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THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1932

BY

LORETTO C. MERSH

A Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts  
in  
Loyola University  
1937

## PREFACE

The choice of this subject was influenced by an interest in the political upset caused by the election of 1932 and the factors which brought it about. Having listened to the proceedings of the two Conventions over the radio, living amidst the excitement attendant upon them, and witnessing the triumph of the Democratic candidate in Chicago and his effect upon the throngs who greeted him, I was interested in learning more about the forces and events that influenced the electorate so that they went so decidedly in one direction in November.

Much has been written about the Hoover Administration and about the Democratic Congress. There is a wealth of material written by political observers who had not intelligently followed the general trend of the voters throughout the country, as well as by those who seem to have had clairvoyant powers, so well did they prophesy the outcome of the 1932 election.

Not wishing to invade the field of biography, I have for the most part quoted political observer's views of the men who were imposing figures on the political horizon, all of whom could be said to be ready to accept the "call to service" if nomination for the Presidency was forthcoming.

To Dr. Paul Kiniery of Loyola University I am deeply grateful. He has given me helpful advice in writing my thesis and much enjoyment in the study of history.

LORETTO C. MERSH.

Chicago, Illinois,  
November, 1937.

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## CHAPTER I

### HOOVER AND THE 72nd CONGRESS

Herbert Hoover had been widely publicized for years as a great administrator and economist. His party proclaimed him to be a virtual superman. He was swept into office on a wave of enthusiasm after the Republican Party had promised the American people through him as spokesman, a lasting prosperity. His party claimed full credit for the boom days and the general feeling of optimism throughout the country. Mr. Hoover's vote, the greatest majority ever received by a candidate for the presidency, showed the trust the electorate put in him and in his party. Great things were expected of the new president who "had come to the White House by a route of distinguished service, not by the ordinary way of politics."<sup>1</sup> A San Francisco newspaper said, "We foresee under his guidance a constructive period likely to eclipse anything of its kind that has gone before."<sup>2</sup>

Yet less than two years later the American people registered their disapproval of Mr. Hoover's policies and upset the Republican control of Congress, giving seats to 218 Democrats 214 Republicans and 1 Farm-Laborite in the House. The membership of the Senate numbered 48 Republicans, 47 Democrats and 1 Farm-Laborite.<sup>3</sup> Never before was party control in both Houses

1. Charles A. Beard, "Presidential Appointments," The Nation, (July 22, 1932).

2. John Pell, "Mr. Hoover's Hair Shirt," North American Review, (July, 1930), (insert from San Francisco newspaper).

3. E. Pendleton Herring, "First Session of the 72nd Congress," The American Political Science Review, (October, 1932)

2  
of Congress held by such a narrow margin simultaneously. The  
insurgent members in the Republican party made known their  
4  
presence and were often the severest critics of the President.

Many reasons are given for the American change of heart.  
No responsible person held Mr. Hoover to blame for the depression which began in the Fall of 1929 and steadily grew in proportions until economic conditions were far worse in 1930 than in the previous year. Unemployment increased, bank failures became numerous, dividends were passed, factories were shut down, mortgages were foreclosed, prices of all commodities dropped, and foreign trade fell off sharply. However, Mr. Hoover was blamed because he took no effective steps to combat the depression and at first seemed to regard it as an isolated phenomenon, an opinion which was shared by the big business  
5  
leaders of the time.

The failure of the Federal Farm Board created in June, 1929 was another cause for complaint. The Agricultural Marketing Act was enacted to stabilize prices and provided a revolving fund of \$500,000,000 from which loans at not over four per cent could be made to a co-operative association of farmers, to enable them to market to better advantage, their products.

4. Ibid.

5. Charles Merz, "Hoover's Three Years As President: The Record to Date," The New York Times, (February 28, 1931).

The farmer was not really helped, borrowing added to his problems and prices fell eventually to a forty year low.<sup>6</sup> "Agriculture is at last on a level with industry, now that both of them are flat on their backs."<sup>7</sup> The plight of the farmer resulted in the withdrawal of Progressive support for the Administration.<sup>8</sup>

The passage of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act was another piece of legislation which proved unpopular and was classed as a mistake on the part of the Hoover Administration. Our own economists declared it to be a blunder and foreign nations regarded it as a barrier and a challenge.<sup>9</sup> It was passed over a formal protest made by 1028 members of the American Economic Association.<sup>10</sup>

The widespread agitation against the eighteenth amendment was ignored by the Republicans. Everywhere sentiment against it was recorded but this warning went unheeded by the majority party leaders.<sup>11</sup> The Wickersham Committee, appointed by the President, made its report which was unfavorable in the main, to the Prohibition Amendment. The findings of this commission called forth no action but did make an impression on the

6. Henry R. Mussey, "The President's Economics," The Nation, (July 8, 1931).
7. Jay Franklin, "God Help the Farm Board," (Forum, (February 1932).
8. Mussey, The Nation
9. The New York Times, November 5, 1931, (editorial).
10. Mussey, The Nation
11. The New York Times, November 5, 1931, (editorial).



electorate in general.

Another cause for the defeat suffered by the Republican party in 1930 was the campaign waged by the Democratic National Committee. Frank R. Kent said in September, 1930, "If President Hoover loses his national popularity, the blame may not necessarily be his own. It could conceivably come from the efforts of Mr. Michelson, Democratic Publicity director, who is carrying out a campaign of intelligent opposition which will undoubtedly have an effect on the Congressional elections this Fall and has already altered the course of the Hoover Administration."

13

After each presidential campaign, the Democratic National Committee practically disbanded to be called into being again a few months before the next major convention of the party. After the 1928 campaign, Mr. Raskob and Mr. Shouse made arrangements to keep a publicity bureau in Washington. The Republicans had kept a fairly well equipped one from 1920 to 1929 but after the 1928 election it practically ceased functioning. Mr. Michelson was employed by Mr. Raskob at a yearly salary of \$25,000. His job was to put Mr. Hoover "in bad" with the American people.

12. Peter H. Odegard, "Mr. Hoover's Noble Experiment," The Nation, (July 29, 1931).

13. Frank R. Kent, "Charley Michelson," Scribner's Magazine, (September, 1930).

Mr. Michelson, an alert, clever, first-class newspaper-man, was a Smith-Democrat, and a decided Anti-Hoover Democratic. He had a wide acquaintance among newspapermen and Congressmen, enjoyed their confidence and respect, knew politics from all angles and enthusiastically took up his work of "smearing" the Hoover Administration. The Democratic National Committee maintained spacious offices and transformed their publicity department into an "effective propaganda machine" with Mr. Michelson as the guiding light. He magnified every mistake of Mr. Hoover's, got his material in newspapers, "planted" interviews with prominent Democratic and Progressive Congressmen who were glad to use his ideas and words instead of their own less effective ones. Mr. Michelson made the most of his opportunities, found it easy to attach, and saw early results of his skill.<sup>14</sup>

Economic conditions aided the Democrats and kept the majority party on the defensive. The Democrats attacked the tariff and made the most of the change in sentiment towards the Eighteenth Amendment, and after the Democratic victory in 1930 the publicity department kept up its work and developed an effective party organization.<sup>15</sup>

14. Ibid.

15. Thomas S. Barclay, "The Bureau of Publicity of the Democratic National Committee," The American Political Science Review, (February, 1933).

The Republicans gathered together the remnants of their once efficient organization and proceeded to function under the direction of James L. West. His was a hard job and he did well, but his efforts were no match for Mr. Michelson's, and his opportunities were less evident. His Bureau could not counter-act the efficient Democratic publicity bureau that had seized every chance and attacked the Administration on every count. <sup>16</sup>

The Democrats went into the "off year" election campaign in a fighting and a hopeful mood. The result was the Mr. Hoover found himself, his party, and his policies repudiated and he faced a critical test with a none too friendly Congress.

The first session of the 72nd Congress convened on December 7, 1931 and adjourned on July 16, 1932. By a small majority, John Nance Garner of Texas was elected Speaker of the House and George H. Moses kept his office in the new Senate as President-pro-tempore. Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, the minority leader in the Senate, gave promise of being the real spokesman of that body. The leadership of both Houses was not clearly defined and was often ineffective. <sup>17</sup>

In his message to Congress on December 8, President Hoover made many recommendations, almost all of which were given.

16. Frank R. Kent, Scribner's Magazine.

17. E. Pendleton Herring, The American Political Science Review.

consideration by Congress. When he attempted to go beyond sending messages or the signing of vetoes he met with opposition. If he remained in the background, he was accused of lacking the leadership necessary in critical times, and if he did assume leadership, he was accused of clothing himself with dictatorial powers. He was criticized when he did not offer his help when it was thought to be needed, yet he often stepped in and told Congress just what he wanted. Frequently he called upon Congressmen of both parties to meet with him and his Administrative officials. Often his plans were defeated by the Republican insurgents in Congress and when Congress was criticized for its action or lack of achievement, it was pointed out that the Administration was trying to put Congress in an unfavorable light before the country.<sup>18</sup> It was also said that the Republicans were glad of a minority in Congress because the blame for lack of proper legislation could be shifted on to the shoulders of the Democrats. Both factions of Congress and the President were said to have their eyes focused on the 1932 election.<sup>19</sup> "Difficulties came in this Congress, not so much for want of leadership as from lack of followers."<sup>20</sup>

Albert Shaw put the blame for lack of cooperation upon

18. Ibid.

19. The New York Times, July 17, 1932. (news item)

20. Ibid.

Congress, saying that "the worst fault of the present Congress has been that weak, wilful, and morally inferior members have<sup>21</sup> mutinied against experienced leadership in their own party."

