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FRANCIS REXFORD COOLEY

FROM ISOLATIONISM TO INTERVENTIONISM  
IN MAINE, 1939-1941

*In 1939, with world war looming in Europe, Maine's all-Republican delegation in Congress remained predominantly isolationist, with Representative James C. Oliver the state's leading critic of pro-British internationalism. Over the course of a few months in 1941, the delegation made a remarkable turnabout, leaving Oliver to face the winds of political change. While the decisions made by the Maine delegates were shaped by unfolding events in Europe, they also reflected, as the author points out, the perception that preparedness would benefit Maine economically. Mr. Cooley is the Lecturer-in-Academic-Studies at Paier College of Art in Hamden, Connecticut, and teaches at Hebrew High School of New England in West Hartford.*

Republican voters listening to the radio in early June 1942 heard congressional candidate Robert Hale ask "whether Maine wishes to be represented by, or can possibly afford to be represented by, an isolationist Congressman." The next day in the primary election, Republican voters answered by making Hale their nominee, in a two-to-one victory over isolationist Congressman James C. Oliver.<sup>1</sup> With America already involved in World War II, isolationism was a moot point in Maine and elsewhere, but, in fact, Oliver's political chances had been dashed well before the fateful bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941.



James C. Oliver, elected to the House of Representatives in 1936, deplored the drift to internationalism as Congress debated the Neutrality Act and the administration's cash-and-carry and Lend-lease programs. In the above photo, Oliver witnesses as Speaker of the House Bankhead swears Margaret Chase Smith into office on June 10, 1940. *Photo courtesy Northwood University Margaret Chase Smith Library, Skowhegan, Maine.*

Where Oliver was the only isolationist in the Maine September elections, others shared his views as late as 1941. In his analysis of the Seventy-sixth Congress, Historian David L. Porter identified Maine's entire House delegation as isolationist in 1939, with its senators voting in the moderate isolationist camp.<sup>2</sup> The situation changed rapidly in 1939-1941. When the Portland chapter of the America First Committee was formed in September 1941, the Maine GOP, a source of strength for the committee on the national level, reacted coolly.<sup>3</sup> This Republican position, formulated in a few months during the fall of 1941, indicated a profound and sudden political shift within the party. Why did

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Maine's congressional delegation alter its perspectives on isolationism, war, and preparedness, leaving Oliver, the state's lone isolationist, to weather the consequences of the 1942 election?

During the summer of 1939 Congress debated an arms embargo to the belligerents, one of a series of neutrality acts passed in the 1930s. The debate raged as to how to amend the act in light of the tense political situation in Europe. Porter notes that most House Republicans were opposed to internationalism and preparedness programs in 1939. In the Senate, he argues, the New England Republican senators opposed combining arms shipments with increased presidential authority.<sup>4</sup> Maine's all-Republican congressional delegation, comprised of Senators Wallace H. White and Frederick Hale and Representatives Oliver (South Portland), Clyde Smith (Skowhegan) and Ralph Owen Brewster (Dexter), fits Porter's sketch of New England congressional Republicans. White and Hale entered the House and Senate in 1917; Oliver and Smith had been elected to Congress in 1936; and Brewster, a former governor, entered Congress in 1935.<sup>5</sup> In the Senate, White favored delaying the Neutrality Act revisions of 1939, explaining that he was "not willing to grant [additional] discretionary powers in this field to the President."<sup>6</sup>

After the German invasion of Poland and the declarations of war in Europe, both White and Hale steered a middle course between isolationist and internationalist amendments. Both, for instance, supported Robert A. Taft's amendment to the Neutrality Act, which would have restricted public and private loans to belligerents. The amendment was defeated.<sup>7</sup> Yet, both Maine senators opposed three similarly isolationist amendments: one restricting the administration's cash-and-carry plan for aiding belligerents; another restricting U.S. shipping to belligerents; and a third calling for a national advisory on war prior to deployment of U.S. troops outside the Americas.<sup>8</sup> On some issues the senators split their vote. Hale supported a repeal of the arms embargo, his sympathies clearly resting with England and France, and by late October he was opposed the Neutrality Act altogether.<sup>9</sup> White, on the other hand, opposed the president's

