip past British lines safely. Despite the 3URFODPDWLRQ¶V UKHWRULF RI HTXDO RSSRUWXQLW\ IRU consciously kept from combat roles or even exhibiting a soldierly appearance. According to Ann MDWWKHZV¶ UHVHDUFK RQ 5HSXEOLFDQ ZRPHQ GXULQJ WK in military style uniform: Constance Markievicz and Margaret Skinnider<sup>20</sup> Markievicz, a longtime nationalist and member of the Irish Citizen Army, was also the only woman to occupy any sort of command position throughout the Rising as well as arousing considerable bewilderment at her military jacket, trousers, and prominently displayed pistol. Skinnider would later attempt to claim the pension offered to veterans of the Easter Rising, only to be denied on the grounds that the SROLF\ ZDV <sup>3</sup>RQO\ DSSOLFDEOH WR VROGLHUV<sup>21</sup> As such, the construction of Irish rebels as explicitly masculine was secured in law as well as public consciousness.

The contrast between the egalitarian language of the Proclamation and conditions on the ground can be ascribed to the fact that the Irish shared the Catholic values of most Irish people. Of the signatories to the Proclamation, trade union OHDGHU -DPHV &RQQROO\ DORQH UHFRJQLJHG WKH QHGH IF OLEHUDWLRQ IDPRXVO\ VWDWLQJ <sup>3</sup>WKH ZRUNHU LV WKH VODYH RI WKDAM, who the Irish Citizen Army did not fully integrate women into combat duties, female members were trained in the use of firearms and issued revolvers before setting out on Easter Monday DQG DFFRUGLQJ WR ODUNLHYL Flead WKH\ V YDQV´ WR IHH<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, it was clear that rebellion in service to Ireland was SULPDULO\ PDQ¶V ZRUN DQG LW LV WHOOLQJ WKDW ZKHQ 3 April 29<sup>th</sup>, women were chosen to deliver the message to British soldiers. After 6 days, 450 deaths DQG WKH GHVWUXFWLRQ RI ODUJH SDUWV RI 'XEOLQ¶V FLV volunteers either slipped away from their posts or surrendered to the British Army.<sup>25</sup>

Though they had acted on behalf of all Ireland, after their surrender the Easter rebels were widely condemned by the population of Dublin who had been made to endure a week of street fighting, looting, and chaos. As they were marched from their garrisons to British prison, crowds of Dubliners heaped abuse on the defeated rebels. Interestingly, a singular target of this scorn was <sup>3</sup>WKH &RXQWHVV¶V >ODUNLH<sup>26</sup>, which offended the conservative social values of the Irish. This small instance of gender dissension would be the outrage towards WKH <sup>3</sup>FULPLQDOV WU\DWLWLRQ against the British, and the scorn would VRRQ WUDQVIRUP GUDVWLFDOO\ DQG IXOILOO 3HDUVH¶V SU

Most historians agree that while the Irish population initially opposed to the Rising, %ULWDLQ¶V KDUVK VXSSUHVVLQJ RI GLVVLGHQWV DQG VXE swayed public opinion in favor of Republicanism.<sup>28</sup> HVSLWH WKH WRWDO IDLOXH military objectives, the UHEHOV¶ WHQDFLRXV HIIRUWV DQG XSULJK <sup>3</sup>VXFFHHGHG LQ SURYLQJ WKDW ,ULVKPHQ DUH UH DG\ WR G

<sup>20</sup> Ann Matthews *Renegades: Irish Republican Women 1900-1922* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2010), 124.

<sup>21</sup> Defense Forces of Ireland, "Military Service Pensions Collection."

<sup>22</sup> James Connolly, *James Connolly: Selected Writings* (London: Pelican Books, 1973), 191.

<sup>23</sup> Matthews 127.

<sup>24</sup> Dworkin, 212.

<sup>25</sup> McGarry, 180.

<sup>26</sup> Griffith, 78.

<sup>27</sup> McGarry, 278.

<sup>28</sup> Moody, 256.