However, it has been pointed out that the President called many non-partisan conferences and was given advice and support by these groups and therefore he had the benefit of their knowledge and experience which should have given him a complete mastery of the facts from all angles.

After conferences with men of both parties, the President sent a special message to Congress on January 4, in which he recommended: (1) the strengthening of the Federal land bank system; (2) the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; (3) the establishment of a system of home loan discount banks; (4) the enlarging of the discount facilities of the Federal reserve banks to take care of emergencies and the development of a plan to relieve the distress of small depositors in closed banks; (5) the revision of the banking laws better to safeguard depositors; (6) the revision of laws relating to transportation as suggested by the Interstate Commerce Commission; (7) the restoration of public confidence through<sup>22</sup> measures to balance the budget.

21. Review of Review, (editorial).

22. Congressional Record, V 75 Part 2,  
First Session, 72nd Congress, 1157, 1158

Congress set to work on these measures but did not dispose of the recommendations until it adjourned on July 16.

The first of these recommendations to be disposed of was the bill creating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, with a capitalization of \$2,000,000,000. The President signed the bill on January 22. It extended credit to agriculture, industry, banks, railroad, insurance companies, and other institutions in need of financial aid in an effort to restore the nation's business "giving credit to concerns which were charged with some public function." <sup>23</sup> The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the R.F.C., was controlled by a Board of Directors whose members were the Secretary of the Treasury, the Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank, the Farm Loan Commissioner and four others to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. <sup>24</sup>

The recommendation asking that Congress strengthen the Federal land bank system was also acted upon promptly by Congress. \$125,000,000 new capital was provided for the Federal land banks, \$25,000,000 of which was specified for extending credit to loans based on mortgages from these land banks. <sup>25</sup>

23. Calvin Coolidge, "The Republican Case," The Saturday Evening Post, (September 10, 1932).

24. The Congressional Record, V 75, Part 3. 2527

25. L. J. Dickinson, "New Help For the Farmer," Review of Reviews, (October, 1932).

The bill providing for the system of home loan banks was passed by Congress after considerable deliberation. These banks were capable of furnishing upward of \$500,000,000 to small home owners and builders giving them help similar to that given to commercial enterprises by the Federal reserve banks. This capital was to be subscribed by the R.F.C.

The Glass-Steagall bill was passed permitting the Federal reserve banks to use direct obligations of the United States government as collateral for Federal reserve notes thus releasing gold for other purposes. Thus about \$8,000,000 in gold was released. The bill really amended the Federal Reserve laws so as to provide for an expansion of credit facilities. The passage of this bill brought forth praise from the President who called it a "national defense measure" and praised Congress for the "fine spirit of patriotism and non-partisanship shown."

The laws in regard to transportation were not revised. The proposals were taken up in committee but never reached a vote in Congress. It was said that "in meeting emergency demands, Congress had to forego permanent legislation on railroads, public utilities, anti-trust laws, bankruptcy reforms" and other measures of a less demanding nature.

26. The New York Times, July 17, 1932, (news item).

27. E. Pendleton Herring, The American Political Science Review.

28. The New York Times, July 17, 1932, (news item).

None of the banking measures enacted or considered by Congress brought about the deliberation or political upheaval brought about by the problem of balancing the budget. In his message to Congress on December 8, the President called attention to the Federal deficit of 1931, the estimated deficit<sup>29</sup> of 1932, and the probable deficit of 1933.

The task before the legislators then was to provide for more revenue, to effect economies, and also to provide huge sums to relieve the nation's distress. All this was finally brought about by the enactment of budget-balancing tax bill, an Economy Act and a Relief bill.

The tax bill to relieve distress and stimulate employment held the attention of Congress longer than any other single measure. The Ways and Means Committee began work on the problem after having received recommendations from the Treasury Department, but after considering these for three weeks came out with<sup>30</sup> an entirely new plan, a general manufacturer's sales tax.

Lobbies representing many different interests that did not want to be taxed tried to have their influence felt. Party discipline and party affiliation were gone. Mr. Snell, minority leader of the House, after a conference with the President, said that the Democrats would have to find a solution for the problem.

29. E. Pendleton Herring, The American Political Science Review.

30. Ibid.



He added, "They (the Democrats) have been criticizing the way we have run the House for the past dozen years. Now this is their baby. I'm in favor of sitting back and waiting for their next move."<sup>31</sup>

It was known that Speaker Garner approved the general manufacturer's sales tax as a means of raising the needed \$1,000,000,000, but a coalition of rebellious Democrats and Republicans, "allied Progressives," under the leadership of La Guardia of New York and Doughton of North Carolina defeated the plan.<sup>32</sup>

Later in a plea from the floor, Speaker Garner urged the passage of some tax measure that would be an effective means of balancing the budget. It was then that the House went promptly to work and passed a bill, although unpopular, by a vote of 327 to 64. The difficulties the bill met with in the House were as nothing compared to the troubles it encountered in the Senate. Then began "a series of switchings and swappings, advances and retreats, inclusion of tariffs, and exclusion of tariffs that came to such an impasse that the Secretary of the Treasury was called upon for a new program."<sup>33</sup>

On May 16, Secretary Mills appeared before the Senate.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. The New York Times, July 17, 1932, (news item)

Committee and two hours later the Committee was ready to submit a compromise program. The tariff problem arose again and tariff "log-rolling" on oil, lumber, coal, and copper, delayed action.

On May 31, the President appeared before the Senate in a surprise visit and demanded immediate action and asked for the completion of a speedy program.<sup>35</sup> His visit was criticized by members of Congress because he had conferred with Democratic leaders the night before and gave no hint of his plans for the following day. Representative Byrnes censured the President for not earlier giving Congress the benefit of advice he so easily could have obtained from all departments and bureaus of the government.<sup>36</sup>

The House and the Senate passed the tax bill, although the President's manufacturers sales tax plan was rejected, and in its final form signed by the President on June 6, thus ending two months of confusion.<sup>37</sup> A one cent levy was laid on gasoline and a three per cent tax on the gross receipts of power companies.<sup>38</sup>

Commenting on the speedy passage of the tax bill after the President's visit to Congress, Senator Harrison said, "There was not a single vote influenced by the President's coming here

34. Ibid.

35. Congressional Record, V 75 Part 10, 11596.

36. The New York Times, July 17, 1932, (news item).

37. Ibid.

38. E. Francis Brown, "Congress Plays Its Part," Current History, (July, 1932).

yesterday. The bill would have been passed last night if he had not come because we wanted to preserve the credit of the government."<sup>39</sup>

Bitter words passed between President Hoover and members of the House Committee over the passage of the Economy Act. Chairman Byrnes saw in the President's attitude an attempt "to assume credit in advance for any economies that the committee may bring about as a result of the investigation it is now making."<sup>40</sup>

In a public statement made on March 8, Mr. Hoover said that the "whole of the Administration officials are co-operating with the special economy committee appointed by the House of Representatives," and that "there is very little room left for further reduction by Administrative action. Further economies must be brought about by authorization of Congress."<sup>41</sup>

The Press took the attitude that the President in calling the attention of the country to Congressional delay, Congress would be compelled by pressure of public opinion to abandon partisan consideration and enact necessary legislation."<sup>42</sup>

Congressional deliberation was delaying action and so the President took means to whip Congress into action. He invited

39. Congressional Record, V 75 Part 11, 11734

40. The New York Times, March 9, 1932, (news item).

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

the Economy Committee to meet at the White House to prepare a program. Attending the conference was the President, the members of the House Economy Committee, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Director of the Budget. The ~~re~~ recommendations of this conference were over-ridden but a sub-committee of three Republicans and three Democrats drew up a bill and after debate and change, it was passed on June 8, and signed by the President on June 30. In the course of passage the bill was revised four times, rewritten on the floor of the House, altered in the Senate Committee, changed in the Senate and further revised in conference. It provided for a saving of from \$150,000,000 to \$180,000,000. The important savings were in the reduction of the government payroll and in "the retrenchment to be effected through co-ordination, consolidation, or regrouping of the Administrative agencies of the government." <sup>43</sup> It provided for a thirty day furlough with loss of pay for Federal employees and stated that when the President made an executive order under provision of this Act, "such order shall not become effective until after the expiration of sixty calendar days unless Congress approves it in the interim." <sup>44</sup>

43. Ibid. July 1, 1932, (news item).

44. E. Pendleton Herring, The American Political Science Review.

The Wagner Relief bill resulted from a relief program begun early in May. On May 12, a bill was first proposed by Senator Copeland but it was voted down as was a second proposal by Senators La Follette and Costigan. A third bill, introduced by Representative Alman of Alabama met the same fate as the previous two.<sup>45</sup>

On May 12, the President conferred with Administration officials and majority and minority leaders of the Senate and attempted to expedite relief legislation. The Democratic caucus meeting however approved on May 26, the Garner relief plan. Mr. Garner's program called for the authorization of \$100,000,000 to be used by the President in relieving distress, \$1,000,000,000 to be added to the capital of the R.F.C., for making loans to stimulate employment and \$1,000,000,000 to be raised by bond issue for the construction of public buildings, harbor improvements, etc. This proposal was formally introduced by the majority party floor leader, Mr. Rainey. It aroused the strong denunciation of the President who said, "This is no unemployment relief. It is an unexampled raid on the public treasury designed to win votes back home."<sup>46</sup>

45. The New York Times, July 17, 1932, (news item).

46. E. Pendleton Herring, The American Political Science Review.

A White House conference was again called on July 6. Speaker Garner criticized "interference" by the President but accepted the invitation to attend but again no agreement was reached. Minority leader Snell said that the issue was one between the President and the Speaker<sup>47</sup> and not between the President and Congress.