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“cash-and-carry” arms proposal for Britain; to him, cash-and-carry violated American neutrality.<sup>10</sup>

The Maine House delegation displayed firmer isolationist views in 1939, with Oliver representing the most vehement stand against U.S. involvement.<sup>11</sup> Neither Brewster nor Smith adopted the Anglophobic rhetoric employed by Oliver, who relied heavily on historian Charles A. Beard’s “Devil Theory of War” in his support of the Neutrality Act. The proposed amendments, Oliver reproached, amounted to “an un-American 10 Downing Street bill.”<sup>12</sup> Newspaper headlines suggest the extent of Oliver’s Anti-British rhetoric – “Bloom Bill Attempt to Lure U.S. Into British Treachery Says Oliver” – while the Smith and Brewster pronouncements captured the milder side of Republican isolationism: “Existing Neutrality Is Favored by Smith, Declares U.S. Has No Excuse for Any Meddling in Foreign Affairs”; and “Bloom Neutrality Bill Attacked by Brewster as Leading Toward War.”<sup>13</sup>

During the November 1939 special session, the three Maine House delegates voted as a block on isolationist issues.<sup>14</sup> Brewster, however, was already beginning to shift his position on strict isolation. He polled 8,000 Maine Republicans, providing arguments that both supported the embargo (Vandenberg R-MI), and advocated its repeal (Taft R-OH). A headline in the *Press Herald* reflected respondents’ position: “Maine For Arms Embargo Repeal, Brewster Poll Reveals.” Later that day, Brewster revealed his own position. Proclaiming himself a “charter member” of the Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars, he proposed that removing the arms embargo from the Neutrality Act would prevent U.S. involvement and shorten the war.<sup>15</sup>

**A**lthough Brewster did not announce his intention to run for Hale’s seat in the 1940 election, it is clear that he hoped his position on neutrality would boost his political prospects. They did. The next day, the *Press Herald* endorsed Brewster, claiming that “inasmuch as Mr. Brewster is a candidate to succeed Mr. Hale, who insists upon retiring, it is evident that he, like the present senatorial incum-



Although Representative Clyde Smith of Skowhegan eschewed Oliver's Anglophobic rhetoric, he voted with his colleague on isolationist issues. When Smith died in 1940, many expected his replacement, Margaret Chase Smith, to support his stand. Instead, she led the delegation in the shift to preparedness. *Photo courtesy Northwood University Margaret Chase Smith Library, Skowhegan, Maine.*

bent, would accurately represent Maine sentiment and would make a worthy successor." On November 3, the House and Senate voted to revise the Neutrality Act. Both Hale and Brewster voted for the repeal of the arms embargo, while White, Smith, and Oliver voted against it.<sup>16</sup>

Opinion on isolationism began to shift in the Maine delegation. In April 1940 Clyde Smith died, signaling a change in the

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composition of the delegation. Smith's wife, Margaret Chase Smith, was sworn in as his replacement.<sup>17</sup> As huge military appropriations and Selective Service bills came before both houses of Congress that summer, the focus of debate shifted from isolationism to preparedness; members questioned the extent to which the U.S. should prepare for war — and did preparedness mean that the nation would join the war? Clyde Smith had firmly voted with Oliver on isolationist issues, and many expected Margaret Chase Smith to follow his lead.<sup>18</sup> However, Smith, like the rest of the House delegation, endorsed the military appropriation bills, and she and Brewster voted for Selective Service.<sup>19</sup> The split between Oliver and the other two representatives on Selective Service foreshadowed a rift over public support for Charles Lindbergh, America's leading isolationist. Smith and Brewster avoided association with Lindbergh's isolationist activities, while Oliver inserted an isolationist radio address delivered by Lindbergh into the *Congressional Record*.<sup>20</sup>

