

**Altruism During History's Darkest Hour:
Varian Fry's Refusal to Compromise Despite Perpetual Conflict**

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"I stayed because the refugees needed me "
—Varian Fry, 1941¹

In June 1940, while French troops were surrendering to Germany, four million refugees found themselves helpless in Nazi-influenced France. These refugees, deemed inferior by German Chancellor Adolf Hitler, were facing the high risks of being arrested, placed in concentration camps or murdered. Among the refugees, many were cultural icons who made remarkable advances in art, literature, and science. Through voicing their opposition to Hitler, these cultural figures faced peril from the merciless Third Reich.

Varian Fry, an altruistic journalist, felt compelled to rescue 2,000 refugees in Marseille—culturally significant or not— from 1940-41. Throughout the course of his work, Fry encountered perpetual conflict from French and American authorities, urging him to end his rescue operation. Fry, however, was influenced by a moral obligation to save refugees, arguably fueling his unbudging decision to not compromise with opposing views by leaving France. Fry's legacy is reflected through the cultural contributions of the refugees he saved and through the work of the International Rescue Committee.

Occupation of France

On September 3, 1939, the United Kingdom declared war against Nazi Germany, marking the beginning of World War II.² Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, once a strong advocate for peace, dismissed any hopes of appeasement following Germany's attack on Poland

¹ Varian M. Fry to Lilian Fry, September 14, 1941, Lisbon, Portugal.

² Webb Miller, "England Declares War: France Expected to Enter Fight at Noon," *The Sunday Messenger* (Athens, Ohio), September 3, 1939, accessed January 23, 2018.

two days prior. Having made previous attempts at compromise, notably through the 1938 Munich Agreement, Chamberlain threatened Hitler with a final ultimatum to remove troops from Poland, which was infamously left unanswered.³ Following the declaration of war, France joined the United Kingdom, forming the Allied forces.⁴

Although the Allies were supported by the potent French military, Germany continued with its ruthless occupation of Europe. By June 22, 1940—less than a year after the war began—the French government surrendered to Germany through an armistice.⁵ The armistice, an unlikely compromise conceived by Hitler, split France into two zones: a northern zone occupied by Germany, and a southern zone swayed by Nazi morals and centered around the spa town, Vichy (see Appendix I).⁶

Shortly after the armistice, four million of Hitler's political opponents, including Jews, communists, and homosexuals, fled to unoccupied France. Desperate to escape persecution, many believed southern France was the last safe haven in Europe.⁷ The Franco-German armistice, however, introduced a clause obliging France "to surrender upon demand all Germans [in France] named by the German Government."⁸ The clause directly impacted only German anti-fascists, but endangered anybody wanted by Hitler. Many anti-fascists threatened by the

³ AP, "British, French 'Last Warnings' Sent to Hitler," *The Capital Times* (Madison, Wisconsin), September 1, 1939, accessed March 20, 2018.

⁴ Dr. Gary Sheffield, "History - World Wars: The Fall of France," BBC, last modified March 30, 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/fall_france_01.shtml.

⁵ "Franco-German Armistice: June 25, 1940," The Avalon Project, Yale Law School last modified 2008, accessed January 4, 2018, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/frgearm.asp#art19>.

⁶ Sheryl Ochayon, "Vichy France and French North Africa," Map, Yad Vashem, accessed December 9, 2017, www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/newsletter/25/algeria_marocco.asp.

⁷ Kirke L. Simpson, "Truce Fails to Assure France Against Battles," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, June 25, 1940, accessed November 22, 2017.

⁸ "Franco-German Armistice: June 25, 1940," The Avalon Project, Yale Law School.

clause were cultural icons, who received no mercy from Hitler. They included artist André Masson, writer Hertha Pauli, and Nobel Prize winner Otto Meyerhof, among countless others.⁹

American Isolationism and the ERC

Whereas European anti-fascists faced imminent danger, the American government refused to make exceptions to strict immigration laws for refugees. Following the many American casualties during World War I, a political movement called “isolationism” prevailed, favoring American abstinence from international conflict.¹⁰ Isolationism gained strength in the 1930s and became increasingly prevalent in the American government.¹¹

Despite being aware of Hitler’s actions, isolationists were anxious about national security. Following the attack and eventual invasion of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg on May 10, 1940, many became increasingly concerned that Nazi spies were coming through American borders.¹² This influenced State Department officials to make efforts to block refugees. Assistant Secretary Breckinridge Long even wrote consulates should “put every obstacle in the way and [require] additional evidence... [to] postpone the granting of the visas.”¹³ Most Americans supported isolationism and did nothing to help endangered refugees.¹⁴

⁹ Carla Killough McClafferty, *In Defiance of Hitler: The Secret Mission of Varian Fry* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2008), 14-15.

¹⁰ "American Isolationism in the 1930s," U.S. Department of State, accessed January 23, 2018, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/american-isolationism>.

¹¹ U.S. Congress, *Library of Congress*, 74th Cong., 1st sess. Cong. Res. 173, accessed April 1, 2018, <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/74th-congress/session-1/c74s1ch837.pdf>.

¹² "Breckinridge Long," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed January 31, 2018, <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10008298>.

¹³ "Breckinridge Long's Memorandum," Breckenridge Long to Adolf A. Berle Jr., and James C. Dunn, June 26, 1940.

¹⁴ Ron Elving, "This Isn't The First Time Americans Have Shown Fear Of Refugees," *NPR*, November 21, 2015, accessed January 31, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2015/11/21/456857350/this-isnt-the-first-time-americans-have-shown-fear-of-refugees>.

Isolationism, however, was not going to be accepted without conflict from its outspoken opponents. A minority movement, known as interventionism, was highly insistent on rescuing refugees. One pro-interventionist group, the American Friends of German Freedom, hosted a luncheon on June 25, 1940, aimed at raising money for saving cultural figures in France.¹⁵ From the luncheon, \$3,000 was raised, and an organization called the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC) was formed, dedicated to rescuing cultural figures by bringing them to the United States.¹⁶

Following its formation, the ERC created a list of 200 cultural figures to save and proposed a compromise with President Roosevelt to obtain emergency visas for each cultural figure.¹⁷ However, the ERC needed to send a representative to facilitate operations in Marseille, a city in southern France. There was one volunteer, Varian Fry, a young but unqualified journalist. Fry was persuaded to volunteer given his personal experiences; in 1935, he traveled to Berlin and witnessed brutality toward Jews.¹⁸ Disgusted by what he saw, Fry soon published an account of the antisemitism prevalent in Germany, while becoming active in Nazi-resistance.¹⁹

Though highly motivated, Fry lacked the prowess for such an undertaking- his primary asset was his stubborn and rebellious character.²⁰ Otherwise, Fry was young and inexperienced, with no prior knowledge of the means required to run such an operation. As no other individual

¹⁵ Sullivan, *Villa Air-Bel*, 184.

¹⁶ Varian M. Fry to Anna E. Roosevelt, July 18, 1940, Foreign Policy Association, New York, New York.

¹⁷ U.S. Cong. House, 104th Cong., 2d sess. Doc. E38, vol. 142, series 38. 1996.

¹⁸ Carla Killough McClafferty, *In Defiance of Hitler: The Secret Mission of Varian Fry* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2008), 4.

¹⁹ U.S. Cong. House, *Honoring Varian Fry on the 100th Anniversary of His Birth*, by Steven R. Rothman, 110th Cong., 1st sess. Res. 743, October 15, 2007.

²⁰ Pierre Sauvage, "Interview with Pierre Sauvage," e-mail interview by author, March 30, 2018.

volunteered, though, Fry became the ERC's European ambassador.²¹ He left the United States on August 4, 1940, expecting to return twenty-five days later.²²

Vital Adjustments

Once Fry arrived in Marseille, he witnessed the streets “crowded with thousands of refugees of every description.”²³ Many refugees were lined outside the American consulate, begging for immigration papers (see Appendix II).²⁴ Fry, though expected to only save those on his list, refused to ignore other refugees. After being exposed to the impact of Nazi persecution once again, he felt morally compelled to rescue as many refugees as possible.²⁵

Despite his increasing motivation, Fry encountered obstacles that made rescuing refugees difficult. To leave France, a variety of documents were required, including an exit visa.²⁶ French exit visas were difficult to obtain, as anti-fascists requesting exit visas from French authorities were identified and often reported to German officials. This, along with many other challenges, required Fry to forge documents and devise escape routes to smuggle refugees out of France.²⁷

Fortunately, Fry soon met Albert Hirschman, a refugee with a comprehensive knowledge of the black market and escape routes out of France. Having fought in the Spanish Civil War, Hirschman knew the Pyrenees mountains, lying at the Franco-Spanish border, could be used to

²¹ Varian M. Fry to Anna E. Roosevelt, July 18, 1940, Foreign Policy Association, New York, New York.