The final relief bill, the work of Senators Wagner, Robinson, Pittman, Bulkley, and Walsh of Massachusetts underwent a presidential veto but emerged with some changes and as the Wagner Relief bill was passed by Congress and signed by the President.<sup>48</sup>

The main features of the bill were summarized by the President as follows: (1) provision of \$300,000,000 for temporary loans by the R.F.C., in states unable to finance their own relief programs; (2) provision of \$1,500,000,000 for loans by the R.F. C., for reproductive construction work of public character to relieve employment, said loans to be repaid, and (3) a broadening of the powers of the R.F.C., permitting it to make loans to assist agriculture and thereby help the farmer. "The obnoxious feature which had been injected into the legislation from time to time by members of the House of Represen-

47. Ibid.

48. The New York Times, July 17, 1932, (news item).

tatives and had so long delayed action have been eliminated and also the sum of \$1,300,000,000 non-productive public works ultimately payable by the tax-payer, has been reduced to \$322,000,000 of which about \$120,000,000 are advances to states for highways and most of the balance <sup>49</sup> is not to be expended if the necessities of the Federal treasury prevent it.

When Congress adjourned on July 16, there was much to be said against that body for its delay in passing needed legislation to help defeat the depression and again words were said in praise of Congress because of its efforts to effect an economic recovery. "Congress could have passed the necessary legislation in two weeks if it wanted to," was one writer's <sup>50</sup> comment but Henry I. Harriman, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, praised the work of Congress especially in its devotion to legislation aimed to preserve <sup>51</sup> financial stability and to encourage economic recovery.

Upholding the work of the so-called Democratic Congress, Representative Rainey said, "We had only a meager majority of six in the House of Representatives and no majority at all in the Senate and we had a Republican President whose leadership had failed. Under these unfavorable conditions the Democratic

49. E. Pendleton Herring, The American Political Science Review.

50. Fabian Franklin, "The Impotence of Congress," Forum, V 88, (September, 1932).

51. The New York Times, July 17, 1932, (news item).

House has accomplished results and we have made a record upon which we enter with confidence in the campaign which is opening now." 52

52. Congressional Record, V 75, Part 44, 15711.



## CHAPTER II

### PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES

The Republicans had no choice in the selection of a candidate for the presidency. Herbert Hoover traditionally was entitled to the nomination a second time if he wanted it; because he did, he had no opposition.<sup>1</sup> "A president seeking re-election has the advantage over any one who might oppose him. He is the nominal head of his party and controls the patronage without which an opponent cannot win. There was a movement to draft Calvin Coolidge but that was short lived and so President Hoover was alone in the field. However his position did not secure for him party loyalty. Washington was cruel to him and even at Christmas time he was not the object of the kindly spirit that generally prevails at that time."<sup>2</sup>

The Press was on the whole antagonistic to him, although in his earlier public life a friendly relation had existed between him and the newspaper men who had given him so much favorable publicity before he entered the White House. He was a legend before he was elected to the Presidency - "ninety seven per cent publicity."<sup>3</sup>

One of the best of Washington's news correspondents said of President Hoover; "The relations of Herbert Hoover with the newspaper men whose work brings them in immediate contact with

1. Time, V 19, (January 25, 1932), (editorial).
2. The New York Times, January 3, 1932, (editorial).
3. Clinton W. Gilbert, "John Nance Garner, Presidential Possibilities IX," Forum V 87, (May, 1932), 312-317

the Presidential office have reached a stage of unpleasantness without a parallel the present century. They are characterized by mutual dislike, unconcealed suspicion, and downright bitterness. This ugly condition has frequently been reflected in the utterances of the President and the conduct of his aids and is bound to be reflected in some of the news dispatches although to nothing like the extent of its actual existence."<sup>4</sup>

President Hoover was often said to be no politician. He never held an elective office until he came before the electorate in November 1928. "It was one time the fashion on Capitol Hill to remark that Hoover was no politician. But since some of our elected representatives noticed that above all other members of the Cabinet he gets his appropriations through, we have heard less of that! They meant really that he was not primarily a politician. The true statesman is seldom that. Politics to him is not a main end but a useful tool."<sup>5</sup>

During the World War, Herbert Hoover was head of the Belgian Relief Committee and when the United States entered the War, President Wilson appointed him as Food Administrator. In 1921 he was named Secretary of Commerce and served during the Harding and Coolidge administrations.<sup>6</sup>

4. Paul Y. Anderson, "Hoover and the Press," The Nation, V 133, (October, 1931), 382 - 384.
5. Will Irwin, "Herbert Hoover, A Reminiscent Biography," The Century Co., New York, c 1928, 314.
6. Fremont P. Wirth, "The Development of America," The American Book Co., N.Y., c.1936. 748

Herbert Hoover was born in West Branch, Iowa on August 4, 1874. He was trained as an engineer at Leland Stanford University and then set out on a career as mining engineer. His engineering projects took him to distant parts of the globe. He acquired a fortune in his work, the bulk of it coming from his connection with the Burma Mines Ltd., owner of ancient Chinese silver mines in Burma. These mines had been abandoned, were discovered by Mr. Hoover who correctly analyzed their possibilities, and they returned to him handsome profits. Since he retired from business his fortune dwindled from nearly \$4,000,000 to about \$700,000.<sup>7</sup>

President Hoover's policies of government had been criticized, and his ability as a leader derided, yet there were many who felt that he was the victim of circumstance. "No President ever more scrupulously obeyed the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution. ... He has endeavored to work<sup>8</sup> with Congress regardless of party for the country's welfare." He was given credit for some skill by Allan Nevins, who said of him, "He is an admirable administrator but a very poor policy maker and leader."<sup>9</sup> William Hard summed up his qualities giving the following evaluation of him as history's verdict, "It will

7. Fortune, "The President's Fortune," (August, 1932).

8. Albert Shaw, "Mr. Hoover as President," Review of Reviews, V 86, July, 1932. 26.

9. Allan Nevins, "President Hoover's Record," Current History, (July, 1932).

be said of Herbert Hoover when he is gone 'He was an American. He was a Seeker of Consent. He was an Organizer of Opportunity.' "<sup>10</sup>

The Democrats had practically no limits in their search for a candidate. Their list of Presidential possibilities was a formidable one numbering a former Presidential candidate, Alfred E. Smith; a former Vice Presidential candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt; a former Cabinet member, Newton D. Baker; a Speaker of the House, John N. Garner; six Governors or Ex-Governors, Albert C. Ritchie; Harry F. Byrd; George White; William H. Murray; Alfred E. Smith; Franklin D. Roosevelt; two prominent business men, Owen D. Young, and Melvin Traylor. From this opposing array three reached an important position in the Convention; Governor Roosevelt, Ex-Governor Smith, and Speaker Garner; Mr. Baker was considered the "Dark Horse."

Governor Roosevelt, a cousin of the late President Theodore Roosevelt, was brought up in an atmosphere of wealth. A graduate of Harvard University and Columbia Law School, he began his public career before he was thirty years old. He was elected to the New York legislature from a Republican district and while serving his second term was appointed Assistant

10. William Hard, Who's Hoover, Dodd Mead & Co., New York, 1928, 274.

Secretary of the Navy by President Wilson. In 1920 he was the Vice Presidential candidate of his party going down to defeat with James Cox of Ohio. In 1924 and in 1928 he nominated his friend, Governor Alfred E. Smith, for President.<sup>11</sup> In 1928 Mr. Roosevelt was elected Governor of New York, carrying that State by 25,000 votes, although in the same election New York State elected Republican Presidential electors. In 1930 Roosevelt carried the State by a majority vote of 725,000,<sup>12</sup> twenty nine times a bigger majority than he had in 1928.

Commenting on the Governor's increased popularity, The New York Times said, "His unquestioned ability and public spirit, his unsparing labor in discharging the duties of his office, his unimpeachable integrity - the high tone and chivalrous spirit which have marked his Administration at Albany" gave him the victory he deserved.<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Roosevelt was said to have begun to run for President the moment he entered the Executive Mansion in Albany just as President Hoover set the White House as his goal when he became Secretary of Commerce.<sup>14</sup>

Governor Roosevelt had several assets giving him an advantage in realizing his ambition. They were; the Roosevelt

11. Wirth, 754

12. Review of Reviews, (August, 1932), (editorial).

13. The New York Times, November 5, 1930, (editorial).

14. Anne O'Hare McCormick, "The Two Men at the Big Moment," The New York Times Magazine, (November 6, 1932).

name; his aristocratic background; the leadership he exhibited as Democratic Governor with a Republican Legislature; his early battles with Tammany; a pleasing and winning personality and a perfect radio voice. "He is interested in individuals as human beings, not as members of political parties."<sup>15</sup>

"Governor Roosevelt belongs to a type found more frequently in England than in the United States, the patrician, scholar-gentleman in politics. Until 1928 he had very few enemies either personal or political. ... He has a gift for getting along with people of all classes."<sup>16</sup> One "carries away two impressions, his friendliness and complete self-confidence."<sup>17</sup> Public life does not seem to exhaust his vital current. Apparently it exhilarates him,"<sup>18</sup> are some of the opinions written of him.