U L J K Following the Easter Rising, fifteen of its leaders were executed in a period  
May 3<sup>rd</sup> and ending with the execution of James Connolly on May 12<sup>th</sup>. The spectacle of closed



WUXVW 6RPH ZHUH EDWWHUG EHIRUH WKH\ FDPH LQ « EXW  
 RXW 2QH WKLQJ , 100 VD\ LV WKDW WKH VSLULW RI WKH P  
 again ±the spirit of self-sacrifice and the courage. I WKHVH PHQ « ZLWK WKH VDPH  
 WKHP<sup>36</sup> A direct counter-example to the tough, courageous Irish rebel was the figure of the  
 KDWHG FROODERUDWRU RU LQIRUPHU GHVFULEHG E\ D YRC  
 bloody sneaking HOORZ´ ZKR KDG <sup>37</sup> SXFN. RI PRQH\ DOO KLV OLIH´

Another major contrast to dignified Republican manhood was the specter of the Black &  
 Tans, a paramilitary auxiliary force of the British Army which became notorious for committing  
 some of the worst atrocities of the conflict. Tom Barry, a top IRA commander during both the War  
 RI , QGHSHQGHHQFH DQG & LYLO :DU GHVFULEHG KLV ORFDO  
 UXWKOHV V NLOOH<sup>38</sup> ZKR ODNUPHGHV RHQ´ROGLHU ¶ WisK. R. RU VXS  
 reign of terror by the Black & Tans also placed the IRA in a familiar position, that of the Catholic  
 defenders protecting the population from a hostile government. This connection with history would  
 not have been lost on the generation of young who grew up on stories from grandparents and  
 neighbors of past rural conflicts with the forces of law & order.

Following the cessation of hostilities and solidification of partition in 1923, the IRA repeatedly attempted to reassert itself and renew its war to expel the British, with dismal results. Successive campaigns throughout the 1930s, 40s, and 50s failed to gain momentum or popular support.<sup>43</sup> When widespread rioting broke out in 1969 and Catholic areas across Northern Ireland were attacked, the IRA was incapable of providing adequate defense due to a lack of arms, personnel, and will to engage in armed conflict. Though the IRA had not been a major force for decades, a generation of young men who grew up in Republican households therefore had vivid male role models from previous generations to look up to who passed down an ideology of masculine violence to the generation of 1969. Brendan Hughes, who became one of the most influential figures within the Provisional IRA during The Troubles, reflected after the conflict was over that the male role models were sacrifice and violent patriotism from an early age.

Catholics a coalition of hard line Republicans and younger men like Brendan Hughes split and formed the Provisional IRA in December 1969, which was determined to not just defend Catholics, but to take the war to the British until they surrendered Northern Ireland.<sup>44</sup> The IRA became known, quickly claimed the traditional mantle of protectors of the downtrodden Catholics. The role of protector was also explicitly gendered as masculine, with Sinn Fein Councilor Francie McKelvey and another man, who said the IRA would defend Catholics widely at the beginning of the conflict. Catholics widely task of defending Catholics from sectarian attack, the IRA sought to connect the circumstances of 1969 with Republican history and mythology. To maintain this continuity with the past militants

the sole legitimate government of Ireland, descended from the original 1916 Dáil Éireann<sup>52</sup>. Through this obsession with history, the Republican movement reconstructed an idea of Irish masculinity based not just on the contemporary needs of defense, but also on the historical imperative of revolt against the English.

A great deal of insight into the specifics of this masculinity can be gained from official





to the latter



Along with continued violence against security forces, Republicans attempt to hold on to individuals in Catholic areas. Newer groups such as Republican Action Against Drugs (RAAD) as well as the Provisional IRA have been implicated in these attacks which can be seen as an attempt to maintain legitimacy on the streets through the honored tradition of masculine violence. Though there is no realistic chance of a return to the levels of violence experienced during The Troubles, the legacy of Republican masculinity stubbornly refuses to disappear entirely and the dead generations invoked by Pat Pearse in 1916 continue to hold sway over Ireland.

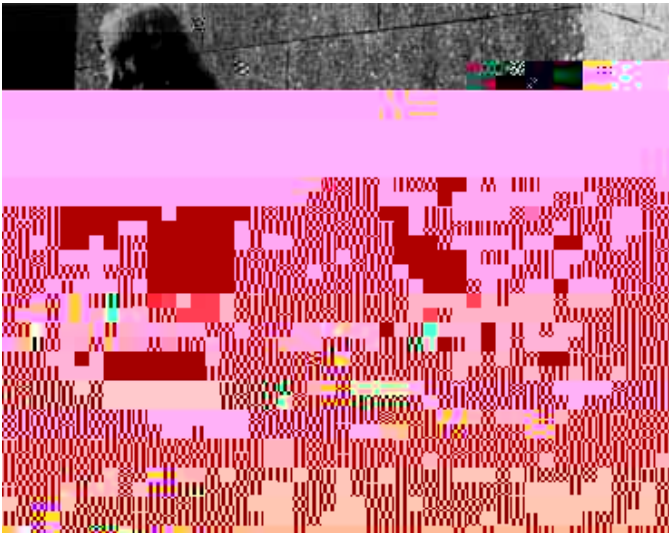


Figure 5



Figure 6

<sup>66</sup> Kennedy, Liam. Conflict Archive on the Internet, "They Shoot Children Don't They?." Last modified 2001. Accessed December 12, 2013. <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/violence/docs/kennedy01.htm>.