²² "Letter from Mildred Adams, Executive Secretary of the Emergency Rescue Committee," Mildred Adams to Varian Fry, August 3, 1940.

²³ Varian Fry, *Assignment: Rescue*, (New York City, NY: Scholastic Inc., 1968), 6.

²⁴ Hiram Bingham, IV, *View from above of refugees lined up outside the American consulate in Marseille, 1940-1941, RESCUE MISSIONS-- Diplomatic Rescue-- France: American Rescue Missions--Bingham*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.

²⁵ Lyman, "Varian Fry: Assignment: Rescue," in *Holocaust Rescuers*, 31.

²⁶ U.S. Cong. House, 104th Cong., 2d sess. Doc. E38, vol. 142, series 38. 1996.

²⁷ *Assignment, Rescue: The Story of Varian Fry and the Emergency Rescue Committee*, Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1997.

circumnavigate border police.²⁸ From there, refugees could flee to Lisbon, where most ships crossing the Atlantic Ocean left.²⁹ Fry also received help from Hiram Bingham IV, the vice-consul at the American consulate, and a team of compassionate volunteers.³⁰

French Authorities: Following Another's Agenda

When Fry left for Europe, he anticipated he would travel throughout unoccupied France on a bicycle to look for refugees.³¹ However, quickly after Fry arrived in Marseille, word spread of his intentions. Fry's presence ignited a new hope in refugees, attracting many to his room at the Hotel Splendide.³² Though he was motivated, it was often difficult to distinguish refugees from spies. Fry's personal conflict was resolved in how he treated every refugee, with an undying devotion to serving others:

*We had to guess... [and] give each refugee the full benefit of the doubt. Otherwise, we might refuse help to someone who was really in danger and learn later that he had been dragged away to Dachau or Buchenwald because we had turned him away.*³³

By Fry's third week in Marseille, police arrived at the Splendide and arrested refugees, questioning his work and the refugees' business.³⁴ Though Fry's cover was not exposed, he needed to be careful about keeping his work secretive. Whereas providing relief for refugees was legal, rescuing them could result in arrest, expulsion, or execution.³⁵ Fry's unfortunate experience influenced him to establish the *Centre Américain de Secours* (CAS), an organization claiming to

²⁸ Fry, *Surrender On Demand*, 24.

²⁹ Rebecca Erbelding, "Interview with USHMM Historian," telephone interview by author, February 2, 2018.

³⁰ "Mrs. Elena Frank," Varian Fry to Hiram Bingham IV, November 8, 1940, Marseille, France.

³¹ Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 12.

³² *Assignment: Rescue: The Story of Varian Fry and the Emergency Rescue Committee*, directed by Richard Kaplan, by Christina Lazaridi, narrated by Meryl Streep, (1997; United States: Richard Kaplan Productions), VHS.

³³ Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 33.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ McClafferty, *In Defiance of Hitler: The Secret Mission of Varian Fry*, 41.

provide necessities for refugees.³⁶ The goal of the CAS was to alleviate suspicion from French police while avoiding further conflict.

Despite the precaution, French police remained vigilant toward Fry's work. On many occasions, Fry found police raiding his office, looking for evidence that proved his work comprised of more than relief.³⁷ The purpose of the raids was not only to identify illicit documents but to scare Fry and urge him to leave France.³⁸ French police did not have a vendetta against refugees but were obligated to push the Nazi-established agenda.³⁹ While others may have viewed concession as the only option, Fry refused to compromise by leaving France. His work was beyond illegal and dangerous, but Fry's moral obligation to rescue refugees prohibited him from simply abandoning those on Hitler's chopping block. Fry justified his actions to his mother by merely explaining, "I stayed because the refugees needed me."⁴⁰

Fry's refusal to compromise only strengthened tension with French authorities. On December 1, 1940, Fry was arrested and held on a prison boat called the SS Sinaia.⁴¹ At the time, Marshal Philippe-Pétain, head of unoccupied France, was about to visit Marseille. In preparation, police arrested 20,000 people posing a potential risk to Pétain's safety.⁴² Fry was released after three days, but French police were gathering evidence to convict him. A police report dated

³⁶ Daniel Bénédite, *Administrative Report: The Stages of the Committee's Development*, Report, Centre Américain De Secours, Marseille, France, 1941.

³⁷ Lyman, "Varian Fry: Assignment: Rescue," in *Holocaust Rescuers*, 33.

³⁸ Varian M. Fry to Lilian Fry, September 14, 1941, Lisbon, Portugal.

³⁹ Fry, *Surrender On Demand*, 51.

⁴⁰ Varian M. Fry to Lilian Fry, September 14, 1941, Lisbon, Portugal.

⁴¹ AP, "Americans Freed by French Police," *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, California).

⁴² Mordecai Paldiel, "Diplomats in Service to Humanity," in *Sheltering the Jews: Stories of Holocaust Rescuers*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 139

December 30, 1940, proposed Fry's expulsion on the alleged grounds he was "leading an operation... [protecting] foreigners... of political tendencies [hostile] to France."⁴³

Unfortunately for French authorities, expelling Fry was met with reluctance, as it was feared action against an American would prompt negative portrayal of France in America.⁴⁴ In the meantime, French police continued to gather incriminating evidence to reasonably expel Fry. The journalist was persistently urged to leave, but with measures not taken against him, Fry continued his rescue operation, determined to save refugees regardless of cultural significance. Though compromise from the Franco-German armistice thoroughly shaped the French agenda, Fry's intentions remained unaffected by opposing views.

American Government: Neutrality Above All

Whereas Fry faced conflict against French authorities, he encountered opposition from American officials. As the American government fiercely supported isolationism, maintaining a healthy relationship with unoccupied France remained a high priority in conserving neutrality.⁴⁵ This isolationist concern influenced the State Department to discourage Fry from his humanitarian work. On September 18, 1940, Secretary of State Cordell Hull instructed Bingham to meet with Fry and Frank Bohn, another American rescuer, about the legality of their work. Hull asserted in a telegram to Bingham: "[The United States cannot] countenance any activity by American citizens desiring to evade the laws of the governments with which this country maintains friendly relations"⁴⁶ (see Appendix III). The telegram additionally informed Fry and

⁴³ Chief of French Police, *The Suspect Activity of Mr. Varian Fry*, Report, Bouches du Rhone Department, Minister of the Interior, Marseille, France.

⁴⁴ Telegram from William Leahy, June 15, 1941, American Embassy, Vichy.

⁴⁵ Paldiel, "Diplomats in Service to Humanity," in *Sheltering the Jews*, 139.

⁴⁶ Cordell Hull to Hiram Bingham IV, September 18, 1940, Department of State, Washington, DC.

Bohn that they wouldn't receive support from the State Department, and persuaded them to return.

Once again, Fry was determined to persevere and not give into pressure from isolationist-fueled attitudes. In response to Hull's telegram, Fry reaffirmed his stance by describing the nightmare that was France for anti-fascists:

*Deprived of all hope of diplomatic or consular intervention in their behalf, hundreds of these new stateless are confined to the concentration camps of France [...] already overcrowded and clearly unfit for human habitation, additional hundreds are at this moment being directed.*⁴⁷

Although Fry was motivated to not give up and leave, his compatriot, Frank Bohn, acquiesced with those begging him to come home. By the first week of October, shortly after Hull wrote to Bingham, Bohn left Marseille.⁴⁸ The pressure was simply too much for him, who, like Fry, was tenaciously being urged to leave. Despite the increasing prevalence of compromise, Fry was not persuaded by the evolving currents. The journalist-turned-humanitarian had no ambition to leave France until every refugee endangered by Hitler was saved. Fry intentionally set off a flame between humanitarianism and cautious government, and no amount of fire was influencing him to succumb to pressure.

On January 15, 1941, Fry went to the American Embassy in Vichy to renew his passport, due to expire in seven days.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, as the State Department was persuading Fry to cease his rescue operation, this procedure was difficult. Once he entered, a secretary told Fry, "My instructions are to renew [your passport] only for [an] immediate return to the United

⁴⁷ Varian M. Fry to Cordell Hull, November 18, 1940, Vichy, France.

⁴⁸ Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 92.

⁴⁹ "Memorandum for Mr. Varian Mackey Fry," Ruth Shipley to Varian Fry, July 22, 1940, Department of State, Passport Division.

States, and then only for a period of two weeks.”⁵⁰ Without a valid passport, Fry’s work was put in more danger, giving French authorities a legitimate reason to expel him. Fry, however, knew he could not leave Marseille; though he established a group of dedicated volunteers at the CAS, the refugees needed Fry.⁵¹ Shortly after, he wrote to his wife: “As long as [the refugees] beg me to stay on... I shall stay.”⁵² Fry continued with the threat of not having a valid passport, as his altruism outweighed his regard for personal safety.