In the September general election, Brewster ran as the heir to Senator Hale. The *Bangor Daily News* endorsed him, reprinting a *Press Herald* editorial titled "Ralph Owen Brewster: The Voice of Maine to the Nation." Brewster, it recounted, voted "with Maine's senior senator, who himself knew accurately...the sentiment of his state."<sup>21</sup> Hale's support for supplying the British with war materials was well known, and by 1940 White supported British aid as well. Aside from Oliver, the voting patterns of Maine's congressional delegation were beginning to converge.<sup>22</sup>

**T**he administration's decision to sell fifty destroyers to Great Britain purposely side-stepped congressional action in order to avoid isolationist filibustering.<sup>23</sup> Although the Maine congressional delegation remained quiet on the destroyer deal, Maine newspapers did not. Most, in fact, praised Roosevelt's decisions. The *Maine State Labor News* advocated "dispatching some age-outclassed but serviceable destroyers" to Great Britain, and the *Bath Times* protested the government's slow movement on shipbuilding contracts and plant conversions.<sup>24</sup> The *Press Herald*, which complimented Roosevelt's policy but not his method of implementation, ques-



Testing the wind with a poll of 8,000 Maine Republicans in fall 1939, Representative Ralph Owen Brewster announced his support for arms shipments to Great Britain. In 1940 he ran for the retiring Frederick Hale's Senate seat, gaining endorsements from the *Portland Press Herald* and the *Bangor Daily News*. Photo courtesy Special Collections Department, Fogler Library, University of Maine.

tioned "just how far Mr. Roosevelt intends to go towards war under the terms of our 'Neutrality' Act?"<sup>25</sup>

The administration's precipitous action on the destroyer deal propelled the America First Committee onto the national political landscape. Since the majority of America First members were Republicans, the Republican sweep of the Maine elections in September 1940 should have provided grounds for vigorous



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organizing in the state. But in fact, Maine was not able to muster a state chapter until September 1941.<sup>26</sup> As the Brewster poll had shown, Maine Republicans were not necessarily isolationists.

The year 1941 proved unkind both to America First in Maine and to James Oliver, their biggest booster. Roosevelt, in his State of the Union address, asked Congress for a Lend-lease program to help supply Great Britain with war materials. Maine newspapers generally supported the president's plan, but debate raged in the letters-to-the-editor columns.<sup>27</sup> One *Press Herald* reader asked if "the cause of 'America First'....[was] to be superseded by 'Defend the British Empire' at all costs?" Another considered the Americans "suckers" for wanting to give loans to Great Britain, since the Allies still owed the U.S. for World War I debts. Another reader endorsed Lend-lease, claiming that loans to China and Great Britain would be a "good investment, even if unpaid."<sup>28</sup>

The 77th Congress opened with some changes in the Maine congressional delegation. Brewster replaced Hale as Senator; Republican Frank Fellows of Bangor assumed Brewster's old seat, and Margaret Chase Smith was elected to a term in her own right.<sup>29</sup> In March the president's Lend-lease proposal came before the House as part of a larger national defense bill. Although many expected her to oppose it, Smith supported the Lend-lease proposal, and although at first both Oliver and Fellows voted to sidetrack the bill, Fellows later sided with Smith.<sup>30</sup> In fact, Fellows developed a pattern of ambivalence on preparedness. Initially he voted against the appropriations bill because he, like Oliver, favored cutting defense spending outside the United States. When Smith endorsed the bill, however, Fellows voted with Smith.<sup>31</sup> By 1941 Oliver's isolationist stand, once the majority opinion in the Maine delegation, was an albatross around the congressman's neck. His increasingly unpopular stand did not go unnoticed in the press.<sup>32</sup>

Congressional impressions of Roosevelt's State of the Union Address made front-page headlines in the *Press Herald*. While White agreed with sending materials to Great Britain, he stressed that the United States was obliged to maintain its own freedom



Senator Wallace White initially opposed the president's cash-and-carry proposal, which he saw as a violation of American neutrality. Later he supported Lend-lease. Known as a staunch defender of the "freedom of the seas," White argued that America could not "haul down the flag from the ocean's highways." *Photo courtesy Northwood University Margaret Chase Smith Library, Skowhegan, Maine.*

before that of other countries. Oliver condemned the address, claiming that "the President anticipates and is the forerunner of military dictatorship in America."<sup>33</sup> Oliver did not stop at verbal attacks; he used his franking privilege to make reprints of