Democratic State leaders were annoyed by Governor Roosevelt's candidacy. It had nothing to do with him personally but they were annoyed because he had become so strong politically, before the Convention and that meant that his managers would not have to bargain with them for their support.<sup>19</sup>

Governor Roosevelt was not worried over any plans or plots that might include him. "He enjoys the stratagems and surprises

15. S. J. Woolf, "As His Closest Friend Sees Roosevelt," The New York Times Magazine, (November 27, 1932).
16. Claude M. Fuess, "Roosevelt: The Democratic Hope" Current History, V 36, (August, 1932), 513.
17. Jonathan Mitchell, "Presidential Possibilities, Owen D. Young," Forum V 87, (January, 1932), 8.
18. Review of Reviews, V 86, (November, 1932), (editorial).
19. Ibid.

of the election fight. Above all he loves the crowding contacts with all sorts of people. His first interest he says is in the theory and practice of government; his second, is in people."<sup>20</sup>

Ex-Governor Alfred E. Smith, a product of New York's East side, rose to national prominence in politics from obscure local political beginnings. He was elected Governor of New York four times, each time carrying the State by a bigger majority. Winning elections had become a habit with him and he became the idol of his constituents. "He holds the crowds as no man can hold them ... he has become the incarnation of their hope and pride."<sup>21</sup>

Alfred E. Smith was proud of his record as Governor - a record that gave him national prominence. A Republican Legislature could be depended upon to follow his leadership. He made "his Republican opponents at Albany Park look silly, not because he was so progressive and they so reactionary but because he knew what he was doing and they did not. He is a glutton for details and a master of it."<sup>22</sup>

In 1924, Governor Smith was a Democratic Presidential possibility. It was Franklin Roosevelt who nominated him for President in 1924, and again in 1928 making the "finest

20. Claude M. Fuess, Current History.

21. Walter Lippman, Men of Destiny, Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, 7.

22. Ibid. 4.

political speech of our times."<sup>23</sup>

Al Smith fought a losing battle for the Presidency but demonstrated his popularity with the urban crowds and his ability as a campaigner. He was considered a Liberal and a Progressive but it was said of him in 1925 that he was "the most powerful conservative in urban America."<sup>24</sup>

It was Mr. Smith who urged his friend Franklin Roosevelt to run for governor of New York in 1928<sup>25</sup>. Roosevelt carried his State but Smith lost it. It was said that Mr. Smith resented Roosevelt's success where he had failed, and then began a coolness that resulted in the breakup of the friendship between "Al and Frank."

Many reasons and instances are given for the coolness between these two men that eventually led to the definite breakup of their friendship. The major reason developed at the time Governor Roosevelt entered upon his gubernatorial duties in Albany.

Franklin Roosevelt was a victim of infantile paralysis in 1921 and through sheer courage, fought his way back to health. He spent his winters in Warm Springs, Georgia where he was immeasurably aided in regaining physical vigor. Because there

23. J. T. Hockett, "Franklin D. Roosevelt: Presidential Possibilities VIII)," Forum, V 87, (March, 1932).

24. Lippman, Men of Destiny. 36.

25. Hockett, Forum (March, 1932).



would be partial state of absentee-landlordship existing in Albany, Governor Smith is said to have felt that he could retain some of his erstwhile powers. He took a long lease on a suite of rooms in Albany and seemingly settled himself to take up his position as chief adviser and consultant. His confidential adviser, Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, gave out the names of the men Governor Roosevelt would select for his "Cabinet." Mr. Roosevelt made no public comment but did show outward signs of battle. When he did make known his appointments they were not as Mrs. Moskowitz had said. It was clear then that Mr. Smith had not been consulted. In fact he never was, while Roosevelt was Governor and this annoyed him not a little. He was used to power, used to being consulted and he found it hard to<sup>26</sup> relinquish his power, and he did not want to be ignored.

Speaker John Nance Garner, veteran Texas statesman was born in Red River County, Texas. His early education was scanty but in 1890 he was admitted to the bar. He ran for Congress in 1902 after having served for two terms in the State Legislature. He was elected continuously for thirty years and in 1931 was made Speaker of the House of Representatives. On New Year's Day in 1932, in a radio broadcast, William Randolph Hearst presented

26. Earle Looker, The American Way, (Franklin D. Roosevelt in Action), The John Day Co., N. Y., c. 1933, 159.

him to the nation as its "one great hope." Mr. Hearst wanted the prestige of naming the next Democratic nominee and his choice was the master politician, the man who was indifferent to publicity, and the man in Congress who could influence legislation designed to give Mr. Hearst and his class, relief from heavy taxation.<sup>27</sup>

California was pledged to the Garner candidacy and together with the votes of the Texas delegation, Mr. Garner entered the race as a man of importance.

It was Mr. Hearst's fear of the former Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, that prompted him to support Mr. Roosevelt when balloting seemed to have reached a deadlock. Newton D. Baker was an internationalist and displeasing to Mr. Hearst.

Mr. Baker had no delegates pledged to him but if the Convention had reached a deadlock he was the one who could most easily have been nominated. "The strength of Baker derives from an almost universal confidence in his ability and in his character. He is profoundly trusted."<sup>28</sup>

Newton D. Baker, one of the country's greatest corporation lawyers, was elected mayor of Cleveland by the largest majority ever received for that office. He refused to resign to accept

27. Paul Y. Anderson, "Presidential Possibilities VIII, Texas John Garner," The Nation, V 134, (April 20, 1932), 465-467.

28. Lippman, Interpretations 1931-1932, 304.

a position in Wilson's Cabinet. He went back to his law practice until 1916, when he accepted the post of Secretary of War. Again he went back to his private law practice but remained in the public eye. "His great and varied abilities, combined with his extraordinary purity of motive have made a deep impression upon all kinds of Democrats. ..."<sup>29</sup>

29. Ibid., 305.

## CHAPTER III

### THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

While Congress was still debating the problems of unemployment relief, the Republican National Convention was opened in the Chicago Stadium by the retiring Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator Simeon D. Fess of Ohio "a staunch supporter of all things Republican."<sup>1</sup> After a welcome by Mayor Cermak and a prayer by the Right Rev. James A. Freeman, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Washington, D.C., the Convention got under way.

It was June 14, Flag Day, and the opening ceremonies were dedicated to George Washington with no reference being made to President Hoover. The galleries were a third empty and the "delegates apathetic."<sup>2</sup> Not a picture of Mr. Hoover was displayed in the Stadium and only a scattered applause greeted the first mention of his name. Walter Lippmann said, in commenting on the absence of Hoover portraits, "I have seen just one picture of Mr. Hoover in Chicago and that was an oil painting in the back of a store window on Michigan Boulevard. At the Congress Hotel where the party had its headquarters, I have yet to see a poster or banner designed to inspire the Republicans with Mr. Hoover's countenance."<sup>3</sup>

1. Turner Catledge, "The National Conventions of 1932," Current History, V 36, (August, 1932). 521.

2. The New York Times, June 15, 1932, (news item).

3. Walter Lippmann, Interpretations 1931-1932, 289.

Senator Dickinson of Iowa, "a representative of the best traditions of what is perhaps the most typically American state in the Union" was chosen to make the keynote address.<sup>4</sup> The delegates were not much interested in Senator Dickinson's speech and did not extend to him the courtesy due a keynoter. His speech on the whole was unfavorably received by the press and the insurgent Republicans. He recited a long list of Mr. Hoover's achievements and criticized Congress for delay in balancing the budget and "hampering the President for two long years." He pointed out that social order was maintained here, while abroad there was revolution and bloodshed. He praised the establishment of the R.F.C., and its administration under Mr. Dawes; the Farm Board too came in for a share of praise as did the Hawley-Smoot tariff which, said Mr. Dickinson, "protected us from a flood of cheap foreign goods;" credit was given to the President for balancing the budget, for Federal Credit Expansion, for the London Naval Treaty, for the Debt Moratorium and for<sup>5</sup> conducting, on a merit basis, law enforcement bodies.

Senator Dickinson gave the impression that everything Mr. Hoover did as President was the inspired thing and no one but Mr. Hoover could have done so well. He ignored the active support

4. Review of Reviews, V 86, (July, 1930), (editorial), 14.

5. The New York Times, June 15, 1932, (news item).

given him by the Democrats in enacting non-partisan legis-  
<sup>6</sup>lation.

A wave of protest went out the next day over Senator Dickinson's keynote address. Republican Senators Johnson and Norbeck voiced their disappointment over the keynoter's efforts and especially his omission of the Prohibition question, "the paramount issue of the day." Democratic leaders took exception to his distorting of facts and claimed that his speech was a "challenge to make Mr. Hoover the issue in the election in  
<sup>7</sup>November. Newspapers too called attention to the temporary chairman's failure to mention the Prohibition Amendment "the liveliest subject in a lifeless convention."  
<sup>8</sup>In commenting on the speech as a whole, one said, "The question is raised, What is a keynote speech? Is it a wreath of eloquence surrounding a great silence? Is its object to pique rather than to satisfy the national curiosity? In which case where is the key and what is the note?"  
<sup>9</sup>Walter Lippmann, one time admirer of President Hoover, objected to the Senator from Iowa's unpatriotic speech in praise of Mr. Hoover. "The historians admit that even Abraham Lincoln made a few mistakes but if the Senator's story is to be believed Herbert Hoover has been invincibly right

6. Time, V 19, (June 20, 1932), (editorial), 10.

7. The New York Times, June 15, (news item).

8. The Nation, V 134, June 29, (editorial).

9. The New York Times, June 15, 1932, (Reprint from The New York Herald).

from start to finish. Such infallability previously has not been known on earth, and when Mr. Hoover has this speech called to his attention by one of his secretaries, he will feel either that the speech is nonsense or that the office of the President of the United States is a paltry thing for one who has such cosmic genius....The Keynote address is a reversion to the crudest kind of partisanship and a deliberate reckless abandonment of any pretense that the Administration desires national cooperation in dealing with the crisis. ... The address from start to finish is based on the assumption that the Democrats contributed almost nothing to the relief program and that no further assistance from them is needed or desired."<sup>10</sup>

Representative Snell of New York, minority leader in the House, was chosen as permanent chairman and addressed the Convention in a manner patterned after Mr. Dickinson's. He eulogized Mr. Hoover and the Republicans in general, giving as the slogan<sup>11</sup> for the coming campaign, "the American battle cry, Forward to Victory."