Legacy

Fry’s work was risky from the beginning, and the inevitable eventually occurred. On August 27, 1941, over a year after arriving in Marseille, French police expelled Varian Fry on the grounds he was “[protecting] Jews and anti-Nazis.”⁵³ Fry’s work was ended by an ultimatum beyond control, but his legacy is still relevant today. Fry was not content with the number of people he saved, but he rescued an estimated 2,000 individuals- not to mention the generations that have since and will follow. The list of people saved by Fry includes Lion Feuchtwanger, Max Ernst, and Hannah Arendt, and many others.⁵⁴

Three months after Fry returned, on December 7, 1941, Japan attacked American naval base Pearl Harbor, prompting President Roosevelt to declare war.⁵⁵ It wasn’t until the creation of the War Refugee Board on January 22, 1944, though, when the American government prioritized

⁵⁰ Paldiel, "Diplomats in Service to Humanity," in *Sheltering the Jews*, 140.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Varian M. Fry to Eileen Hughes Fry, February 15, 1941, Marseille, France.

⁵³ Fry, *Surrender on Demand*, 224-226.

⁵⁴ U.S. Cong. House, 110th Cong, 1st sess. Res. 743, October 15, 2007.

⁵⁵ "World War II in Europe," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed February 28, 2018, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/world-war-ii-in-europe>.

rescuing refugees.⁵⁶ In the meantime, Fry advocated for Nazi-resistance by giving lectures and writing articles.⁵⁷ He wrote for magazines such as *The New Republic* and continued condemning America's poor treatment of refugees. Finally, on September 2, 1945, World War II ended with the surrender of Japan.⁵⁸

The cultural figures that Fry saved in Marseille also went on to make further contributions to American culture. Franz Werfel, once he arrived in the United States, published his novel, *The Song of Bernadette*, which instantly became a bestseller.⁵⁹ Marc Chagall continued painting, with his piece, *The Horseman* (1966), on display at the Milwaukee Art Museum.⁶⁰ Wanda Landowska continued her revival of the harpsichord, playing Bach and Handel at Metropolitan Museum of Art until retirement.⁶¹

Fry's legacy is most notably shown through his lasting impact on modern humanitarianism. In 1942, the International Relief Association and the Emergency Rescue Committee combined to form the International Rescue Committee (IRC), an organization that has rescued and provided relief for millions, from Cubans fleeing Castro in 1960 to Syrian refugees in 2018.⁶² Fry left a significant legacy on the IRC, with Flavia Draganus, IRC Global Communications Director, remarking, "[Fry's] spirit has persisted for over 75 years and echoes throughout all of our programs worldwide."⁶³

⁵⁶ Exec. Order No. 9417, 3 C.F.R. (1944).

⁵⁷ Varian Fry, "Series of Lectures," Advertisement, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, New York, 1942, accessed April 1, 2018, <https://www.ushmm.org/lcmedia/photo/lc/image/15/15048.jpg>.

⁵⁸ "World War II in Europe," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed February 28, 2018, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/world-war-ii-in-europe>.

⁵⁹ "Franz Werfel," Britannica School, November 18, 2009, accessed March 10, 2018, <https://school.eb.com/levels/high/article/Franz-Werfel/76560>.

⁶⁰ "The Horseman," Milwaukee Art Museum, accessed March 01, 2018, <http://collection.mam.org/details.php?id=9801>.

⁶¹ Wanda Landowska to Emanuel Winternitz, November 10, 1945, New York, New York.

⁶² "History of the International Rescue Committee," International Rescue Committee (IRC), January 11, 2017, accessed March 11, 2018, <https://www.rescue.org/page/history-international-rescue-committee>.

⁶³ Flavia Draganus, email interview by author, February 1, 2018.

Conclusion

Varian Fry was an ordinary man who left an extraordinary legacy. Though he faced conflict from French and American authorities, he persisted, determined to not compromise and leave millions of refugees facing insurmountable peril. Since his death on September 13, 1967, Fry has not received the recognition he deserves. Despite his relatively unknown status, his influence can be traced through the post-war contributions of the intellectuals he rescued and through the modern day International Rescue Committee. Fry's story is especially relevant today and demonstrates the power of refusing to compromise when faced with perpetual conflict.

Appendix I



The map above shows the demarcation line that separated occupied and unoccupied France. Unoccupied France was also known as Vichy France, which was completely blocked off from the Atlantic Ocean, with the only body of water bordering Vichy France being the Mediterranean Sea. Because Marseille is a port city in southern France, many refugees fled to Marseille in hopes of escaping France altogether.

Citation

Ochayon, Sheryl. "Vichy France and French North Africa." Map. Yad Vashem. Accessed December 9, 2017.
www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/newsletter/25/algeria_marocco.asp.

Appendix II



This picture was taken by Hiram Bingham IV, right outside of the American consulate in Marseille, sometime between in 1940-41. It shows how there were many refugees desperate to get papers to flee France. It explains why Fry stayed in Europe longer than the month he was supposed to and justifies Fry's refusal to compromise with French and American governments.

Citation

Bingham, Hiram, IV. *View from above of refugees lined up outside the American consulate in Marseille*. 1940-1941. RESCUE MISSIONS-- Diplomatic Rescue-- France: American Rescue Missions--Bingham, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.

Appendix III

TELEGRAM SENT

RECEIVED
Department of State

1940 SEP 18 PM 12 52 Washington.

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
September 16, 1940
12 M

PREPARING OFFICE WILL INDICATE WHETHER
TO BE TRANSMITTED CONFIDENTIAL CODE NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTIAL PLAIN

Collect Full rate Day letter Night letter
Charge Departments DEPARTMENT
Full rate Day letter Night letter
Charge to \$

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
VICHY (France) FOR PARIS

1249 Your 539, September 11, 10 a.m. and 566, September 14, 6 p.m.

You should inform Dr. Bohn and Mr. Fry in personal interview if this can be arranged immediately that while Department is sympathetic with the plight of unfortunate refugees, and has authorized consular officers to give immediate and sympathetic consideration to their applications for visas, this Government can not repeat not countenance the activities of Dr. Bohn and Mr. Fry and other persons, however well-meaning their motives may be, in carrying on activities evading the laws of countries with which the United States maintains friendly relations

You are requested in your discretion, to inform the appropriate officials of the Foreign Office that while aliens who qualify for and obtain visas at American consular

Enciphered by _____
Sent by operator _____ M., _____ 19____

811.141
RECEIVED SEP 20 1940
AMERICAN EMBASSY VICHY
10/10/40
This copy may find out also that they definitely may be extremely embarrassing to American officials in their efforts to effect the rescue of American citizens and families.

1-5402 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

This telegram was written to Hiram Bingham IV by then Secretary of State Cordell Hull. It shows why the American government refused to support Varian Fry and another American humanitarian rescuing refugees in France, Frank Bohn. It also conveys the commonly-held belief that isolationism and neutrality should supersede humanitarian work.

Citation

Cordell Hull to Hiram Bingham IV. September 18, 1940. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Advertisements

Varian Fry. "Series of Lectures." Advertisement. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. New York, 1942. Accessed April 1, 2018.
<https://www.ushmm.org/lcmedia/photo/lc/image/15/15048.jpg>.

This advertisement proved to me that Varian Fry continued advocating for refugees even when he left Marseille. It shows the short-term impact of Fry's work in Marseille, provides historical context, and proves his passion for rescuing refugees.

Armistice

France, Germany. Armistice of June 22, 1940. The Avalon Project, Yale Law School. Last modified 2008. Accessed January 4, 2018. <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/frgearm.asp#art19>

To understand historical context relating to Vichy France, I consulted the armistice between France and Germany on June 22, 1940. The armistice helped me understand how unoccupied France was structured, especially through Article XIX, which put anti-fascists in danger. I paid special attention to the citation, as there isn't a citation procedure for armistices. I used the treaty citation method and combined it with the website citation method, and gave credit to the Avalon Project.

Books

Fry, Varian. *Assignment: Rescue*. New York City, NY: Scholastic Inc., 1968.

A reprint of Fry's initial autobiography, *Surrender on Demand*, I used this book to learn about the refugee situation in France, and why it was critical for somebody like Fry to rescue these desperate anti-fascists. It was one of the most integral sources for my paper, and was helpful in explaining not just what happened in France but how it shaped Fry.

Fry, Varian. *Surrender on Demand*. 1945. Reprint, Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 1997.

Fry published his memoir, *Surrender on Demand*, in 1945, and it was re-released in 1997. Easily one of my best sources, the autobiography perfectly summarizes Fry's conflict with the French and American government, and helps me understand how Fry's refusal to compromise influenced his work. It also provided an in-depth explanation for information from other dry secondary sources I encountered.