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Lindbergh's testimony on lend-lease for the America First Committee.<sup>34</sup> Syndicated columnist May Craig, a strong supporter of Roosevelt's policy, questioned the propriety of Oliver's franking privileges, and the *Press Herald* chastised Oliver for obstructing lend-lease.<sup>35</sup> Maine editorial opinion was increasingly critical of isolationism. Augusta's *Kennebec Journal* blasted Lindbergh and the "anti-interventionists," likening the popular American aviator to Prime Minister Chamberlain at Munich.<sup>36</sup>

Assessing the European situation and the swinging mood among the Maine electorate, White endorsed Lend-lease in spring 1941, claiming that the American people wanted to "render effective aid to England in her memorable struggle for life."<sup>37</sup> He perceived the paradox surrounding the situation: aid to Britain could drag the United States into the war, but imperiling the British by remaining aloof would be a "disaster to the World of Free men." In this delicate situation, he thought, Congress should move ahead with aid to Britain, but remain wary of delegating too much power to the president.<sup>38</sup> White supported Lend-lease with the following stipulations: the United States would provide the war materials, but only Congress could authorize the transfers, and a time limit should be placed on the president's new authority.<sup>39</sup> In the balance lay White's recognition that "totalitarian victory with all its threats and all its evil" was America's greatest threat. On March 8, 1941, he and Brewster voted to pass Roosevelt's lend-lease program.<sup>40</sup>

Oliver, on the other hand, argued vehemently against Lend-lease, calling the bill an attempt to "liquidate the world unemployment through war and its mass employment of human cannon fodder." As a constraint on the president, he introduced a resolution mandating a referendum on peace and war. Endorsed by America First, it nevertheless died in committee.<sup>41</sup>

By September the Maine congressional delegation's positions were clear to the public at large. Smith and White advocated aid to Great Britain and the Allies, stopping just short of war. Brewster, too, supported Britain, but cautioned against involving the United States in a shooting war which it was not

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prepared to fight. Oliver wanted no part of the war and no part of Britain.<sup>42</sup>

In this shifting political environment America First opened its first Maine chapter in September 1941. Almost immediately the organization was attacked in the Maine press.<sup>43</sup> Two prominent Portlanders, reported earlier as members of the chapter, publicly rebuffed the group, leading the *Press Herald* to editorialize that the organization had gotten “off on the wrong foot.” On the same page the *Press Herald* stated that “the times transcend politics, and the quicker Republicans recognize this fact, as have most of Maine’s Republican congressional delegation, the more favor they will find with the electorate.”<sup>44</sup>

The debate between interventionists and isolationists dominated Maine politics in the fall of 1941. The *Press Herald* accused Charles Parsons, America First member and part-time coastal resident, of having tenuous standing as a “Maine Man” and harboring “allegedly Pacifist views.” Parsons replied by defending himself as a tax-payer and a candidate for officer training camp in Maine.<sup>45</sup> The paper also called for the formation of a third party – the America First Peace Party – to draw off the malcontents from the two major parties. The editor realized, however, that the issue would come to a “head” before the 1942 election.<sup>46</sup>

Oliver, linked firmly in the minds of most Mainers with America First and Charles Lindbergh, was criticized as well. A letter to the *Press Herald* signed “taxpayer” attacked his isolationist position, noting the defense-related industry in his own district, which included Bath Iron Works, the South Portland Shipyards, and several military installations.<sup>47</sup> Letters against Oliver’s position outnumbered those supporting him, making the situation as clear as it was politically ominous. Maine Republicans were abandoning their lone isolationist representative in the months before Pearl Harbor.<sup>48</sup>

America First and its cause became a moot point after December 7, 1941, and Robert Hale’s crushing victory over Oliver in the June 1942 Republican primary brought an end to the issue of isolationism in Maine.<sup>49</sup> But the real sea-change in