The resolutions committee, numbering seventeen, with James A. Garfield as chairman, dominated by Secretary Mills of the Treasury, assisted by Secretary Hyde of Agriculture, argued for

10. Lippmann, 292, 293.

11. The New York Times, June 16, 1932, (news item).

twenty five hours over the framing of the party platform. The debate centered on the most important feature, the Prohibition plank. The platform of nearly 9,000 words consisting of thirty seven planks was acceptable to President Hoover who was kept informed by telephone of every step taken by the committee.<sup>12</sup> A private wire from a room in the party headquarters in the Congress Hotel to the White House had been set up.<sup>13</sup>

The platform made recommendations for unemployment relief, placing the responsibility for the solution of the problem on state and local agencies, opposing the entrance of the Federal government into the field of private charity. The farm plank upheld the record of the Farm Board and agreed to accept any plan that would further aid the farmer, admitting that prices were low but taking consolation because farm prices were lower in foreign countries. The platform recommended further extension of the principle of tariff protection to include products of all extractive industries. It advocated high wages, a shorter working day, and approved of collective bargaining. The platform favored America's entrance into the World Court, advocated peace with all nations and went on record as disapproving reduction of national defenses below that of any other

12. The New York Times, June 16, 1932, (news item).

13. Catledge, Current History.



nation. The veterans were promised an elimination of injustices and inequalities. The banking plank proposed to establish greater security for American depositors and promised a stable dollar. A national banking conference was recommended to consider matters relating to monetary questions. Constructive regulation of all types of transportation was advocated and the hope expressed that the St. Lawrence Waterway treaty would soon be negotiated. Rigid enforcement of laws to stamp out crime of all types was urged. Reorganization of government business and their increased efficiency was proposed. Attention was called to the interest shown in the welfare of children by the President. The Democrats were censured for their failures, lack of leadership in Congress, their proposed "pork barrel" legislation, and their general inability in government affairs. Republican insurgents were reprimanded because they were dominated by prejudice rather than reason and for their lack of cooperation.

The platform with the above recommendations was accepted by the Committee. The Prohibition plank over which almost all of the discussion centered and which was really dictated by the President, was something of a surprise. Before the Convention

14.  
14. The New York Times, June 16, 1932, (news item).

President Hoover took no position on the liquor question. It seems those in favor of repeal were loud in their demands and if left to themselves would take a radical position on the question, and to forestall such action, Mr. Hoover set out to dictate through secret channels, what action should be taken by the Convention.<sup>15</sup> He was firm in opposing any plank that suggested repeal.<sup>16</sup>

Three of the seventeen members of the Resolutions Committee would not approve of the Prohibition plan dictated by the White House. They were Senator Bingham of Connecticut who prepared the minority report, former Ambassador Edge of New Jersey and Mr. Wearts of Vermont.<sup>17</sup>

The Prohibition plank which as proposed "would hold the Republican party together" stated that Congress should promptly submit to the State Conventions called for the purpose, a new amendment on liquor traffic which would permit each State to decide whether it would be "wet" or "dry." Federal safeguards, incorporated in the Constitution would be given States wishing to remain "dry." If three-fourths of the States rejected the proposal, the Eighteenth Amendment would remain in force.<sup>18</sup>

15. Lippmann, 294.

16. The New York Times, June 14, 1932, (news item).

17. The New York Times, June 16, 1932, (news item).

18. Ibid.

Chairman Garfield read the Prohibition plank of over five hundred words. Ninety five per cent of the galleries and a strong minority of the Convention loudly voiced their disapproval of the report. Before the demonstration ended, John McNab, a delegate from California who nominated Mr. Hoover in Kansas in 1928 made a plea, in the President's name, to the Convention to approve the Majority report and thus stand by the President. This plea was taken as a further proof that the President was directing the Convention.<sup>19</sup> However, a President seeking the nomination a second time does control his party but Mr. McNab's plea gave public admission to the fact.

When Senator Hiram Bingham presented the Minority report he was wildly cheered. A debate limited to two hours, followed this report, Secretary Mills and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler leading the opposing forces. Dr. Butler received an enthusiastic response from the galleries whose sentiments were shown on the previous night when they loudly cheered Alfred E. Smith's campaign song, "East-side West-side," and failed to cheer "California Here I Come" when the band played it in honor of the President's home State.<sup>20</sup>

19. The New York Times, June 16, 1932, (news item).

20. Ibid.

After the debate, the vote was taken. It was evident that the Administration steam-roller had crushed opposition. Repeal was rejected and the report of the Minority committee was voted down 681 to 472.<sup>21</sup>

The Prohibition plank was said to be a definite departure from the attitude of the Republican party four years before when it stood firmly on a law enforcement plank. At this Convention it had really offered to substitute state prohibition for national prohibition if the country so wished.<sup>22</sup>

The Prohibition plank pleased neither the Wets or the Drys; the former feeling that nothing short of a flat proposal for repeal would suffice, and the latter who bitterly opposed any concession and wanted the Republican party to stand firmly for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

An interesting side light on the popular feeling on the liquor question was brought to the attention of the public. During the Convention period a mass meeting of Drys and of Wets was held in Chicago. Fifteen thousand attended the "Wet" mass meeting in the Coliseum and only 187 attended the allied Dry meeting held in one of Chicago's churches.<sup>23</sup>

In a radio address on June 16, while the Convention was

21. Ibid.

22. The New York Times, June 16, 1932, (news item).

23. Time, V 19, (June 20, 1932), 7

still in session, Secretary of State Stimson defended his party's stand on the liquor question, saying that it was not a "straddle" but a method that was "consistent, definite, logical, and well founded in law and fact."<sup>24</sup>

On the whole, opinion seems unanimous that the Republican Convention lacked color, enthusiasm, and spirit. It disposed of its business in a routine, cut and dried, lifeless manner, seemingly in a hurry to get through with its task. The platform having been adopted the Convention set itself to nominating the President as the 1932 candidate but the fate of the Vice-president was somewhat in doubt, since there was a definite movement on foot to supplant Mr. Curtis as the President running mate.<sup>25</sup>

Whether or not his party wanted Mr. Hoover as a candidate mattered little. He had the patronage and controlled the Convention. Earlier in the year the Second Assistant Postmaster General, Mr. Glover, told the postmasters of Missouri that if they wanted to hold their jobs they would have to stand back of the President, "to get on firing line or resign their positions."<sup>26</sup>

No serious consideration was given to any Republican possibility for President. The "draft Coolidge" plan, sponsored

24. The New York Times, June 17, 1932, (news item).

25. Ibid. June 10, 1932.

26. Ibid. May 15, 1932.

by those dissatisfied with Mr. Hoover, met with no success. Mr. Coolidge, it was pointed out, was a party man and in no way would he interfere with the wishes of those in control, and further more he had no desire to attempt to salvage a wrecked cause. Bringing up the question of his possible candidacy harmed Mr. Hoover and only served to show that he had lost prestige and his party had lost faith in him.

Elihu Root, famous New York Republican and Statesman, in a talk with Dr. Butler before the Convention opened, bemoaned the absence of Presidential material within his party. He said, "What has become of our party? Twenty five years ago we had all the talent. Now the Democrats have it."<sup>27</sup>

Dr. J. I. France, Senator from Maryland was the only one to openly oppose Mr. Hoover and to set himself up as a candidate. He was nominated by a delegate from Oregon, whereupon Senator France rose to address the Convention. It was well known that Dr. France's plan was to get the "floor" and to then nominate Calvin Coolidge. In order to prevent the mention of that magic name, France was refused the "floor" and ejected from the hall. The reason given for his removal was that he was not a delegate and had no right to address the Convention. Senator France

27. Ibid., June 19, 1932, (news item).

controlled only four delegates.

Mr. Hoover was nominated on the first ballot receiving 1,126<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> votes. <sup>29</sup> The delegates fell into line and voted for the president without voicing any opposition. Most of the delegates were office holders and did as their sponsor expected them to do. "The Republican Chief Executive heads a huge and highly centralized corporation which directly employed four hundred of the delegates and was of vital concern to as many more. The Rep-  
 30  
 ublicans were a delegation, mostly background and stage scenery."

President Hoover's nomination was regarded as a sure defeat for the Republicans and again as a real challenge to the Democrats by the Press. Expressing the former opinion, an editorial in The Nation had this comment to make: "Mr. Hoover was renominated at Chicago but not by his party. Those that selected him to lead the Republican campaign again were Cowardice, Hypocrisy, Sham, Deceit, and Falsehood. Others were there, these triumphed. Some of the very men who sang Mr. Hoover's praises are among those that dislike him most. They knew that never has there been a Republican President so  
 31  
 unpopular and so distrusted."

The New York Times in an editorial, took a different view saying that Mr. Hoover's

28. Ibid., June 17, 1932, (news item).

29. Ibid.

30. Anne O'Hare McCormick, "The Democratic and the Republican Conventions Contrasted," The New York Times Magazine, (July 3, 1932).

31. The Nation, V 134 (June 29), (editorial).

nomination was a challenge to the Democrats. "It is folly that any Democrat can beat him (Mr. Hoover). He is unpopular, but he has withstood trial for three years. The Republican Convention played a high trump in nominating Mr. Hoover. It is for the Democrats to play a higher one if they have got it."<sup>32</sup>

General Charles G. Dawes, Coolidge's Vice President, was sought to run with Mr. Hoover. He emphatically declined the nomination but still there was a large field from which to choose. Earlier in the year Secretary of War Hurley was thought to have been groomed for the office but he was not put forth as a Vice Presidential candidate during the Convention. Republican support for the office was divided because there were twelve men to choose from, six of whom were nominated. The formidable candidates were, besides the Vice President himself, Chairman Snell, Col. MacNider, Maj. Gen. Harbord, and General Martin.<sup>33</sup>

No good reason could be given for dropping Mr. Curtis who had the endorsement of the White House. No one candidate was strong enough to defeat him and General Dawe's withdrawal from the field broke the backbone of the opposition.