Gold, Mary Jayne. *Crossroads Marseille, 1940*. New York City, NY: Doubleday, 1980.

I used this memoir by Mary Jayne Gold- one of the workers at the CAS- to understand the refugee situation from a primary perspective apart from Varian Fry. It gave me a thorough

understanding of historical context, and how the Nazi invasion of northern France impacted the lives of many civilians, rich or poor.

Lash, Joseph P. “A Day at the World’s Fair with Mrs. R.” In *Eleanor Roosevelt: A Friend's Memoir*, 107-115. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1964.

To obtain context about the beginning of the ERC’s work, I consulted one of Joseph Lash’s memoirs about Eleanor Roosevelt. It gave me information regarding the role of Eleanor Roosevelt, and helped me understand how the ERC was highly dependent on the help of significant people to rescue other significant people.

Cablegrams

Fry, Varian. “Cablegram from Varian Fry.” Received by Museum of Modern Art, 21 Apr. 1941, Marseilles.

During his time in Marseille, Fry wrote many cablegrams back to New York to update the ERC and Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) about his work. This cablegram depicts Fry’s plans to rescue Marc Chagall, Max Ernst, and André Breton (some of the most significant people he rescued). It puts Fry’s rescue work on a timeline, and helps me understand some of the other methods Fry used to rescue refugees.

Congressional Publications

U.S. Congress. *Library of Congress*. 74th Cong., 1st sess. Cong. Res. 173. Accessed April 1, 2018. <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/74th-congress/session-1/c74s1ch837.pdf>.

President Roosevelt signed the first of the four Neutrality Acts on August 31, 1935. The first act banned the United States from exporting weapons or any ammunition to countries engaged in war. It helped me understand how isolationism was paving into American legislation, and the approaches taken to ensure the United States wouldn’t be involved in World War II.

U.S. Congress. *Library of Congress*. 74th Cong., 2nd sess. Cong. Res. 491. Accessed April 1, 2018. <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/74th-congress/session-1/c74s1ch837.pdf>.

The second of four Neutrality Acts was signed on February 26, 1936, and reaffirmed the role of the President in the case of war. It interestingly was only in effect until May 1, 1937, which conversely helped me understand that even though it was due to expire over a year after, isolationism still prevailed after May 1937.

Executive Orders

Exec. Order No. 9417, 3 C.F.R. (1944).

After over two years of fighting in World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt finally passed this executive order that created the War Refugee Board to assist European refugees. The order provides historical context to how the United States treated anti-fascist refugees, and how refugees were finally being made a priority over two years after Fry left Marseille.

Interviews

"Oral History Interview with Hans Cahnmann." Interview by Gail Schwartz. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed March 1, 2018.
<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn511473>.

After searching through four hours of interview material, I was able to get a testimony about Varian Fry from a Holocaust survivor, Hans Cahnmann. Cahnmann described Fry as a very good man, who helped him get a visa. Cahnmann eventually went on to complete work relating to Vitamin A for the National Institutes of Health (NIH).

Koenig, Elizabeth. "Oral History Interview with Elizabeth Kaufmann Koenig." Interview by Dan Collison. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed March 20, 2018.
<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn506736>.

Elizabeth Kaufmann Koenig was a Holocaust survivor that idolized Varian Fry. Even though she wasn't saved by Fry, I deemed her interesting oral history to be primary because Koenig provided a first-hand description of how disgracefully Fry was treated in the United States shortly after he left France.

Rosenberg, Justus. "Interview with Justus Rosenberg." Telephone interview by author. April 2, 2018.

After persistently contacting Mr. Justus Rosenberg for the past six months (Mr. Rosenberg is the last surviving collaborator of Varian Fry), I was able to interview him on April 2. Though I asked many deep and thought-provoking questions, his responses were consistent with what I already knew, making this interview not as helpful as anticipated.

Rosenberg, Justus. "Oral History Interview with Justus Rosenberg." Interview. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed April 1, 2018.
<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn513494>.

I initially consulted this interview to get context about Justus Rosenberg in preparation for my interview with him the following day. However, as I continued listening to his story, I learned a significant amount of information of how Fry's team at the CAS came to be, how they met each, and some the relationship dynamics between members of the rescue operation.

Journal Articles

"Music for the Harpsichord by Wanda Landowska." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1st ser., 18, no. 12 (November 1923): 292-93. Accessed December 19, 2017.
www.jstor.org/stable/3254859.

When the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC) assembled, the main goal was to save significant intellectuals trapped in France. This journal article advertised one of Wanda Landowska's performances in America in 1923, showing why her work was important. It details how unknown the harpsichord was, which shows why somebody like Landowska, working to reintroduce the instrument, was important to rescue.

Letters

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt to Eileen Hughes Fry. May 13, 1941. The White House, Washington, DC.

Though the First Lady expressed support for Fry early on, this letter shows her wavering support for the humanitarian. It proves that Fry's conflict with the American government resulted in serious repercussions, with the withdrawal of backing from Eleanor Roosevelt.

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt to Varian Fry. July 8, 1940.

Fry received much help from Eleanor Roosevelt early on. I used this letter to understand how even though Eleanor was in fierce support of Fry, isolationism was prevalent everywhere in the American government, even with the war-pushing president, Franklin Roosevelt. This created major obstacles, but shows even at the beginning, Fry refused to be fazed by conflict.

Curtis T. Everett to Freda Kirchwey. July 18, 1941. Vichy, France.

This letter shows how the State Department felt their "support" for the CAS was generous and shouldn't be stretched. It helped me understand the State Department policies that made it difficult for refugees to come through American borders, and, through the word choice incorporated by Everett, even a further understanding of American apathy toward refugees.

Daniel Bénédite to Varian Fry, March 31, 1942. Marseille, France.

Even after Fry left Marseille, he was still in contact with the CAS and operations in Europe. Bénédite's letter proves Fry's devotion to refugees even after he was forced to compromise in August 1941. The letter also shows how the CAS was able to function without Fry, proving he left a legacy on rescuing refugees in unoccupied France even though he wasn't in Marseille.

Daniel Bénédite and Paul Schmierer to Varian Fry, October 4, 1942.

I used this letter to learn about the short-term legacy of Fry's work. The CAS's operations were ended in June 1942, about ten months after Fry left Marseille, and the succeeding head, Daniel Bénédite, was on trial. It proves that there were many risks involved with Fry's work which, even though didn't impact the American, obviously impacted his associates.

"Decorative Tribute by Henry Glauber for Varian Fry, Undated." Henry Glauber to Varian Fry.

Presumptively written after Fry's death in 1967, this letter from one of the people Fry saved, Henry Glauber, expresses gratitude for Fry's actions. It's decoratively written, showing the artistic talents of those Fry's saved, and also shows the humanity behind each refugee, as it details how Glauber was *much* more than one person saved by Fry.

Hugh Fullerton to H. Freeman Matthews, August 14, 1940. Marseille, France.

This letter perfectly expresses the contradicting attitudes of Marseille Consul Hugh Fullerton. Though Fry encountered a lot of conflict from Fullerton, this letter shows that he was at least willing

to forward his concerns to the American embassy. It helps me understand a different side to Fullerton, who while he didn't support Fry, clearly didn't altogether condemn him.

"Letter from Max Ascoli, Dean of the New School for Social Research, to Ingrid Warburg, Secretary of the ERC." Max Ascoli to Ingrid Warburg. July 17, 1941.

Max Ascoli, Dean at the New School for Social Research- a major support of the ERC- wrote a letter to the ERC secretary, Ingrid Warburg, to explain the need for ERC support for Varian Fry. It explains the reluctance coming from New York City toward Fry's work, showing another angle Fry faced conflict from.

"Letter from Mildred Adams, Executive Secretary of the Emergency Rescue Committee." Mildred Adams to Varian Fry. August 3, 1940.

Before Fry left for Europe, he was given specific instructions from the ERC secretary, Mildred Adams about what he was to do in Marseille. This letter, detailing those instructions, helps me understand the naive pre-accusations the ERC made about rescue work in France. It also helps me understand how reality was greatly impacted by conflict, as French law created large obstacles that Fry was required to overcome.

"Mrs. Elena Frank." Varian Fry to Hiram Bingham IV. November 8, 1940. Marseille, France.

One of many examples of communication between Fry and Bingham, this letter shows the support Bingham provided Fry while he was in Marseille. This letter also helped me understand how Bingham's role was much more beyond granting documents- he also helped smuggle refugees such as Lion Feuchtwanger out of internment camps across France.

Sumner Welles to Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, October 1, 1940. Washington, DC.

From the beginning of Fry's work, the French government heavily opposed the CAS. This letter, from Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, to the First Lady, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, details the French desire, as early as October 1940, for Fry to leave France. It helps me understand the development of conflict, and how Fry was always facing opposition.