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COSMOPOLITAN MODERNISM AND PEASANT RELIGIOUS TRADITION:  
COMPETING CONSTRUCTS OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY IN THE  
LITERARY WORLD OF LATE IMPERIAL RUSSIA

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MARK ALEXANDER

Although the attempted Russian Revolution of 1905 failed either to unseat Tsar Nicholas II or to establish a new system of government for the peoples of the Russian Empire, the subsequent repeal of censorship laws revolutionized popular Russian literature and poetry. The sudden appearance of positive and introspective depictions of same-sex love in the literature and public personas of several avant-garde Russian authors after 1905 stands in stark contrast to the few negative portrayals of homosexuality which appeared in Russian literature in the preceding decades. The most influential of these new positive depictions followed two very different constructions of homosexual identity in late imperial Russia: the diametrically opposed paradigms of the highly cultured cosmopolitan and that of the sexually ambiguous, devoutly religious peasant. While the former figure established the modern and worldly archetype firmly planted within the quintessentially Russian Old Believer *Kolysty* and *Skoptsy* schismatic peasant religious sects. Although both of these constructions of homosexual identity and the success of their authors greatly informed the popular perception of same-sex love through the final years of Tsarist Russia, the cosmopolitan construction appeared on the literary scene first and quickly became the dominant archetype. After the prolonged absence of positive depictions of same-sex love which Russian society experienced under Romanov censorship, it seems natural that a construction of homosexual identity which implied that the phenomenon of same-sex love in Russia was imported from modern Europe would enjoy an easier reception than one which was firmly rooted in an archetypal facet of Russian peasant culture. However, the widespread toleration of homosexuality which existed in medieval Russia and the continuation of this legacy of toleration through peasant religious traditions belies the notion that homosexuality is alien to and irreconcilable with Russian culture and society.

An exploration of several of the most important and influential avant-garde pieces of literature and poetry of the period is necessary in order to understand how and why these paradigms of homosexual identity emerged in the years after the 1905 Revolution. The first



and twentieth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Karlinsky has observed that the mystical *Christalysty* and *Skoptsy* sects, which split from the Old Believers as the open homosexuality of the Muscovite

SHULRG HQGHG ERWK GLVSOD\HG <sup>3</sup>UHFRJQLJDEOH KRPRV  
IRONORUH DQG <sup>10</sup>UHOLJLRXV ULWXDOV '

Outside of these r@LJLRXV VHFVV F.œ đ0





degeneracy) of the wealthy upper classes and the willingness of popular riffraff to service their needs.<sup>34</sup>

At one point, Vanya overhears a conversation between a young man who turns out to be  
6WURRS ¶ V YDOHW ) \RGRU DQG KLV XQFOH <HUPRODL )









dancer Isadora Duncan.<sup>65</sup> Like Klyuev, Esenin wrote poetry heavily influenced by his peasant upbringing, although Esenin appears to have exaggerated his humble beginnings more than Klyuev had. Whereas Klyuev had been born into a remote village of only eight families, (VHQLQ ¶V LVRQDWLRQ ZDV OHVV VHYHUH +LV YLOODJH K VWUHWFKH ¶ In addition, although Klyuev was an autodidact, Esenin had spent his youth in a literate family, studying at an Orthodox Christian boarding school which taught religion, Church Slavonic and Russian literature.<sup>67</sup> Moving to Moscow at the conclusion of KLV VWXGLHV (VHQLQ ZRUNHG IRU D WLPH LQDQD EXWFK employment at the thriving printing factory of I.D. Sytin.<sup>68</sup>

In 1915 Esenin moved St. Petersburg, taking pains to exaggerate his peasant appearance upon his arrival. He wore boots and a *plushka* to his first meetings with WKH FD Saryva. <sup>69</sup> The poet Sergei Gorodetsky enthusiastically welcomed the DUULYDO RI WKH KDQGV RPH \RXQJ (VHQLQ ZKR <sup>70</sup> EURXJKV +RZHYHU (VHQLQ ¶V SHDVDQW DFFHVVRULHV F¶RUPHG RI D SHDVDQW´ UDWKHU WKDQ WKH JHQXLQH DUWLFOH D arrival in Petersburg.<sup>71</sup> He was an unprecedented instant success, arriving upon a well established avant-garde cultural scene which had recently been introduced to homosexual and peasant themes in the works of Kuzmin and Klyuev.