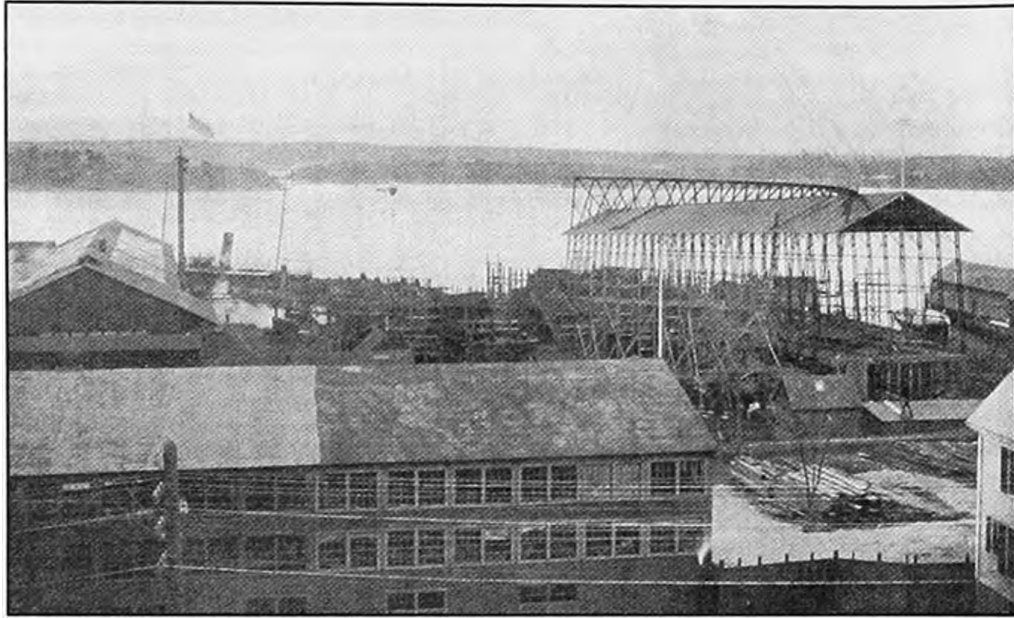
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Maine public opinion came before Pearl Harbor. The first months of 1941 saw important precursors to the war mood that swept the nation that December.

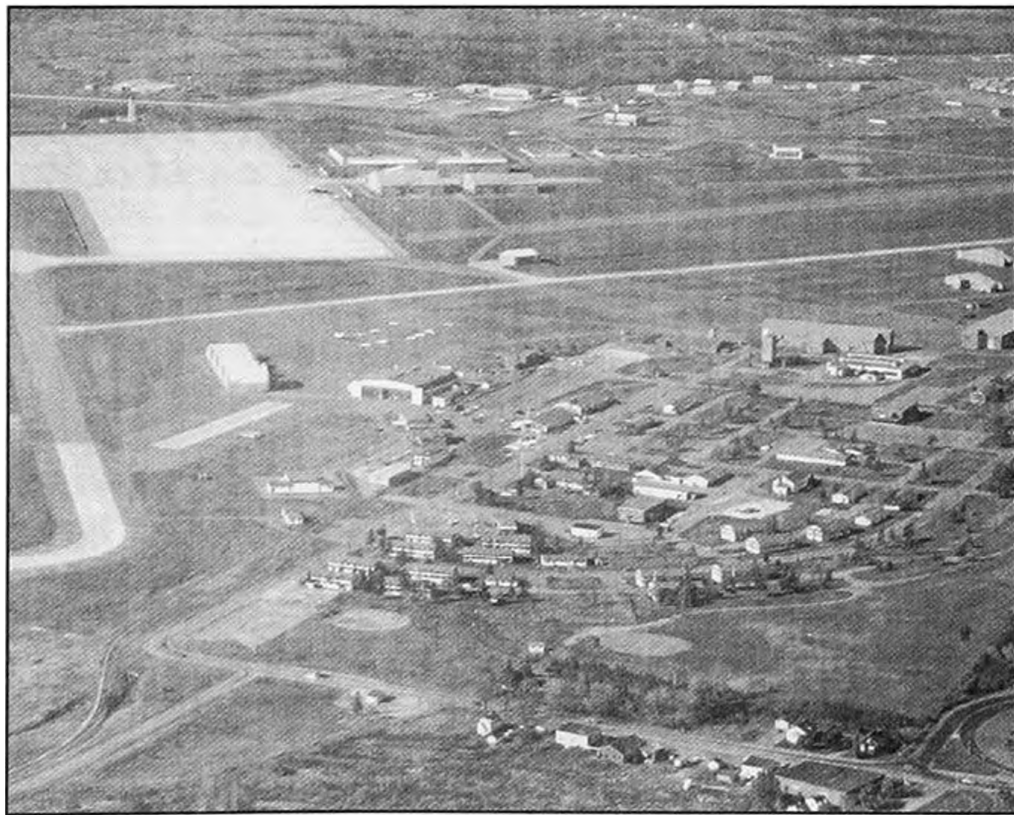
Wayne S. Cole pointed out in his *Roosevelt and Isolationists, 1932-1945* that a split occurred in the isolationist voting block as early as the Vinson-Trammell bill of 1934, which provided for an expanded Navy. Those representatives from coastal and industrial areas supported the bill, while those from agrarian areas opposed it.<sup>50</sup> As a coastal state, Maine derived vast economic benefit from naval appropriations like these.<sup>51</sup> Maine's Bath Iron Works (BIW) was in a superb position to bid on new naval contracts, and the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 only increased the demand for its destroyers. BIW welcomed the new defense contracts, especially since the market for yachts – the shipyard's other primary business – had collapsed during the Depression.<sup>52</sup> The *Bath Times* heralded the awarding of eleven new destroyer contracts on its front page in September 1940. The story also noted the Portsmouth yards received six new submarine contracts, which benefited the Kittery area.<sup>53</sup>