Varian Fry to Anna E. Roosevelt. July 18, 1940. Foreign Policy Association, New York, New York.

This letter from Varian Fry informs the First Lady about the progress of the ERC and Fry's selection to go to Marseille. There's a large focus on granting Fry a passport, which wasn't easy due to the State Department's reluctance towards granting passports for citizens.

Varian Fry to Anna E. Roosevelt. June 27, 1940. Foreign Policy Association, New York, New York.

I used this letter from Varian Fry to Eleanor Roosevelt to understand the importance and difficulty of finding a person willing "to risk their lives many times over" to rescue refugees in France. It helps me understand why Fry was the quintessential last resort, yet worked a rescue operation that changed history.

Varian Fry to Cordell Hull. November 18, 1940. Vichy, France.

This letter for Secretary of State Cordell Hull shows not only Fry's refusal to compromise but also his persistent demand for American intervention in France. It helps me understand *how* Fry refused to compromise and Fry's lack of reluctance in asking for what he wanted.

Varian Fry to Eileen Hughes Fry. February 15, 1941. Marseille, France.

Fry did a great job detailing his work within the letters he sent home, especially when he was communicating with his wife, Eileen. His letter of February 15 shows the difficulties he was facing with some of his colleagues, and provided me with a vital first-hand perspective on Fry's moral obligation to rescue refugees in France.

Varian Fry to Lilian Fry. September 14, 1941. Lisbon, Portugal.

Shortly after being expelled, Fry wrote to his mother to inform her about his expulsion and briefly explained his feelings toward his work. It shows how Fry developed character over the past year, with the source becoming instrumental in comprehending the moral obligation that motivated Fry in France.

Varian Fry to Malvina Thompson. July 23, 1940. Foreign Policy Association, New York, New York.

This letter does a great job of capturing the sense of urgency Fry felt toward rescuing refugees. It shows Fry's desire to go to Marseille as soon as possible, and lies down some basic logistics of his work leading up to the time he wrote this letter.

Varian Fry to Representative Samuel Dickstein. September 15, 1943.

I used this letter to better understand Varian Fry's role in refugee advocacy, and how he was willing to write politicians to lobby for better refugee treatment. Dickstein was a representative proposing a resolution that would allow refugees to temporarily stay in the U.S. In this letter, Fry made suggestions to how the resolution could be improved so the process of admitting refugees would be significantly faster.

Wanda Landowska to Emanuel Winternitz. November 10, 1945. New York, New York.

Emanuel Winternitz asked Wanda Landowska in 1945 if she would like to perform at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. She responded with this letter, designating what she would play on her harpsichord. It shows the impact that Varian Fry had on American culture, as Landowska was able to play for American audiences because of Fry's rescue mission.

Magazine Articles

Fry, Varian. "The Massacre of Jews." *The New Republic*, December 21, 1942, 816-19.

A heart-wrenchingly accurate portrayal of Nazi persecution of Jews, this article perfectly summarizes Fry's reason and devotion to saving refugees during the Holocaust. It gave sadly precise detail of the Nazis' treatment of Jews with Fry's persuasive interventionist flare. The magazine

article shows why rescuing refugees needs to be done, and how Fry refused to compromise his belief-set even after he left France.

Memorandums

"Breckinridge Long's Memorandum." Breckenridge Long to Adolf A. Berle Jr., and James C. Dunn. June 26, 1940.

This memorandum was a perfect example of isolationist views held by Assistant Secretary of State, Breckinridge Long. It conveys the mentality of blocking immigration inquiries as much as possible, and helps me understand the American attitudes and mindsets that influenced conflict with Varian Fry's rescue operation.

"Memo For Miss LeHand." H.C.T to Missy LeHand. July 2, 1940. The White House, Washington, D.C.

From an unidentified secretary at the White House, this memorandum passes a note from Eleanor Roosevelt, asking her husband to look at Fry's letter of June 27. It does a good job of showing the First Lady's interventionist desire to assist the efforts of non-government refugee organization, with the American government obviously doing very little to support refugees.

"Memorandum for E.R." Franklin D. Roosevelt to Anna E. Roosevelt. July 3, 1940. The White House, Washington, D.C.

With strict policy in wild support of isolationism, this memorandum from FDR to his wife, briefly (but forcibly) states that the American government cannot, under any circumstance, support Fry. This shows that conflict between Fry and the American government was inevitable from the very beginning.

"Memorandum for Mr. Varian Mackey Fry." Ruth Shipley to Varian Fry. July 22, 1940. Department of State, Passport Division.

I used this memorandum to understand logistics about Varian Fry's passport and when it would be expired. It helps with my balance of research, showing how the State Department was generous to grant a passport to Fry, but also sets a precedent for troubling Fry when his work became increasingly difficult.

Newspapers

AP. "Americans Freed by French Police." *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, California). Accessed March 26, 2018. [https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/california/oakland/oakland-tribune/1940/12-05?tag=varian fry&rtserp=tags/varian-fry?ndt=by&py=1935&pey=1941&psb=relevance](https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/california/oakland/oakland-tribune/1940/12-05?tag=varian%20fry&rtserp=tags/varian-fry?ndt=by&py=1935&pey=1941&psb=relevance).

During the war, many day-to-day updates were written by the Associated Press (AP) and included in small-town newspapers throughout the country. Oddly enough, this newspaper article gave me a piece of vital content I needed. Though details of Fry's arrest are well detailed, the exact dates

were not documented in the other sources I consulted. This source provided me with the crucial dates that my research lacked.

AP. "British, French 'Last Warnings' Sent to Hitler." *The Capital Times* (Madison, Wisconsin), September 1, 1939. Accessed March 20, 2018. <https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/wisconsin/madison/madison-capital-times/1939/09-01/page-2?tag=germany&rtserp=tags/germany?ndt=ex&pd=1&py=1939&pm=9&psb=relevance&search=ynd>.

I used this newspaper article to gain a better understanding of Chamberlain's reaction following Germany's attack of Poland on September 1, 1939. It puts the beginning of World War II into historical context, and helps me understand why Chamberlain's final ultimatum was necessary given what had happened earlier.

AP. "Gestapo Believed At Work in Portugal." *The Helena Independent*, November 3, 1941. Accessed March 29, 2018. <https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/montana/helena/helena-independent-record/1941/11-03/page-5?tag=varian+fry&rtserp=tags/varian-fry?ndt=by&py=1935&pey=1941&psb=relevance>.

I consulted this newspaper article to confirm Varian Fry's active involvement in advocacy for refugees even after he left Marseille. It shows the inhumane way that the American government treated refugees, as it was extremely difficult for refugees to come into the United States. This source also showed that the American media was informing citizens of how the government was responding to the refugee crisis, though the public wasn't convinced.

AP. "Hitler, Mussolini Will Draw Terms; Likely to Demand French Navy." *The Capital Times* (Madison, Wisconsin), June 17, 1940, 45th vol., no. 186. Accessed January 15, 2018. <https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/wisconsin/madison/madison-capital-times/1940/06-17?tag=reynaud+quits+marshal+petain+heads+cabinet&rtserp=tags/reynaud-quits-marsh-petain-heads-cabinet?psb=relevance>.

This article, incorporated in "The Capital Times," shows how by June 17, France was already requesting for an armistice. It gave me historical context for the Battle of France, and emphasizes the pathetic point that it took less than six weeks to defeat and conquer France, showing the unfortunate potency of the German military.

AP. "Nazis Beat Jews in Berlin." *The Daily Hawkeye Gazette* (Burlington, Iowa), July 16, 1935. Accessed December 1, 2018. <https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/iowa/burlington/burlington-daily-hawk-eye-gazette/1935/07-16/page-2?tag=varianfry&rtserp=tags/varian-fry?page=3&ndt=by&py=1935&pey=1941>.

This article is a reprint of an article Varian Fry wrote in the New York Times shortly after his encounter with antisemitism in Berlin. It was instrumental in understanding why Varian Fry was so heavily involved in Nazi resistance, why he volunteered to become the ERC's representative, and why Fry had a moral obligation to not compromise with opposing views.

AP. "Paris Is Declared An Open City To Spare It From Destruction By Nazis." *The Danville Bee* (Danville, Virginia), June 13, 1940, 15,428 ed. Accessed January 15, 2018. <https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/virginia/danville/danville-bee/1940/06-13?tag=parisis-declaredanopencitytospareitfromdestructionbynazis&rtserp=tags/paris-is-declared-an-open-city-to-spare-it-from-destruction-by-nazis?pc=6982&psi=100&pci=7&pt=8430&ndt=by&py=1940&pey=1949&psb=relevance>.

This newspaper article, also primarily used to provide historical context, shows how Paris was declared an open city to avoid further conflict. It's a good testament to how France acted toward the end of the Battle of France, with appeasement-esque attitudes. This also helped me understand some of the reasons or motives for surrender and compromise in the midst of war.