Mr. Curtis was nominated by Charles F. Scott of Iola, Kansas and it was seconded by Mrs. Wilma Hoyal of Arizona, a childhood

32. The New York Times, June 17, 1932, (editorial).

33. Catledge, Current History.



friend of the Vice President's.<sup>34</sup> On the first ballot Mr. Curtis was 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  votes short of the nomination. General Martin of Pennsylvania then gave up Pennsylvania's seventy-five votes and Mr. R. B. Creger of Texas moved that the nomination be unanimous.<sup>35</sup> It was the first time in the history of the Republican party that its ticket was repeated.<sup>36</sup>

Mr. Will Hays, former Chairman of the Republican National Committee did what Mr. McNab had done earlier in the Convention. He showed the cut and dried nature of the meeting when he made a motion that Mr. Hoover and Mr. Curtis be notified of their selection before the tally clerk had finished his task and announced the result of the vote for Charles Curtis.<sup>37</sup>

"To manage his campaign, President Hoover picked large, chunky, slow-minded, Everett Sanders, one time Coolidge secretary whom the National Convention obediently elected as its chairman."<sup>38</sup> Post-Master Brown was considered for the job but was thought to be "too wet for the party chairmanship."<sup>39</sup>

The Convention adjourned after a three day meeting and hastily left Chicago. Dissatisfaction was expressed by the Chicago merchants who found the Republican delegates not a spending crowd, and complained of their frugal habits. Chicago had

34. The New York Times, June 17, 1932, (news item).

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Time, V 19, (June 27, 1932), (news item).

39. Ibid., June 13, 1932, (news item).

paid \$150,000 to get the Convention and was led to believe that the delegates would spend \$1,000,000 but Chicago merchants found themselves to be in the "red."<sup>40</sup>

The Republican Convention bored Chicago. "The dreary dullness of the Republican gathering unmatched in the memory of men who had been going to national conventions for forty years, was no more than might have been expected of a collection of mechanical robots operated by remote control from the White

House"<sup>41</sup> summed up what one writer thought of the Convention in general. A similar view expressed in much the same way appeared in The New York Times: "A stranger might have supposed that the Republicans were the minority party, they made so little stir and noise. The sessions opened on time, proceeded according to plan, were so well managed and non-controversial that they had difficulty in keeping going for three days. No party conclave in recent history was so completely controlled by one man as the Chicago Convention. It was a White House Convention, remarkable in its docility ... rendered conspicuous by absence of Congressmen and the presence of members of the Cabinet."<sup>42</sup>

40. The New York Times, June 17, 1932, (news item).

41. Elmer Davis "The Collapse of Politics," Harper's Magazine, V 165, (September, 1932), 385-395.

42. McCormick, The New York Times Magazine.

And so the 1932 Convention of the Republicans passed into history. As Chicago bade farewell to the delegates of the Grand Old Party she turned to welcome the Democrats who had begun to arrive to prepare the stage for another great political gathering, one that would hold the attention of the political world for five days, one that would be as picturesque as the past one had been dull.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Democratic National Convention began long before its opening sessions in Chicago. Many minor conclaves were held during the pre-convention period and strategic moves were planned so that when the Convention was called to order there was a feeling of suspense and a promise of interesting times ahead.

The Convention was opened by John J. Raskob on June 27, in the Chicago Stadium. In his opening speech Mr. Raskob urged repeal, praised Mr. Jouette Shouse who got "not one cent for his services" and commended Charlie Michelson for the effective work he had done. Evangeline Booth opened the Convention with<sup>1</sup> prayer.

Chicago paid \$200,000 to get the Democratic Convention as against \$150,000 offered by Kansas City. It was Mr. Edward N. Hurley who was chiefly responsible for bringing the Democratic and the Republican Conventions to Chicago, an accomplishment that reflected great credit upon him.

Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, the temporary chairman, co-author of the Eighteenth Amendment, made the keynote speech. Senator Barkley made many recommendations all favorably

1. The New York Times, June 28, 1932, (news item).

received and applauded, but when he recommended the repeal of the Prohibition Amendment and its submission to the people of the states through conventions called for that purpose, he was enthusiastically cheered. He proposed that the farmer be helped as generously as industry and finance, that every useless office and bureau in Washington be abolished, that the stock market operations be restricted, that banking and speculation be divorced, that the tariff rates be reduced and that efforts be made to "start the wheels of industry and afford an outlet for the energies and ambitions of industrious men and women." Senator Barkley stopped to praise Congress, especially the Democratic members of that body, who were responsible for constructive legislation.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the fact that his theme could be said to be that President Hoover mismanaged the government and proved himself unworthy to hold his high office, Mr. Barkley in an effort to be more temperate than the Republican keynoter, Senator Dickinson, did soften his criticism of Mr. Hoover when he said that no worthy Democrat has reflected on his personal character, and that he could not be held responsible for all our evils. He criticized the President for his attempt to deprive

2. The New York Times, June 28, 1932, (news item).

the Democratic Congress of due credit for their achievements in helping to combat the depression.<sup>3</sup> He criticized too, the Republican liquor plank saying, "Dr. Butler condemns it because it is dry; Senator Borah because it is wet; the American people condemn it because it is neither."<sup>4</sup>

Senator Barkley's speech was flowery; he worked himself up to a high pitch often and conveyed the impression that the Republican party had no redeeming virtues.<sup>5</sup>

The Press received Senator Barkley's speech in a more favorable manner than they accepted the Republican keynoter's address. Senator Barkley was given credit for at least two honest, outright, statements telling where his party stood on the important questions of the tariff and of Prohibition.<sup>6</sup> His audience was attentive and enthusiastic in direct contrast to that of the Republican keynoter's. His admirers felt that the Vice Presidential nomination should be his and began to "talk up his candidacy."

Jouette Shouse had been a hard-working, result-getting chairman of the Democratic National Committee and was thought to be the logical man to act as presiding officer of the Convention. He had been considered as the one to be relied upon to make an

3. Time, V 20, (July 4, 1932).

4. The New York Times, June 28, 1932, (news item).

5. Lippman, Interpretations 1931, 1932, 301.

6. Ibid.

energetic, fighting, keynote address. However a movement to supplant him and place Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana as permanent chairman gained momentum and lined up the Roosevelt forces as opposed to Mr. Shouse who was a Smith-Raskob man, definitely connected with the party's policies in 1928. The fight against him was said to be a proof to the Westerners and Southerners that the party had changed since they were forced to accept Smith and Raskob, and the Democrats were now ready to dispose of that leadership. The Democrats felt that the East might be lost to them and they wanted to appease the West and the South on whom they were to lay their hopes for victory. Governor Roosevelt was said to be drawn into the controversy unwittingly and that he might suffer a loss of prestige because of the feud.<sup>7</sup>

Governor Roosevelt was accused of acting in bad faith because some of his managers had promised to give their support to Shouse's candidacy. Attention was called to Shouse's attempt to block Mr. Roosevelt's nomination after the meeting of the Committee on Arrangements. The Governor's faction felt that by such action, Mr. Shouse had forfeited any claim to their support.<sup>8</sup>

Some of the party's ablest leaders, Alfred E. Smith,

7. Time, V 20, July 4, 1932.

8. The New York Times, June 19, 1932, (news item).

William G. McAdoo, Frank Hague, James M. Cox, James A. Reid, and John W. Davis, all gave their support to Mr. Shouse's cause but in spite of it, Senator Walsh won the chairmanship by a vote of 626 to 528.<sup>9</sup> This was a significant victory for the Roosevelt forces, who now felt that they could count on more than a majority of delegates of the Convention. The chairmanship victory can be said to be due to the efforts of Huey P. Long, the fiery Senator from Louisiana.

A sub-committee appointed by Mr. Raskob had undertaken the task of settling the dispute over the seating of delegates from Louisiana, Minnesota, and Puerto Rica. The Roosevelt forces entered into the controversy and when Senator Long declared that it was a move on the part of the Anti-Roosevelt men to unseat three groups of delegates pledged to Roosevelt, his candor startled those in power. Long was upheld by the Convention itself, and the Roosevelt forces came out of the fray as victors.<sup>10</sup>

Another controversy that threatened to split wide open the Convention was the fight on the "2/3 rule" which began long before the opening session of the Convention. The Roosevelt group were sure that their candidate could be nominated on the first ballot if he needed a majority to win instead of two.

9. The New York Times, June 29, 1932, (news item).

10. Catledge, Current History.



thirds of the total vote and they wanted the one hundred year old rule abolished. Before the Convention met, Mr. Smith con-<sup>11</sup>ceded 570 votes to Roosevelt out of a total of 1,154. A message from Mr. Roosevelt to his manager, James A. Farley, resulted in calling off their fight against the "2/3 rule." The Roosevelt forces, assured of a majority, had wanted to use it quickly, but when they could count on the delegates whose credentials had previously been in doubt<sup>12</sup>, they felt they could abide by the old rule, come out victorious and avoid the stigma of a "tainted nomination."<sup>12</sup> Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, a supporter of former Governor Byrd of Virginia's candidacy; Senator David I. Walsh, a Smith follower, and William G. McAdoo,<sup>13</sup> pledged to deliver California's votes to Speaker Garner.