Since 1937 the idea of a basin shipyard in South Portland had been discussed at Bath Iron Works. Originally planned for "super battleships," the yard was built in 1940 to produce large standardized merchant ships for the British to use in ferrying war materials across the Atlantic. BIW joined a syndicate with Todd Shipyards at its head and laid South Portland's first keel in August 1941, reaping direct economic benefits from Roosevelt's pro-British policy.<sup>54</sup>

The increase in defense-building benefited other Maine industries as well. The state received \$5 million for airport construction, from which the Bangor Air Corps Station was designed as the Northeast's primary defense airport.<sup>55</sup> Additionally, government procured fishing vessels helped to boost the business of small shipyards in Maine and the state's fishing industry benefited from the demand for canned food on the European front.<sup>56</sup> During the 1939 special session, Wallace White, known as a staunch defender of America's "freedom of



The state had much to gain from preparedness. Bath Iron Works was in a superb position to bid on new naval contracts, and Maine received \$5 million for airport construction, from which the Bangor Air Corps Station was designed as the Northeast's primary defense airport. *Top photo: Bath Iron Works, THE PLANT AND OPERATIONS OF BATH IRON WORKS, n.d.; bottom photo: James B. Vickery, Jr., AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BANGOR, MAINE (1969).*



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the seas,” proposed amendments to the Neutrality Act to allow fishing vessels and traders to use the Gulf of Maine to reach to Canadian fishing grounds. The nation, he argued, should not “haul...down the flag from the ocean’s highways.”<sup>57</sup>

**G**eography represented another factor in Maine’s move away from isolationism well before Pearl Harbor. The Nazi siege of Great Britain accented Maine’s vulnerability as America’s Atlantic outpost. Most of the congressional delegation realized the concerns that Maine’s Atlantic location raised with their constituents. Brewster highlighted Maine’s proximity to Europe in campaigning for an air base in 1940, and the *Bath Times* pointed out that “if a foreign power attempted to invade this country, Maine would be...first subject to attack.”<sup>58</sup> Maine’s proximity to Europe also highlighted the threat of sabotage. The *Maine State Labor News* reported fifth-column menaces as early as July 1940, while the *Kennebec Journal* printed rumors of gasoline-filled fire extinguishers at Bath Iron Works.<sup>59</sup> May Craig, in her “Inside Washington” column, pointed out that “Maine’s exposed position on the northeast corner probably has something to do with this desire to keep the battlefront in the British Isles and not this side of the Atlantic.”<sup>60</sup> The “enemy” was indeed close at hand.