Recognizing the debt which his style and success owed to the established Klyuev, WKH \RXQJHU (VHQLQ <sup>72</sup> WRRN WKH LQLWLDWLYHYUE RI ZULWL ZDV <sup>73</sup> HDJHU WR HVWDEOLVK D VSHFLDO OLWHUDU\ ERQG VXFK DQ LPPHGLDWH LPSUHVVL RQ <sup>74</sup> SWRQDQWV SHHWUUVEXUJ were exchanging affectionate letters, and a romance soon blossomed. V RPH RI (VHQLQ IULHQGV LW DSSHUHG WKDW .O\XHY K¶D¶ SUREVDO VLYHO 9ODGLPLU &KHUQ\DYVN\ ZURWH WKDW E\ WKH HQG RI WKH of our Sergunka: he fastens his little belt on, strokes his hair and follows him with his H\H<sup>75</sup> The two lived together from late 1915 until 1917, writing much of their most brilliant poetry during this inspired time. Although married to three different women throughout his life, Esenin seemed SDEOH RI ZULWLQJ P RYLQJ URPDQWLF SRHWU WR RWKHU<sup>76</sup> PHQ´

\$OWKR XJK (VHQLQ ¶V HDUO\ ZRUN HYRNHG D GHHS OR which he came, after the revolutionary year of 1917 he began to divorce himself more a

(VHQLQ ODFNH Grood Xdherfve G the Old E Ever faith and culture; he was several years younger than Klyuev, and much more adaptable in his aspiration to poetic fame.<sup>76</sup>

Subsequently, Esenin shed his peasant persona once it had outworn its usefulness to him. He DQG .O\XHY¶V UHO17, and he skilfully adopted the candid style of the modern ,PDJLQLVW SRHWV (VHQLQ UDSLGO\ GHYHORSLQJ D QHZ LQWR WKH ZKLUOSR R Although Esenin did not ever drink tea living with Klyuev at the height of his peasant phase, he rapidly developed a taste for alcohol and appeared as the very picture of cosmopolitan dandyism<sup>78</sup> KH SRHW¶V QHZ <sup>3</sup>HOHJDQW FLV especially strong contrast to the surroundings of impoverished Moscow during the years of the Russian Civil War.<sup>79</sup> )UHTXHQWO\ DSSHDULQJ LQ <sup>3</sup>WRS KDW JORY Esenin abandoned his religious convictions as well as his earlier fashion sense, allegedly going so far as to smear obscene poetry on the wall of a convent and chop up religious icons for firewood.<sup>80</sup>

As might be expected, Klyuev reacted jealously and indignantly to what he regarded as (VHQLQ¶V EHWUD\DO DQG FRUUXSWLRQ ,Q <sup>3</sup>WKH )RXUWK discovered fashion and motifs in barely-veiled verse:

, GRQ¶W ZDQW WR EH D IDPRXV SRHW  
,Q D WRS KDW DQG SDWHQW OHDWKHU VKRHV «

, GRQ¶W ZDQW WR KLGH WKH KRUQV RI D IRUHVW GHY  
With a top hat!

« , GRQ¶W ZDQW WR S-Oat of the soul  
With a top hat and city shoes!

« \$QDWKHPD \$Q D WRS KDW DQG FRUUXSWLRQ (Boalood.)] TJ ET q 0.015 -0.12006 6



evident to OHQW HVWDEOLVKHG UHSXWDWLRQ «DQG μP\ VWLFD  
FXOWXUH UHQGHUHG KLP HVSHFLDOO\ YXOQHUDEOH' WR  
Soviet stricture.<sup>94</sup> He was arrested in 1933 and exiled to Siberia. Although this  
VXUURXQGLQJ KLV GHDWK DUH REVFXUH KH GLHG ZKLOH  
PDQXV F<sup>95</sup> UWSW he died of a heart attack in his weakened condition or was secretly  
H[HFXWHG E\ WKH VWDWH SROL from his execution at the hands UHVX  
of the Soviet authorities.

+RZHYHU GHVSLWH .O\XHY¶V SRYHUW\ DQG SHUVHF

PLOLHX PD\ VHHP DW RGGV ZLWK WKH WUDGLWLRQDO SHD  
with which Kuzmin and Esenin adopted the affectations of these archetypes suggest that at  
least ~~one~~ contemporaries did not consider the two incompatible.