AP via Radio. "Reynaud Quits; Marshal Petain Heads Cabinet." *The Capital Times* (Madison, Wisconsin), June 17, 1940, 45th vol., no. 186. Accessed January 15, 2018. <https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/wisconsin/madison/madison-capital-times/1940/06-17?tag=reynaud-quits-marshall-petain-heads-cabinet&rtserp=tags/reynaud-quits-marshall-petain-heads-cabinet?psb=relevance>.

Marshal Philippe-Pétain became the head of France on June 17, 1940, after former Prime Minister Paul Reynaud resigned. This article perfectly conveys Pétain's attitudes toward war and was a good example to his overall interactions with Third Reich, especially shown through the fascism and antisemitism prevalent in the succeeding Vichy regime.

Miller, Webb. "England Declares War: France Expected to Enter Fight at Noon." *The Sunday Messenger* (Athens, Ohio), September 3, 1939. Accessed January 23, 2018. <https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/ohio/athens/athens-sunday-messenger/1939/09-03/page-15?tag=invasion-of-poland&rtserp=tags/invasion-of-poland?ndt=bd&pd=3&pe=5&pem=9&py=1939&pm=9&pey=1939&psb=relevance>.

Explaining any confusion I had about the roots of World War II, this newspaper article does a great job in expressing the United Kingdom's declaration of war and how France followed soon after. It also provided me with additional primary source material, while this source explains motive for the UK and clears up prior confusion I had relating to historical context.

"Nazis Hold American as Pro-Jewish." *Somerset Daily American* (Somerset, Pennsylvania), September 1, 1941. Accessed November 7, 2017. <https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/pennsylvania/somerset/somerset-daily-american/1941/09-01/page-6?tag=varian-fry&rtserp=tags/varian-fry?ndt=by&py=1935&pey=1947&psb=relevance>.

Surprisingly, there were reports as early as September 1, 1941 explaining Fry's arrest and eventual expulsion from France. It explained why he didn't leave France until September 6, 1941, and explains his relationships with various organizations, such as the New School for Social Research. Finally, through a very unbiased stance, this article does a good job of conveying isolationism, and how the public refused to take a definite stance on refugees.

Simpson, Kirke L. "Truce Fails to Assure France Against Battles." *The Salt Lake Tribune*, June 25, 1940. Accessed November 22, 2017. access.newspaperarchive.com/us/utah/salt-lake-city/salt-lake-tribune/1940/06-25/page-3?tag=france&rtserp=tags/france?ndt=bd&pd=22&pe=28&pem=6&py=1940&pm=6&pey=1940&psb=relevance&pci=7.

Written the day that the armistice went into effect, this newspaper article shows the impact of Article XIX on the millions of refugees in France. It was instrumental to my research because it links Article XIX to the potential impact on German and non-German antifascists, which was deeper in this newspaper article than briefly explained in the armistice.

Photographs

Bingham, Hiram, IV. *View from above of refugees lined up outside the American consulate in Marseilles*. 1940-1941. RESCUE MISSIONS-- Diplomatic Rescue-- France: American Rescue Missions--Bingham, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC.

Marseille in 1940 was full with refugees who were desperate to emigrate from France. Taken by Vice-Consul Hiram Bingham IV, this photograph shows some of the refugees lining up at the American consulate in Marseille. It perfectly summarizes the refugees issues, and powerfully explains Fry's moral obligation to save refugees.

***France, 1941: The Prisoner's Barracks in Beaune-la-Rolande*. In *Yad Vashem*. Accessed January 3, 2018. <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/france/camps.asp>.**

I consulted this picture to see what the squalid living conditions in France's concentration camps were like. It justifies Fry's letter back to Cordell Hull following the forceful telegram written that stated Fry and Bohn wouldn't be supported by American government due to legality issues of smuggling refugees and forging documents.

Political Cartoons

Geisel, Theodor Seuss. "Foreign Children." Cartoon. *PM* (New York City), October 1, 1941.

Before becoming a renowned children's author, Theodor Geisel was a political cartoonist, speaking against isolationist views during WWII. This cartoon brilliantly shows lack of empathy in America by conveying how many were reluctant to save children. It does a great job of conveying interventionism, and shows the conflict Fry overcame.

Geisel, Theodor Seuss. "Laval- Dachshund Belly." Cartoon. *PM* (New York City), May 8, 1942.

Pierre Laval was an important figure in unoccupied France, and was a proponent of fascism. This cartoon shows how low of a person Laval was by saying he was lower than the belly of a dachshund. It shows how the antisemitism prevalent in Vichy France wasn't solely because of Nazi-influence, but was also because of the important figures within the government.

Geisel, Theodor Seuss. "Not Contagious." Cartoon. *PM* (New York City), May 15, 1941.

This cartoon, published while Fry was in Marseille, shows Uncle Sam lying in a bed, next to another bed, called 'Europe'. Whereas five people were suffering in the European bed, Uncle Sam passively dismissed this, exclaiming, "What a lucky thing we've got separate beds!" This perfectly summarizes isolationist views and conveys the apathetic attitudes across the Atlantic Ocean.

Posters

Antisemitic poster equating Jews with communism. United States, 1939. Digital image. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed March 19, 2018.
https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media_ph.php?ModuleId=10005182&MediaId=1039.

Though there was a concern for national security pertaining to Nazis in 1930s America, antisemitism and xenophobia was also highly prevalent in the United States. This poster displays this, and helps me understand how unwelcome European refugees were.

Reports

Chief of French Police. *The Suspect Activity of Mr. Varian Fry*. Report. Bouches du Rhone Department, Minister of the Interior. Marseille, France.

Varian Fry was under heavy scrutiny from the French government, with many attempts made to arrest him. This police report shows the proposal to expel Fry from France on the grounds that he was allegedly committing rescue operations. Though this report didn't expel Fry, it perfectly conveyed the conflict with French authorities. This proposal for expulsion also set a precedent for what was to come in August 1941.

Daniel Bénédite. *Administrative Report: The Stages of the Committee's Development*. Report. Centre Américain De Secours. Marseille, France, 1941.

Daniel Bénédite was Fry's replacement when Fry was expelled. He wrote an administrative report about the work of the CAS, detailing how it came to be, how it dealt with various obstacles, and how it became successful.

Speeches

Chamberlain, Neville. "Text of Chamberlain's Speech." Speech, September 3, 1939. Accessed January 23, 2018. [https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/ohio/athens/athens-sunday-messenger/1939/09-03/page-15?tag=england declares war france expected to enter fight at noon webb miller&rtserp=tags/england-declares-war-france-expected-to-enter-fight-at-noon-webb-miller?ndt=ex&pd=3&py=1939&pm=9&psb=relevance&search=ynd](https://access.newspaperarchive.com/us/ohio/athens/athens-sunday-messenger/1939/09-03/page-15?tag=england+declares+war+france+expected+to+enter+fight+at+noon+webb+miller&rtserp=tags/england-declares-war-france-expected-to-enter-fight-at-noon-webb-miller?ndt=ex&pd=3&py=1939&pm=9&psb=relevance&search=ynd).

This speech is Chamberlain's declaration of war against Germany. It directly states that the invasion of Poland was the reason for England declaring war, and how Chamberlain had no choice, even after long hoping for appeasement. It provides me with historical context about the beginning of World War II, which was obviously crucial for my research.

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano. "Fireside Chat 14: On the European War." Speech, September 3 1939. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/september-3-1939-fireside-chat-14-european-war>.

To better understand President Franklin Roosevelt's stance on American neutrality, I consulted his Fireside Chat addressed on the day World War II broke out. It shows his support for neutrality, but is confusing given that some messages sound contrary to commonly-held isolationist belief. It also shows the isolationism didn't associate itself with either party.

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano. "Fireside Chat 15: On National Security." Speech, May 26, 1940. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/september-3-1939-fireside-chat-14-european-war>.

I listened to President Roosevelt's fifteenth Fireside Chat to understand how the United States was more concerned about involvement in war than European lives lost succeeding the May 10th attack on Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands. It also shows how war was, unfortunately, more of a mainstream topic than saving refugees.

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano. Speech, December 8, 1941. Accessed March 4, 2018. https://www.loc.gov/resource/afc1986022.afc1986022_ms2201/?st=text.

This speech is President Roosevelt's address to Congress about a declaration of war following the attack on Pearl Harbor. It provided me with historical context about the United States' involvement in World War II, but more importantly, showed that even though war was declared in late 1941, the War Refugee Board *still* wasn't created until early 1944, which justifies Fry's need to advocate for refugees when he returned from Marseille.