Given the economic benefits of preparedness and Maine’s geographical vulnerability, the state’s Republican delegation moved rapidly from isolationism to interventionism between 1939 and fall 1941. By the time America First organized a chapter in Portland in September 1941, the Maine GOP, with the exception of Oliver, had abandoned Maine’s traditional staunch isolationist position. The large naval appropriation bill revived Bath Iron Works and the Portsmouth Shipyard and led to the creation of the Todd-Bath yard. The expenditures on airport construction benefited Bangor and other communities, and the fishing and small-boat industries received a welcome boost from the war in Europe. While most Maine politicians responded to these incentives in the critical prewar months, one did not. Because of his steadfast attachment to isolationism, James Oliver was easily defeated in a one-issue campaign in June 1942.

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### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, June 15-16, 1942.

<sup>2</sup>David L. Porter, *The Seventy-Sixth Congress and World War II, 1939-1940* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1979), pp. 204-08.

<sup>3</sup>Wayne S. Cole, *America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953), p. 174;

<sup>4</sup>Porter, *Seventy-Sixth Congress*, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup>*Congressional Record*, 55 pt. 1 (April 5, 1917): 261, 412-13; *Kennebec Journal*, September 16, 1936; U.S. Congress, *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1971), 635, 1048, 1490, 1710, 1913.

<sup>6</sup>*Press Herald*, July 12, 1939.

<sup>7</sup>*Congressional Record* 85, pt. 1 (October 26, 1939): 925.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.* (October 24, 27, 1939): 800, 986, 999-1000, 1019.

<sup>9</sup>*Press Herald*, November 3, 1939; *Congressional Record* 85, pt. 1 (October 26, 1939): 898.

<sup>10</sup>*Congressional Record* 85, *Battle Against American Intervention in World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1974).

<sup>11</sup>"We Refused to Invite Trouble," March 8, 1939, Clyde Smith Papers, Margaret Chase Smith Library (hereafter MCSL).

<sup>12</sup>Jonas Manfred, *Isolationism in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 250; *Congressional Record* 84, pt. 8 (June 28, 1939): 8168.

<sup>13</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, July 29, 30, 1939.

<sup>14</sup>*Congressional Record*, 85, pt. 2, appendix (October 30, 1939): A582.

<sup>15</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, November 2, 1939; *Congressional Record*, 85, pt. 2 (November 3, 1939): 1323.

<sup>16</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, November 3, 1939; *Congressional Record*, 85, pt. 2 (November 3, 1939): 1352, 1389.

<sup>17</sup>*Biographical Directory*, p. 1710.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1718. See *Congressional Record*, 84, pt. 2 (February 23, 1939): 1842-43; pt. 8 (June 30, 1939): 8511-13; "War Danger Multiplied by Embargo Repeal," February 7, 1940, Clyde Smith Papers, MCSL.

<sup>19</sup>*Congressional Record*, 86, pt. 11 (September 7, 1940): 11748.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.* (May 14, 1940): 6084. For Lindbergh's isolationist activities, see Wayne S. Cole, *Charles A. Lindbergh and the Battle Against American Intervention in World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1974).

<sup>21</sup>*Bangor Daily News*, September 5, 1940.

<sup>22</sup>*Congressional Record*, 86, pts. 5-8 (April 18-July 11, 1940): 4709, 6685, 7931, 7935, 8831; pt. 7 (July 11, 1940): 7931, 7935; pts. 8-11 (June 19-September 9, 1940): 8631, 8934, 10068, 11142, 12160; pt. 10 (August 26-28, 1940): 10912, 11043, 11137.

<sup>23</sup>Porter, *Seventy-Sixth Congress*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>24</sup>*Maine State Labor News*, August 1940; *Bangor Commercial*, September 5, 1940; *Bangor Daily News* September 4, 1940; *Bath Times*, September 6, 1940.