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*ISOLATIONISTS IN THE GREAT DEBATE ' THE FOUNDATIONS OF THEIR  
MOVEMENT AND THE FAILURE OF THEIR CAUSE*

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G. SCOTT WATERMAN

**Dedication**

This essay is dedicated to the memory of my father, whose deep reverence and affection for President Franklin Delano Roosevelt pervaded and enriched my upbringing but complicated my efforts to bring objectivity to the present project. The reader will judge the extent to which I have succeeded at achieving this and perhaps illusory goal.

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On Monday, December 8, 1941, the day after the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appeared before the Congress of the United States to ask for a declaration of war. The iconic CBS News reporter Edward R. Murrow described that XQIROGLQJ VFHQH RI VKDUHG SXUSRVH DQG UHVROYH representatives, many of them bitter foes of the man on the rostrum, cheer him madly because, like most Americans, they are angry, frightened, and confused, and he is the President of the United States.<sup>1</sup> With only one dissenting vote, Congress declared war on the Japanese Empire that day, and three days later, following the German and Italian declarations against the United States, Congress voted unanimously to reciprocate against those European Axis nations. Not only was official Washington united in recognition of the necessity of fighting powerful foreign enemies; at that point the American people appeared to be as well. In Gallup Polls conducted between December 12 and December 17, 1941, 97% of respondents approved RI WKH GHFODUDWLRQ RI ZDU DJDLQVW -DSDQ DQG Germany.<sup>2</sup> Such near unanimity of opinion on these matters, however, belied what had been, up to the moment of the Japanese attack on U.S. territory, a highly contentious and sometimes rancorous public conversation about the question of American involvement in the tensions and, ultimately, violence that had been developing around the world.

\$ V H Y L G H Q F H G E \ : D V K L Q J W R Q \ V I D P R X V ) D U H Z H O O \$  
I R U H L J Q H Q W D Q J O H P H Q W V D Q G W K H O R Q U R H ' R F W U L Q H  
least periodically, been a major topic of political discourse. Such discussions have focused on expansion within the North American continent, particularly at the expense of Mexico, and later on U.S. involvement in conquering, pacifying, and governing an overseas empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite progressive expansion of the American role in the international arena, more than 140 years passed between the Declaration of Independence and the arrival of the first U.S. military forces to fight in Europe.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, although American involvement in the First World War did not proceed without opposition,

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<sup>1</sup> Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, *Can Hear It Now*, vol. 1, band 7, Columbia Records, 33 rpm, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Gallop Poll (AIPO), December, 1941. Retrieved March 5, 2013 from the iPOLL Databank, The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut.  
[http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/data\\_access/ipoll/ipoll.html](http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/data_access/ipoll/ipoll.html).

<sup>3</sup> Wayne S. Cole, *Roosevelt & the Isolationists, 1932-45* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988),

the national debate preceding U.S. entry into World War II was remarkable in its scope, reflecting what Americans and their leaders perceived to be the extraordinary stakes involved.

In reviewing the events, opinions, policies, and pronouncements during the lead-up to the U.S. declarations of war in 1941, this essay will focus on those individuals and groups that argued against American involvement in the ensuing conflict in Europe. It will briefly review the cultural heritage of the isolationist position (whose adherents after September 1939 and both its mainstream and extremist exemplars. The stage will then be set, both with respect to events in Europe as well as public opinion at home, for the twenty months of the war. The course of that exchange will be described, eventually focusing on the most organized and visible exponents of the isolationist stance, the America First Committee (AFC) and its leading spokesmen. The unfolding of that very public clash of ideas will be outlined by events in Europe, the decisions and policies of the Roosevelt administration, and the actions of the isolationist camp, particularly the AFC. This essay will then briefly examine the ways by which cultural products, especially radio and motion pictures, along with overseas developments, ultimately overwhelmed the efforts of the AFC and others opposed to intervention. It will conclude with an examination of the duties of citizens and their leaders, the nature of dissent in a free society, and the prospects of American international interventionism.

Howard Markson, in *How America Lost World War I*, locates in the experiences of the First World War and the Great Depression. American isolationists saw in World War I and its aftermath of nationalism and revolutionary upheaval a lesson that involvement in European affairs is fruitless and unproductive, as democracy and peace had been rendered. Moreover, the violations of civil liberties at home that occurred in the context of U.S. involvement in the war added credence and gravity to the isolationist position. Isolationists tended to emphasize the differences between American and European political cultures and motivations, arguing that avoiding the contagion of European nationalism was essential.