The Democratic party platform of 1,450 words was read on Wednesday night, June 29, by Chairman Gilbert M. Hitchcock. It advocated a saving of not less than twenty five per cent in the cost of the Federal government; an annually balanced budget; a system of taxation based upon ability to pay; a sound currency and an international silver conference; a change in the tariff, a tariff for revenue, and the establishment of a fact finding commission free from executive interference; an extension of

11. The New York Times, June 24, 1932, (news item).
12. The New York Times, June 28, 1932, (news item).
13. The New York Times, June 25, 1932, (news item).

Federal credit to the States, and a national program of necessary useful construction; a shorter working week and day and, a reduction of the working hours of Federal employees; an adequate national defense; peace with all nations; no foreign debt cancellation; the development of the nation's water power; protection for the investing public, and the regulation of holding companies operating across State lines; the severance of investment and commercial departments of banks and relief for depositors; the fullest measure of justice and generosity to veterans; independence for the Phillipines and ultimate statehood for puerto Rica; constitutional measures designed to aid the farmer; a better financing of farm mortgages, and effective control of the crop surpluses; the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. It condemned the improper and excessive use of money in political activities; the extravagance of the Farm Board; the Hawley-Smoot tariff; actions and utterances of high public officials designed to influence stock exchange prices, and in its preamble recommended a "drastic change in economic governmental policies."

14

This platform was the shortest one ever produced by the Democratic party and its reading provoked wild applause; the crowd roaring its approval of the wet plank.

15

14. "The Democratic Platform," Campaign Book of the Democratic Party Candidate and Issues 1932, Published by the Democratic National Committee, New York, 1932, 97-100.
15. Time, V 20, (July 11, 1932).

Senator Hull read the Minority plank and was greeted with jeers and "boos." The report advocated submitting the liquor question to truly representative State conventions. It advocated, in the event of repeal, that the Federal government exercise its power to protect dry States against the importation of liquor in violation of their laws.<sup>16</sup>

The Prohibition plank of few words stated briefly and clearly the Democratic stand on the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. "We advocate the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. To effect such repeal we demand that the Congress immediately propose a Constitutional Amendment to truly representative conventions in the States called to act solely on that proposal, we urge the enactment of such measures by the several States as will actually promote temperance, effectively prevent the return of the saloon and bring the liquor traffic into the open under complete supervision and control by the States."<sup>17</sup> In regard to the Volstead Act the platform states "Pending repeal, we favor immediately modification of the Volstead Act to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer and other beverages of such alcoholic content as is permissible under the Constitution and to provide therefrom a proper and needed revenue."<sup>18</sup>

16. The New York Times, June 30, 1932, (news item).

17. Campaign Book of the Democratic Party, 99.

18. Ibid. 100.

A four hour debate followed the reading of the Majority and Minority reports. When Alfred E. Smith, who wrote the Prohibition plank, appeared on the Convention platform he received an ovation lasting ten minutes. When he spoke he was loudly cheered. He claimed that the time was passed "when you can be a Wet among Wets and a Dry among Drys." <sup>19</sup> The majority <sup>20</sup> plank was adopted by one loud "aye," a vote of 1154 to 0.

On the whole, the Press lauded the Democratic party platform. Some of the comments were: "The Resolutions Committee has done the best job in any national convention for at least twenty years. It has written a platform which is because in the main it is honestly intended that it should be, candid, and while it contains some ambiguities and some vote catching devices and some inaccuracies, it is more honest, more clear-headed and more courageous than the platform of any major party since the end of the war. Its authors were really aware of the fact that the country has become very impatient with the ordinary buncombe of politics and will respond to plain speech. It conforms more closely to the kind of individualism which Woodrow Wilson called the "New Freedom" than it does to the kind of collectivism which progressives like Senator La Follette

19. The New York Times, June 30, 1932, (news item).

20. Ibid., June 30, 1932, (news item).

believe in and in certain of his moods Governor Roosevelt himself.<sup>21</sup> "I like the Democratic platform because it is brief and specific. The Republicans required about 8,000 words to explain their position, the Democrats about 1,500. The Republicans gave 525 words to the Eighteenth Amendment, the Democrats only 146."<sup>22</sup> "Except for Prohibition the Democratic platform was more vague than the Republican."<sup>23</sup>

Having expressed itself as satisfied with the platform the Convention set about to nominate a candidate for President and Vice President. John E. Mck, a former Supreme Court Justice of New York from Poughkeepsie, nominated Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt of New York for President. He had nominated Mr. Roosevelt for the first office for which he was candidate. He called attention to the fact that during his four years as Governor of New York, a Republican legislature never passed a bill over his veto.<sup>24</sup> This nomination was seconded by Mrs. Isabella Greenway of Arizona, a widow of a Teddy Roosevelt Rough Rider, and a girlhood friend of Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt who served as bridesmaid at the Roosevelt wedding.<sup>25</sup>

Alfred E. Smith, former New York Governor, was nominated by Governor Joseph B. Ely of Massachusetts who paid a stirring

21. Lippman, Interpretations, 1931 - 1932, 308.

22. Forum, V 88, (September 1932), (editorial).

23. Time, July 11, 1932, (news item).

24. The New York Times, July 1, 1932, (news item).

25. Ibid.

tribute to the "Happy Warrior," the man who had put Massachusetts and Connecticut in the Democratic column, and of whom Elihu Root said, "The best informed on the business of the State of New York;"<sup>26</sup> the man who had reorganized the party machinery after defeat.

Speaker John Nance Garner of Texas was nominated by Senator Connally of Texas; Former Governor Byrd of Virginia was nominated by Senator Carter Glass; Governor George White of Ohio, by Atlee Pomerence, Governor William H. Murray of Oklahoma, by Henry S. Johnson; Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland, by Senator Millard E. Tydings; James A. Reed of Missouri, by Samuel Fordyce, and Melvin A. Traylor of Chicago, by Michael L. Igoe.<sup>27</sup>

Balloting began after an all night session of nominating speeches, interrupted by endless parades and seconding speeches. A request was made for a recess but the Roosevelt strategists wanted to force the balloting without further delay. Mr. Farley was determined to keep the Convention in session until Roosevelt was either nominated or eliminated.<sup>28</sup> When the first ballot was tallied, Roosevelt had 666 $\frac{1}{4}$  votes, Smith 201 $\frac{3}{4}$ , Garner 90 $\frac{1}{4}$ , White 52, Byrd 25, Traylor 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Reed 24, Murray 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ ,

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. The New York Times, July 1, 1932, (news item).

Ritchie 21, and Baker  $8\frac{1}{2}$ . A second ballot was taken. Roosevelt picked up  $11\frac{1}{2}$  votes; Smith dropped  $7\frac{1}{2}$ ; Garner kept his  $90\frac{1}{4}$ ; Ritchie gained  $2\frac{1}{2}$  votes and the remaining  $154\frac{3}{4}$  votes were  
28  
divided among the other candidates.

After the second ballot, the Roosevelt forces wanted adjournment, but the "Stop Roosevelt" men would not agree to it. The third ballot was then taken. Roosevelt gained only five votes, Smith lost four and Garner gained eleven. The Convention seemingly had reached a deadlock and so agreed to an adjourn-  
29  
ment until that night.

There was no rest on Friday for the strategists who worked continuously to bring out a sure candidate. Before the Convention again met, word was passed that Garner had released his delegates. The air was tense with anticipation and suspense when the Convention again came to order.

The fourth ballot was called for and when California was asked for its vote, suave, immaculate Mr. McAdoo ascended the steps of the rostrum, amid loud interruptions and "boos" from  
30  
the galleries, who wanted former Governor Smith nominated.

Mr. McAdoo was a delegate to the Convention and a member of the Resolutions Committee. He had California's forty four

28. The New York Times, July 1, 1932, (news item).

29. Catledge, Current History.

30. The New York Times, July 1, 1932, (news item).

votes which were pledged to Speaker Garner, his first, last, and only choice for President. He had wanted Jouette Shouse as permanent chairman, and had objected to any deviation from the "2/3 rule." However, "a finger of destiny had touched him the minute he landed in his own airplane at the Chicago airport."<sup>31</sup> He was destined to be the real factor in the nomination of Governor Roosevelt and was to wield more power than any other delegate to the Convention.

When the galleries quieted down somewhat, McAdoo gave California's forty four votes to Mr. Roosevelt. This started a rush to the Governor, who picked up quickly, more than the required number. The final count gave Roosevelt 945 votes, Smith 190 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Baker 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Ritchie 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  and White 3. New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island refused<sup>32</sup> to get on the bank wagon and held out for Smith.

In swinging the nomination to Governor Roosevelt, Mr. McAdoo and his sponsor William Randolph Hearst paid an old debt to Mr. Smith. It was he who had deadlocked the 1924 Convention and thereby prevented Mr. McAdoo's nomination; it was he who had refused to sanction Mr. Hearst's senatorial candidacy in New York in 1922 when he was governor; and now the publisher

31. Catledge, Current History.

32. The New York Times, July 1, 1932, (news item).



and Mr. McAdoo got their chance to thwart Mr. Smith.

It was also said that Mr. Hearst feared that Newton D. Baker would be a formidable candidate for nomination, if the 1932 Convention reached a deadlock. He did not want Smith, and he did not want Baker, whom he regarded<sup>34</sup> as an internationalist, and so he was willing to accept Roosevelt rather than run the risk of being forced to take a less desirable man.