<sup>25</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, September 4, 1940.

<sup>26</sup>Cole, *America First*, p. 26; Cole, *Lindbergh*, p. 117; *Bangor Commercial*, September 10, 1940.

<sup>27</sup>*Bangor Daily News*, January 13, 1941.

<sup>28</sup>Harold C. Perham (West Paris), letter to editor, in *Portland Press Herald*, January 13, 1941; Mabel Hillman (Newport), letter to the editor, in *Ibid.*, January 8, 1941; E. C. W. (Hiram), letter to the editor, in *Ibid.*



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<sup>29</sup>*Biographical Record*, p. 933.

<sup>30</sup>*Congressional Record*, 87, pt. 1 (February 8, 1941): 814; pts 1-2 (February 8-March 11, 1941): 815, 2178; Alberta Gould, *First Lady of the Senate: A Life of Margaret Chase Smith* (Mount Desert, Maine: Windswept House Publishers, 1990), p. 28.

<sup>31</sup>*Congressional Record*, 87, pt. 3 (March 19, 1941): 2383-84; pt. 4 (March 7, 1941): 3727-28.

<sup>32</sup>See *Congressional Record*, 87, pt. 3 (March 21, 1941), 2485.

<sup>33</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, January 7, 1941.

<sup>34</sup>Cole, *America First*, p. 127.

<sup>35</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, March 4, 6, 1941; *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup>*Kennebec Journal*, January 25, 1941. See also *Maine State Labor News*, August 1940.

<sup>37</sup>*Congressional Record*, 87, pt. 2 (March 5, 1941): 1798.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 1798-99.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1800; (March 8, 1941): 2097.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, pt. 1 (February 5, 1941): 633; pt. 4 (May 6, 1941): 3663, 3676; Wayne S. Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye and American Foreign Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), p. 185.

<sup>42</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, November 15, 1941.

<sup>43</sup>*Kennebec Journal*, September 19, 1941; *Portland Press Herald*, September 19, 1941; *Portland Evening Express*, September 19, 1941. See America First ad, *Evening Express* November 6, 1941.

<sup>44</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, September 20, 23, 29, 1941; *Evening Express*, September 23, 1941.

<sup>45</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, October 2, October 11, 1941.

<sup>46</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, November 24, 1941.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.* October 17, 1941.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, November 15, 1941.

<sup>49</sup>Obituaries, *Portland Press Herald*, December 30, 1986; *Evening Express*, December 30, 1986.

<sup>50</sup>Wayne S. Cole, *Roosevelt & the Isolationists, 1932-1945* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), p. 266.

<sup>51</sup>Garnett L. Eskew, *Cradle of Ships* (New York: Putnam, 1958), p. 193.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*; Ralph Snow, *Bath Iron Works: The First Hundred Years* (Bath, Maine: Maine Maritime Museum, 1987), pp. 315, 317.

<sup>53</sup>*Bath Times*, September 9, 14, 1940.

<sup>54</sup>Snow, *Bath Iron Works*, pp. 365-67.

<sup>55</sup>*Bath Times*, September 3, 1940; *Maine State Labor News*, December 1940; "Washington and You," June 19, 1941, *Statement Speeches* 1: 8, 100, MCSL.

<sup>56</sup>*Atlantic Fisherman* 21 (December 1940: 7; 21 (August 1940): 5. The *Atlantic Fisherman* announced new launchings in Maine nearly every issue from September 1939 to December 1941. See especially 20 (September 1939): 7; 21 (January 1941): 7.

<sup>57</sup>*Congressional Record*, 85, pt. 1 (October 17, 24, 1939): 767, 776-77, 786, 793; *Bangor Daily News*, October 31, 1941.

<sup>58</sup>*Congressional Record*, 86, pt. 6 (May 14, 1940): 6085; *Bath Times* September 3, 1940.

<sup>59</sup>*Maine State Labor News*, July 1940; *Kennebec Journal*, September 13, 1940; *Evening Express*, September 3, 1940.

<sup>60</sup>*Portland Press Herald*, May 6, 1941.