7KH PDQ\ SURSRQH QWV RI WKH 3GHYLO WKHRU\ RI  
financiers, and their government allies a malevolent mix, motivated by war profits, which posed an institutionalized impediment to peace. The Senate hearings during the 1930s on this subject, chaired by Gerald Nye of North Dakota, were highly influential in promulgating the view that an isolationist policy between 1914 and 1917 would have both served the better and averted the Great Depression. The consequent mistrust of industrial, financial, and governing elites, combined with the ongoing domestic priority of economic recovery (as opposed to international affairs), convinced many progressive as well as conservative politicians who would become important figures in the coming Great Debate that Congress must be proactive in preventing U.S. involvement in future foreign wars. The 1930s thus saw enactment of several Neutrality Acts that limited by the extent to which the U.S. could become involved in overseas conflicts, and even an attempt at a constitutional amendment that would have required national referenda on declarations of war. The grave threats to peace that were developing rapidly in both Europe and Asia coincided with a profoundly, if understandably, insular set of attitudes among a large segment of Americans.

Not only was isolationist sentiment during the 1930s in the U.S. widespread, it was also held by a heterogeneous group of people. Historian Manfred Jonas summarized its

New Deal Representative Hamilton Fish of New York. The most visible exponents of the freedom of action necessitated a retreat from international trade were the progressive Republican North Dakota Senator Gerald Nye, whose committee had investigated munitions industry, and conservative Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan.

An even more fundamental political cleavage point that was bridged by the isolationist movement of the 1930s was that between left and right. Liberals also feared that involvement in war would derail the social and economic programs of the New Deal and feed unrestricted capitalism. Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party espoused such views, and a number of progressive academicians, most notably Charles Beas well as left-wing journalists such as Oswald Villard, voiced grave concerns about the consequences of U.S. involvement in another European war. Progressive Senators Robert La Follette of Wisconsin and Burton Wheeler of Montana, the latter a labor

Nazi, and a Communist had become vociferously anti-Semitic by 1938.<sup>8</sup> Following the governments were reflected in his advocacy of American neutrality, though his time as a serious cultural force had by then passed. While neither the Bundists nor the Silver Shirts nor Father Coughlin exerted significant direct influence in the Great Debate, they would nevertheless acquire or maintain relevance through association of mainstream noninterventionists with their extremism.

The inclinations of most Americans to consider the economic crisis of the 1930s as taking precedence over foreign events was not at odds with those of FDR or his administration until late in the decade. Hitler and Roosevelt both came to power in 1933 and although FDR found the antidemocratic nature of the Nazi regime disquieting, he only gradually became concerned that it posed a threat to its neighbors and, potentially, the rest of the world. Military conscription was enacted in Germany in 1935; the following year Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland and, in 1936 and 1937, concluded alliances with Japan and Italy. FDR nevertheless maintained some doubts about the commitment of the German people to the Nazi program and the ability of the German economy to sustain its acceleration. He was also mindful of public opinion. Among the earliest opinion polls was a 1936 survey in which 95% of respondents indicated opposition to U.S. involvement in foreign conflict. However, by 1937 dispelled in the aftermath of the Munich crisis of 1938.

Roosevelt took the occasion in October 1937 of a bridge in Chicago, the city that would become the hub of the noninterventionist movement, to begin his efforts at convincing the American public of the need for attention to the dangers building outside its borders. Without naming any specific country, region, event, or leader, he announced that people of the complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken  
In one of the opening salvos of what would become the Great Debate, the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, led by isolationist editor and publisher Colonel Robert McCormick, responded concerns, presumably at that point regarding Japanese aggression in China and German and



<sup>3</sup> WUHPHQGRXV SURSDJDQGD -FDPOSDHLG OG H Q REFUKDFQ H R I ' VOKRF  
 interests as the source of current European volatility, and reiterated the devil theory of war by  
 UHFRPPHQGLQJ <sup>3</sup>WDNLQJ WKH SURILW RXW RI ZDU ' DO  
 democracy if American entry into another war were not prevented. Just eight days before  
 the German invasion of Poland, in the context of unfulfilled administration desires to amend  
 the Neutrality Act of 1937, Gerald Nye accused FDR of pursuing a reckless and inept foreign  
 policy, suggesting its role as a diversion from domestic woes. He exhorted his audience not  
 IRUJHW WKH <sup>3</sup>OHVVRQV RI DQG ' ZKHQ %ULV  
 conspired to undermine U.S. neutrality. In support of his unambiguous isolationism, Nye drew  
 a bright line between European and U.S. interests, denying any racial, ideological or  
 PRUDO GLVWLQFWLRQV DPRQJ SROLWLFDO V\ VWHPV RQ D  
 look down and rejoice at the reenacting of a carnage which has been going on without  
 GHWHUPLQDWLRQ IRU JHQHUDO WLFVWRUJHQDQGV RQ  
 become a staple of AFC rallies.