Telegrams

Cordell Hull to Hiram Bingham IV. September 18, 1940. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, wrote to Bingham that the American government cannot support the actions of Fry and Frank Bohn. It hints signs of conflict early in Fry's work- just a couple of weeks after he was supposed to return- and clearly shows isolationism through their desire to maintain friendly relations. This helped my research because it helped me determine the development of conflict with the American government.

Telegram from Freda Kirchwey. Box 2, Richard Kaplan Papers, 1905-2006, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.

Without a date or designated recipient, I found this telegram from the Richard Kaplan Papers at the Wisconsin Historical Society. It proves to me that Fry's role was in question from his own organization, ERC, and that others from different organizations, including the International Relief Association, were highly supportive of Fry's humanitarian actions.

Telegram from Oswald Garrison Villard. Box 2, Richard Kaplan Papers, 1905-2006, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.

Similar to the telegram from Kirchwey, this telegram has an unclear recipient, but is designated to the same address. It serves the same purpose as the telegram from Kirchwey, but includes more raw emotion, and emphasizes the importance that Fry should receive both protection and the ability to continue his humanitarian work.

Telegram from William Leahy. June 15, 1941. American Embassy, Vichy.

Having no prior knowledge of how Fry was allowed to work in Marseille for a year, this telegram from American Ambassador William Leahy shows why France was reluctant to expel Fry. It provides vital insight to Franco-American relations preceding Pearl Harbor and shows the unification of the French and American governments against Varian Fry.

Secondary Sources

Books

Cook, Blanche Wiesen. *Eleanor Roosevelt: the War Years and After, 1939-1962.* Penguin Group USA, 2016.

Written by critically-acclaimed professor, Blanche Wiesen Cook, this book supplied great information that helped me with details of the relationship between the Emergency Rescue Committee and US government. It explained the First Lady's involvement with Fry, and provided links to an abundance of additional sources, most of which are primary.

Greenberg, Karen J. *Columbia University Library, New York: The Varian Fry Papers, The Fort Ontario Emergency Refugee Shelter Papers.* New York, NY: Garland, 1990.

A compilation of primary sources gathered over twenty years after Fry's death, this book helps me understand Fry's work through the lens of letters and reports. Most notably, I obtained Fry's letter from Mildred Adams, which detailed his tasks in Marseille. The primary sources provided gave a general landscape of Fry's work in France and what happened in the years following Fry's expulsion.

Lyman, Darryl. "Varian Fry: Assignment: Rescue." In *Holocaust Rescuers: Ten Stories of Courage*, 25-35. Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow, 1999.

This chapter from a book about Holocaust survivors gave me a deeper understanding of Varian Fry's work and the conflict Fry later had with American officials in France. It was used as part of my initial background research and did a good job of conveying the reluctance American officials in France had about Fry's illegal activity.

McClafferty, Carla Killough. *In Defiance of Hitler: The Secret Mission of Varian Fry.* New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2008.

A well known book about Varian Fry, I used this biography to provide me with context about Varian Fry's motives in becoming an opponent of isolationism. It does a great job of describing Fry's reaction to the persecution of Jews in Berlin, and how it influenced what he did in the short term, through joining a resistance group and using his role as a journalist to protest the Nazi government.

Paldiel, Mordecai. "Diplomats in Service to Humanity." In *Sheltering the Jews: Stories of Holocaust Rescuers*, 136-41. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996.

This book does a great job of explaining how the U.S. State Department felt about Fry's work and why. In addition, it shows that much of the communication from the State Department to Fry was via letter or telegram, helping me narrow which types of primary sources I should specifically be looking for, and would benefit me the most.

Sullivan, Rosemary. *Villa Air-Bel: World War II, Escape, and a House in Marseille*. New York: HarperCollins, 2006.

Having gathered a lot of information about the conflict portion of Fry's work, I came into this book with the intention of gathering information about the compromise. Instead, I learned about Fry's role in organizing the luncheon where the ERC was formed. This source was instrumental in showing Fry's modern legacy beyond the refugees he saved in Marseille, giving me even more perspective to how Fry has influenced society and culture.

Congressional Publications

U.S. Cong. House. *Honoring Varian Fry on the 100th Anniversary of His Birth*. By Steven R. Rothman. 110th Cong., 1st sess. Res. 743. October 15, 2007. Accessed October 19, 2017. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/110th-congress/house-resolution/743/text>.

Recognizing Fry on what would have been his 100th birthday, this resolution in the House of Representatives provides a good summary of Varian Fry's life. It was used as a foundation for my research to briefly understand who Fry was and how he saved thousands of refugees. It also gave an idea of the illegal activity he participated in that led to conflict.

U.S. Cong. House. *Remarks of Reynold Levy*. By Reynold Levy. 105th Cong., 1st sess. Doc. E1885-E1886. Vol. 143. Series 132. 1996. Accessed February 10, 2018. <https://www.congress.gov/crec/1997/09/29/CREC-1997-09-29.pdf>.

I consulted this congressional publication that were remarks from the President of the International Rescue Committee, Reynold Levy. Levy instrumentally explains Fry's legacy that he left on the modern-day IRC, and the importance of acknowledging the life and impact of Varian Fry.

U.S. Cong. House. *The Story of Varian Fry and the Emergency Rescue Committee*. By Thomas P. Lantos. 104th Cong., 2d sess. Doc. E380. Vol. 142. Series 38. 1996. Accessed October 12, 2017. www.congress.gov/congressional-record/1996/3/19/extensions-of-remarks-section.

After annotating this congressional record from 1996, I was able to identify not only specific pieces of conflict, but also the motives and impact for the conflict, which came from anticipated and unexpected directions. I also better understood the difficulty, danger, and courage of Fry's daring rescue operation, after annotating this source

Documentaries

***Assignment: Rescue: The Story of Varian Fry and the Emergency Rescue Committee*. Directed by Richard Kaplan. By Christina Lazaridi. Narrated by Meryl Streep. United States: Richard Kaplan Productions, 1997. VHS.**

Narrated by Meryl Streep, this documentary provides important information regarding the isolationist attitudes expressed in America, along with Fry's frustration towards the State Department. Through including political cartoons mocking isolationism to actual speeches defending the FDR-based movement, it brought my attention to a multitude of other primary sources ranging in medium.

***Defying the Nazis: The Sharps' War.* Directed by Ken Burns and Artemis Joukowsky. United States, 2016. DVD.**

A compelling film co-directed by esteemed filmmaker, Ken Burns, provided credit to Martha and Waitstill Sharp, relief workers in unoccupied France that collaborated with Fry. It helped me understand Lion Feuchtwanger's rescue, and the type of people Fry worked with to both keep the CAS's cover and rescue refugees.

Interviews

Draganus, Flavia. "Interview with IRC Global Communications Director." E-mail interview by author. February 1, 2018.

Flavia Draganus is the Global Communications Director at the International Rescue Committee (IRC), the successor of the ERC. This interview with Ms. Draganus was instrumental in showing Fry's modern-day legacy, and how his work in 1939 can be shown throughout all of the work the IRC does nowadays. It also helped me understand Fry's role in modern day rescue operations.

Erbelding, Rebecca. "Interview with USHMM Historian." Telephone interview by author. February 2, 2018.

Rebecca Erbelding is a historian and archivist at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. I contacted her for specific information regarding the American government and its role in rescuing refugees. Following my interview with her, I received additional information regarding the background, political affiliation, and motives of isolationism. This helped me with my balance of research, and gave me perspective to why conflict with Fry was even prevalent. It also inspired to take a different approach on my topic's relationship with the NHD theme.

Sauvage, Pierre. "Interview with Pierre Sauvage." E-mail interview by author. February 2, 2018.

Pierre Sauvage is an expert about Varian Fry, and is currently working on a documentary about the journalist. I interviewed him and asked him not only about the conflict with French and American governments, but with the ERC. He provided context to the contrasting attitudes from New York and Marseille, and how there was conflict because the ERC didn't thoroughly understand the situation in France the way Fry did.

Sauvage, Pierre. "Interview with Pierre Sauvage." E-mail interview by author. March 30, 2018.

I reinterview Mr. Sauvage approximately two months after I initially contacted him. I asked him about the complex rescue of people such as Walter Meyerhof, and a little bit more about what Fry's main legacy is in today's society. Sauvage also proofread my paper for historical accuracy, and said that it was good to go for the competition.

Journal Articles

Adler, Jacques. "The Jews and Vichy: Reflections on French Historiography." *The Historical Journal* 44, no. 4 (December 2001): 1065-1082. Accessed October 15, 2017. www.jstor.org/stable/3133551.

I consulted JSTOR as a database for journal articles and found this journal article from the 2000 Historical Journal, printed through the Cambridge University Press. It helped me understand the discrimination of Jews prevalent in the Vichy France, some of antisemitic laws incorporated, and the legacy of the Vichy regime in modern France.

Roob, Rona. "From the Archives: Refugee Artists." *The Museum of Modern Art*, no. 6 (Winter 1991): 18-19. Accessed October 19, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4381143>.

A journal article from the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), this source provided an interesting angle on Fry's work, and how the MoMA got involved in saving artists. Though it was full of primary interesting and not critical information, it introduced a lot of general concepts (such as WWII USA refugee policies) that led me to further questioning and research pathways.

Magazine Articles

Boissoneault, Lorraine. "Was Vichy France a Puppet Government or a Willing Nazi Collaborator?" *Smithsonian.com*. November 09, 2017. Accessed March 07, 2018. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/vichy-government-france-world-war-ii-willingly-colaborated-nazis-180967160/>.

The role of Vichy France during World War II in relation to Nazi Germany is a highly speculated one, with people saying it was either a heavily influenced state, or a fascist collaborator. This article shows the role of France in the Holocaust, and it helps me understand the antisemitism and brutality of the Mediterranean country during history's darkest hour.

"Five Rescuers of Those Threatened by the Holocaust." *Smithsonian.com*. February 24, 2009. Accessed February 16, 2018. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/five-rescuers-of-those-threatened-by-the-holocaust-55112043/>.

I consulted this source to see how Varian Fry's work compared to five of the most significant Holocaust rescuers. One pattern I observed is that the other four rescuers were living in countries heavily involved in war, whereas the United States- during the course of Fry's work- wasn't. It makes Fry's work significant, as he acted when he could have continued living peacefully in the United States.

"Saving the Jews of Nazi France." *Smithsonian.com*. March 01, 2009. Accessed January 20, 2018. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/saving-the-jews-of-nazi-france-52554953/>.

The name Hiram Bingham IV consistently showed up throughout my research. With no prior knowledge of who he was, I consulted this magazine article to help explain Bingham's assistance for Fry and the rescue work he performed on his own account. It helped my understand of American

conflict, as it supported and balanced the claim that the American government provided no support for Fry.

Manuscript Collections

Kaplan, Richard, Papers, 1905-2006, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.

Richard Kaplan created multiple documentaries about Fry, and collected many primary sources. This manuscript collection, though deemed secondary, contained a lot of primary source material, specifically correspondence between Fry and various State Department officials. I gained a better knowledge of isolationist motives, seemingly contradicting American attitudes, and other various topics that were instrumental for my research.

Maps

"Vichy France and French North Africa." Map. Yad Vashem. Accessed December 9, 2017. www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/newsletter/25/algeria_marocco.asp.

This map helped me understand what the demarcation line, separating occupied and unoccupied France, looked like, and which significant cities were where. It was able to identify where Bordeaux, the place illegal Czech passports were printed, was. It also showed the long distance between the Pyrenees mountain range and Marseille, proving to be a long path to escape persecution.

Newspaper Articles

Bellafante, Ginia. "His Bravery Unsung, Varian Fry Acted to Save Jews." *The New York Times*, September 07, 2017. Accessed December 26, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/07/nyregion/varian-fry-nazis-rescue-immigrants.html>

This newspaper article provides a general summary of Varian Fry's work, along with a comparison to how his work is much needed given today's refugee situation. It shows the modern day legacy, and the modern necessity for somebody to feel morally compelled to save others the way Fry did in the 1940s.

Riding, Alan. "Mary Jayne Gold, 88, Heiress Who Helped Artists Flee Nazis." *The New York Times*, October 07, 1997. Accessed March 07, 2018. <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/10/08/arts/mary-jayne-gold-88-heiress-who-helped-artists-flee-nazis.html>.

There were many assets from Fry's associates in the CAS that contributed to the journalist's rescue work. Mary Jayne Gold's obituary from the New York Times shows the power that her wealth played throughout Fry's rescue work. The newspaper articles also provided me with context about Gold, one of the CAS's most significant humanitarians.

Pamphlets

***Assignment, Rescue : The Story of Varian Fry and the Emergency Rescue Committee.* Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1997.**

Though considered a book by the University of Wisconsin-Madison library, I determined this source to be a pamphlet given it didn't have an ISBN, and was the companion for the former Varian Fry exhibit via the USHMM. It was used to gain a general knowledge about my topic, and did a good job setting a scene for how the French felt about Fry's work. It also gave a detail regarding the FBI investigation about Fry, which clearly conveyed the conflict between the United States government and the journalist.

Kassof, Anita, M.A. *Varian Fry and the Emergency Rescue Committee: A Resource Guide for Teachers (Grades 7-12).* Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

I used this pamphlet to get a broad and general understanding of Varian Fry's work. Though there wasn't a lot of information about conflict and compromise, I was able to obtain information about the history of Nazi Germany leading up the occupation of France, the formation of the ERC, and what happened to Fry after he left Marseille.

Podcasts

Elving, Ron. "This Isn't The First Time Americans Have Shown Fear Of Refugees." *NPR* (audio blog), November 21, 2015. Accessed January 31, 2018. <https://www.npr.org/2015/11/21/456857350/this-isnt-the-first-time-americans-have-shown-fear-of-refugees>.

Though focused to persuade listeners about the modern Syrian refugee issue, this podcast provides amazing statistics that show American status quo was highly in favor of not admitting refugees. In a 1938 magazine poll, its shown that over two-thirds of Americans were opposed to admitting refugees. This really helped my research because it represents the popularity of isolationism in American society.

Websites

"American Isolationism in the 1930s." U.S. Department of State. Accessed January 23, 2018. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/american-isolationism>.

This source gave a brief but clear explanation of what isolationism was and the motives behind it. The article also gave me an in-depth understanding of not just what isolationism was, but how various American political decisions (i.e. abstaining from membership in the League of Nations) contributed to the growth of the wildly popular political ideology.

"Breckinridge Long." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed January 31, 2018. <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10008298>.

Breckinridge Long was a key figure in isolationism within the American government (more specific the State Department). This article from the USHMM not only detailed the life of a man deemed by

many to be an anti-Semite, but explained individual policies that made Fry's work in Marseille all the more difficult to accomplish.

"Franz Werfel." Britannica School. November 18, 2009. Accessed March 10, 2018.
<https://school.eb.com/levels/high/article/Franz-Werfel/76560>.

I used this article to understand who Franz Werfel was and what he did once he came to America because of Varian Fry. It explained the success of his novel, *The Song of Bernadette*, which was monumental in Hollywood. It also shows how Varian Fry's legacy is diverse in nature, with contributions made in film, art, etc.

"History of the International Rescue Committee." International Rescue Committee (IRC). January 11, 2017. Accessed March 11, 2018.
<https://www.rescue.org/page/history-international-rescue-committee>.

I used this article about the history of the International Rescue Committee to see the operations that IRC has conducted since Fry saved thousands of refugees during World War II. It helps me understand his legacy and the massive influence he has had on modern-day rescue and relief work, along with how he impacted humanitarianism as a whole.

"The Horseman." Milwaukee Art Museum. Accessed March 01, 2018.
<http://collection.mam.org/details.php?id=9801>.

The piece, *The Horseman*, was painted by Marc Chagall in the 1960s, and is on display at the Milwaukee Art Museum. It shows how Fry's work was monumental on a local and international scale, with his indirect legacy leaving an everlasting ripple effect.

Sheffield, Dr. Gary. "History - World Wars: The Fall of France." BBC. March 30, 2011. Accessed January 15, 2018. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/fall_france_01.shtml.

To understand the Battle of France- an important piece of historical context relating to my topic- I consulted this website from a senior lecturer at King's College in London. I was informed of various military flaws that led up to the collapse of France, and important dates that led up to the surrender of France on June 22, 1940.

"Varian Fry." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed October 10, 2017.
<https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005740>.

When I was searching for NHD topics, this was the first source where I learned who Varian Fry was. I was immediately drawn by the obvious presence of conflict and legacy, which inspired me to research about relative compromises. I also saw hints throughout the text that showed Fry was the definition of an Unsung Hero- as I wanted to focus my NHD project on an Unsung Hero, I was hooked on the Varian Fry story from the beginning.

"Vichy France." Britannica School. February 6, 2009. Accessed October 14, 2017. <https://school.eb.com/levels/middle/article/Vichy-France/75232>.

Having no background knowledge on what the Vichy France government was, this source provided me with valuable information regarding the government's establishment and its collaboration with fascist/ Nazi-based ideals. This, consequently, helped me understand why antifascists living in unoccupied France needed to leave for the United States, as danger was clearly evident as early as July 1940.

"World War II in Europe." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed February 28, 2018. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/world-war-ii-in-europe>.

I used this article to better understand how Varian Fry's actions fit on a timeline of the events of World War II. It helped me understand how various events contributed to other significant events relating to Varian Fry; for example, how the May 10th attack of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg contributed to Germany's earlier invasion of France.