The reenactment of carnage represented by the Nazi *krieg* of Poland became formalized as a European war when, two days after the September 1 invasion, Great Britain and France honored their commitments and went to war with Germany. That same evening President Roosevelt addressed a national radio audience in his first Fireside Chat devoted to foreign policy. Continuing his efforts at eroding isolationist sentiment which began his Quarantine Speech but were only intermittently reiterated in the interim, FDR sought to dispel WKH QRWLRQ WKDW <sup>3</sup>DOO WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV KDV WR EXVLQHVV ' \$FNQRZOHGJLQJ WKDW <sup>3</sup>ZH VPHUJHG LW KIDWHV WR UHDOLJH WKDW >WKH ZDU @ GRHV DIIHFW WKH \$PHULF UHDVVXUH KLV DXGLHQFH WKDW <sup>3</sup>HYHU\ HIIRUW RI >WKH staying out of the war and that American neutrality would be maintained, but added that he <sup>3</sup>FDQQRW DVN WKDW HYHU\ \$PHULF American surveyed that month WR UDO L RQ WKH TXHVWLRQ <sup>3</sup>:KLFK VLGH GR \RX WKLQN ZLOO ZI confidence (82%) in Allied victory, for which a similar proportion (83%) in a different poll expressed preference. On the other hand, during the following month 71% of respondents indicated opposition to a declaration of war on Germany, even if Allied defeat appeared to be in the offing.<sup>28</sup> 6XFK SXEOLF RSLQLRQ DSSHUHG FRQVLVWHQW Allies short of war, and by early November he had succeeded in having the arms embargo OLIVHG WKXV <sup>3</sup>DOO RZLQB XQDWKRQV H[SRUW V\WR WKH EH 5HVSRQVHV IURP WKH LVRDWRLRQLVWV LQFOXGHG % ZKLFK KH GHVFULEHG VXFK DLG WR %ULWDLQ DQG )U LQWHUYHQWLRQ ' FODLPLQJ WKDW <sup>29</sup> That month Lincoln also DUH Q DSSHDOHG YLD UDGLR RQ EHKDOI RI <sup>3</sup>WKRVH SHRSOH LQ GHVWLQ\ RI WKLV FRXQWU\ GRHV QRW FDOO IRU RXU LQ

<sup>25</sup> % XUWRQ . :KHHOHU <sup>3</sup>7KH )XWL Oils Speaks v. Dill Day \$ (1938): 4067. LQ  
<sup>26</sup> \*HUDOG 3 1\H <sup>3</sup>6DYH \$PHULFDQ 1H\KALP D OSLYH Day \$ (1938): 723 LQ  
 26.  
<sup>27</sup> Russell D. Buhite and David W. Levy, eds., *5 Fireside Chats*, 1st ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 139.  
<sup>28</sup> Gallup Poll, September, 1939; Roper/Fortune Survey, September, 1939; Gallup Poll, October, 1939. Retrieved March 15, 2013 from the iPOLL Databank.  
<sup>29</sup> : LOOLDP ( %RUDK <sup>3</sup>5HWDLQ WKH \$UPVV (The Speeches of the D. S. 1938 39): 75152.

own racially tinged assumptions and anxieties, he asserted, HVH ZDUV LQ (XURSH D  
in which our civilization is defending itself against some Asiatic intruder. There is no Genghis  
Khan or Xerxes marching against our Western nations. This is not a question of banding











in the wider culture, and from within the isolationist movement itself. On the heels of German military successes in the Balkans and North Africa in the spring of 1941, the president delivered a Fireside Chat in May, proclaiming an unlimited national emergency in the presence















Freemasons were scheming to control the government, and that they were closer to their fellow Masons than towards their Christian brothers. In fact, nine Baptist churches in Addison County withdrew from the Vermont Association because the association would not agree to deny all Masons membership. These churches organized the Addison County Baptist Association in 1833 in an attempt to keep all Masons out of the Baptist tradition and to establish a front against Freemasonry<sup>11</sup>. Later this association joined in with the growing temperance movement, refusing to give membership to anyone who did not promise to cut off all alcohol intake. A few years after, the association turned towards the abolitionist cause under the guidance of the highly radical Orson Murray<sup>12</sup>.

Not all religious organizations were this extreme, but the example of the Addison County Baptist Association serves to show some of the most pertinent social issues churches were facing: temperance, Masons, and abolitionism. Most importantly though, it shows the extent to which these congregations were ready to enact policies that would implement new social as well as religious ideas. This devotion to a certain method or practice of Christianity and an intolerance for others was characteristic of Vermont at the time, and was the primary atmosphere Burchard dealt with when he arrived there.

Burchard had been invited to Vermont by Reverend Joshua Bates, President of Middlebury College, Thomas Mill, a Middlebury Congregational minister, and a number of other clerics in the state. Bates had overseen religious revivals and sp

RI PHQWDO<sup>17</sup> BodaxdneMed to be the entire focus of the town; he needed to make his presence known for the sake of conversion.

%XUFKDU G¶V PHHVELOQJEZHUH OIRQWURG WKH WRZQV¶ EX the meetinghouses and churches overflowed with people, and many local clergy and their



were satisfied, by this time that the battle was fought, the victory won, and all the people in the  
 KDQG DQG VXEMHFW WR W<sup>82</sup> He made Burchard seem a greedy and rich TXHU  
 with power, painting an image of him as a powerful, hungry, ruthless politician. The reference to  
 the Pope implies that he is not even a Protestant, instead, a believer in European models of  
 KLHUDUFK\ \$W WKH VDPH WLPH 6 W<sup>83</sup> When he wrote it, DFRXQW  
 describes the excitement in the streets when it is announced Burchard is coming, where  
 childre Q ZHUH WDXJKW WR \HOO <sup>3</sup>KXUUDK IRU %XUFKDUG ' Z  
 GRLQJ LW +H GHVFULEHV D PREEHG SXEOLF LQ <sup>3</sup>ZLOG  
 %XUFKDUG ZRXOG EH DUULYLQJ WKH H[FLWHG Ge Was HOLQJV  
 put upon the stretch every eye wide open, and the populace on tiptoe, V RPH IRU IHDU V  
 IRU IXQ DQG VRPH WR <sup>82</sup> Later the same source that Burchard produced such an





<sup>3</sup> ORZ SHUVRQDO KDUVK XVH>U<sup>49</sup> One preacher defended QFKUL  
%XUFKDUG LQ D IDUHZHOO VHUPRQ ZDUQLQJ KLV FRQJU  
character. Do not slander him, never magnify his faults. Do not give circulation to flying  
reports concerning him. Be in the habit of rebuking slanders and insinuations against him,  
ZKHQHYHU \RX<sup>50</sup> find them. In other words, the stark divide between evangelicals and non  
evangelicals only grew once he left. Many evangelicals shifted away from identifying with  
Burchard and his ideas and more towards the conceptions of revivalism on its own. In Brandon,



least partially here, but the majority of his contribution came in the social and political realms, as his evangelicalism had vast implication beyond the scope of the church

**DEPARTMENT NEWS**

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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**Mark Alexander** is a graduate student from the Burlington area pursuing his MA in History and Holocaust studies. His current research explores Nazi collaborators in Eastern Europe and their escape from justice through the auspices of American Intelligence in the early Cold War. After completion of his MA degree, Mark hopes to enter a PhD program.

**Skyler Baldwin Bailey** is an undergraduate senior and history major. His primary ambition is to become an author of books of early Vermont history, though he is currently working on a book about the Tenth Mountain Division in World War Two. He is a living historian of the 5th Vermont Infantry Regiment. He is currently a living historian of the 5th Vermont Infantry Regiment.

**Dillon Baker** is graduating this spring from the University of Vermont with a double major in History and English. He is spending the summer seeing America on a cross-country road trip, and then hopes to attend either law school or graduate school in the near future.

**Robert Benner** is a senior history major with minors in English and political science. He enjoys reading, biking, and Ken Burns documentaries. He plans to teach English next year, provided he goes undrafted yet again in 2014.

**Larkin Snow Coffey** is graduating from UVM with a degree in history and plans to study library science at Miskatonic University. His academic interests include gender history, witchcraft, and revolutionary movements. His independent studies focus on music, science fiction, and arcane pursuits.

**Meagan Ingalls** is a second year history graduate student currently focusing on the Holocaust in Western Ukraine. This summer, she received a David Sear Grant to study at Ukrainian & Dwight D. Eisenhower Center. After completing the graduate program, Meagan hopes to travel around the world before pursuing a career teaching at the college level.

**G. Scott Waterman** graduated from Harvard University and the University of Michigan Medical School. He is currently a Graduate Student in History and Professor of Psychiatry Emeritus at the University of Vermont. His historical interests include modern European and American extremist political ideologies and movements, the Holocaust, and the Cold War.

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