John McDuffie of Alabama, the Democratic whip of the House, nominated the Texas plainsman for the Vice Presidency. General Matthew A. Tinley of Iowa was the only contender for the office, although other candidates were talked of earlier in the week. Burton K. Wheeler of Montana was frequently mentioned as a fitting running mate for Roosevelt as was Governor Woodring of Kansas and Thomas J. Walsh of Montana. Since he made his satisfactory keynote address, Senator Barkley was found to have supporters who wanted him to receive the second honors. Robert Hutchins, youthful President of the University of Chicago, was a possibility, since he gained prominence before the Convention when he spoke to that body urging the Democratic party to state its position on the fundamental problems of the day, if it<sup>35</sup> would command the support of the modern youth.

33. Ibid., July 3, 1932, (news item).

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., June 25, 1932, (news item).

When the roll call of States was taken, General Tinley asked that the nomination for Vice President be made unanimous. Speaker Garner, who before the Convention had refused to be considered as a Vice Presidential candidate, regarding the Speakership as more important, thus became his party's choice for Vice-  
 36  
 President.

Instead of waiting to be formally notified of his nomination, Governor Roosevelt sent a message to the Convention saying that he would arrive before that body adjourned, to receive his nomination immediately and thus cut the red tape of precedent.

With some of his family, Mr. Roosevelt flew to Chicago, arrived on Saturday afternoon and amid the acclaim of the 20,000 assembled in the Stadium received from Chairman Walsh his party's nomination. In a vigorous, active, speech Governor Roosevelt set forth some of his policies. He paid tribute to Woodrow Wilson; accepted his party's platform "100 per cent;" assailed Republican leadership; opposed wild radicalism; promised help to the forgotten man; advocated a program of reforestation and soil conservation as a land policy and a plan to reduce farm surpluses, and pledged himself to a "new deal for the American  
 37  
 people."

36. Ibid., July 2, 1932, (news item).

37. Campaign Book of the Democratic Party, 21.

James A. Farley, Governor Roosevelt's able manager, nominated by John H. McCooley of New York to succeed Mr. Raskob, was named Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Thus the old regime passed and the new one took hold.

When the Democratic Convention adjourned on July 2, it was compared with the Republican Convention held less than two weeks previous. The Democrats furnished color, and excitement as usual and the delegates themselves seemed to thoroughly enjoy the business of the Convention which to them was a pleasure. They do not take politics, ever, as seriously as the Republicans. "The Democrats filled the town, not only were more numerous, but gay and pervasive. They occupied more space. The largest Republican Committee room was too small for the Democrats who hired four big halls for Convention meetings and kept them crowded day and night with interested auditors. ... They love conspiracy, mystery, strategic moves, open meetings behind closed doors, contending camps, the more the merrier. The Democrats really enjoy politics. A Convention is their favorite kind of vacation."

The Democrats left Chicago, inspired by their candidate's message, with their eyes focused ahead and their hopes high for victory in November.

38. The New York Times, July 3, 1932, (news item).

39. McCormick, The New York Times Magazine.

## CHAPTER V

### THE CAMPAIGN ITSELF

The Presidential campaign opened earlier than previous major campaigns. It began when Governor Roosevelt accepted his nomination in the presence of the assembled delegates at the Chicago Convention, and delivered his "fighting" speech in which he stressed economic issues. It set in motion early, the volume of campaign oratory which was going to descend upon the nation in the months to come.

Speaker John Nance Garner of Texas, was notified formally that he was the nominee for the Vice Presidency by letter, and accepted in a like manner, thus breaking another precedent. The whole ceremony of notification cost two three-cent stamps. In his letter to Senator Barkley from Uvalde, Texas, dated August 26, Mr. Garner, "charged" President Hoover and the Republican leaders in Washington, with failure to meet the depression courageously, or to take adequate relief measures." He also assailed the Hoover administration for the enactment of the disastrous Hawley-Smoot tariff act.<sup>1</sup> The most biting passages were the following ones; "It is not government business to make individuals rich, though too often has government bent to that purpose ... Attempting to enforce morals by law is an unjust-

1. The New York Times, August 27, 1932, (news item).

ifiable invasion of the field preempted by churches and schools. Government is not a pedagog, nor a parson, nor a pied piper - it is merely a convenience of civilization."<sup>2</sup>

The Republicans opened their campaign in Boston, on July 11, exactly a month before President Hoover<sup>2</sup> was formally notified of his nomination for President of the Republican National Convention. Secretary Hyde, had however, actually fired the first gun when he replied to that portion of Governor Roosevelt's acceptance speech that dealt with reforestation. Secretary Hyde ridiculed the Roosevelt plan saying, since a man could plant one thousand trees a day, one million men could plant one million trees a day, and all the available baby trees in the United States could be planted in three hours; unemployment could hardly be affected by such a plan. The American Forestry Association rebuked Secretary Hyde, for his negative attitude on the subject of forestry, and Chairman Jones of the House Committee on Agriculture answered, "Farmer Hyde" as spokesman for the Democratic Candidate. Governor Roosevelt had laid down the dictum that he would reply to no one except President Hoover himself. Mr. Jones, showed that the Secretary's narrow idea of the meaning of reforestation was surprising, since in its broad

2. The Nation, V 20, (September 5, 1932), (editorial).

sense it really includes a program of flood control, drainage,<sup>3</sup> soil erosion and preparation, as well as of tree planting. Thus the Republicans took second honors in the first tilt of the campaign.

Secretary Mills, the Administration's ablest defender, addressed a meeting of four thousand enthusiastic partisans, who filled Faneuil Hall in Boston. The major part of his address was an attack upon the Democrats and Governor Roosevelt, who "had no program for recovery." He defended in an effective way, the Hoover administration and praised the bold leadership of the President, saying of him "no man living has the qualifications of President Hoover." The speech was said to have been a better attack than a defense, and mapped out the general trend the<sup>4</sup> Republican campaign would follow.

A few days later, the Secretary of War, Patrick Hurley, opened the Republican campaign in Ohio, when he spoke before the State Convention, held in Columbus. His address was not favorably received. Shouts of "We want beer" from the galleries interrupted his speech. The Republican candidate for Governor, Mr. David S. Ingalls, followed Mr. Hurley, advocated a repeal<sup>5</sup> plank, and was loudly cheered.

3. Time, V 20, (July 18, 1932), (editorial), 11.

4. The New York Times, July 12, 1932, (editorial).

5. Ibid., July 15, 1932, (news item).

President Hoover was formally notified on August 11, that he was the Republican candidate for President. It was made a social occasion, featuring a reception, a luncheon, and a garden party. The guest of honor was Mrs. Edith Kermit Roosevelt, widow of President Theodore Roosevelt, who was accompanied by her two daughters, Mrs. Alice Longworth and Mrs. Edith Derby. Five hundred guests attended the party, but when the President delivered his address, it was carried to four thousand waiting at Constitution Hall, and carried over one hundred sixty radio stations, the biggest hook-up ever attempted. He set forth his policies on war debts, unemployment relief, government finances, farm relief, power and prohibition. He went beyond the platform by urging a change in the dry law, virtually advocating an end to national Prohibition. He favored a protective tariff and challenged the Democrats to "descend from vague general-<sup>6</sup>izations to any particular schedule."

His speech was enthusiastically cheered and on the whole was favorably received. The press praised it and telegrams commending it flooded the White House. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler praised Mr. Hoover's stand on Prohibition. Henry Ford, Walter P. Chrysler, and Clarence M. Wooley of the American,

6. Ibid., August 12, 1932, (news item).

Radiator Company, were enthusiastic in their approval of his efforts. James M. Cox, former Democratic Presidential candidate said; "It is decidedly Herbert Hoover's best effort - - He has made the best out of a very bad case."<sup>7</sup> His own followers went away from the ceremonies "much encouraged and confident that the Democrats as usual in American campaigns about October, would be on the run."<sup>8</sup>

On August 18, "a handful of Republicans" journeyed to Topeka, Kansas, to notify Mr. Charles Curtis, that again he was the party's choice for Vice President. They did not refer to the fact that about thirty five per cent of the delegates to the Republican National Convention voted against him for a second term. More than five thousand were on hand for the ceremonies which were broadcast over forty eight stations, omitting Chicago and New York. Mr. Curtis, a dry, did not interpret the plank on the liquor question as his chief, Herbert Hoover had done. His stand on the question was given as the reason for omitting the two great cities from the broadcast. Democratic Manager Farley said, "It looks as if the Republican ticket had a half-dry head and a dried out tail."<sup>9</sup>

An editorial comment said, "A Republican National ticket

7. Ibid., August 22, 1932, (news item).

8. Arthur Krock, The New York Times, August 14, 1932.

9. Time, V 20, (August 29, 1932), 10.



expects to . . . triumph half wet and half dry., . . In his acceptance speech Mr. Hoover exercised his option given him by the platform and said he favors repeal, but the Vice President, Mr. Curtis of Kansas, has taken the contrary view and will vote as a citizen for the retention of the Amendment." Curtis was justified, continued the editorial, since the platform permits his stand and one of the purposes of the wording of the liquor plank was to leave room for the drys. The two speeches of acceptance in 1932, offer the same invitation to the Republican wets and Republican drys.<sup>10</sup>

At the outset of the campaign the Republicans were confident that Franklin Delano Roosevelt was no match for Herbert Hoover. The President was assured by his advisers that the Democrats had chosen the man he could most easily beat. The country was conservative and Governor Roosevelt could be "depicted and defeated like a second Bryan."<sup>11</sup> The tendency, they said, to blame Hoover was dying down. "He has come to be pitied as a man who got it on the chin. He might even be re-elected on this slogan."<sup>12</sup>

The Republican campaign got under way in the usual cool, cautious, calculated way that Republican campaigns have a habit

10. The New York Times, August 20, 1932, (editorial).

11. Time, V 20, July 11, 1932, 7.

12. George E. Sokolsky, "Will the Revolution Come," The Atlantic Monthly, V 150 August, 1932, 184-191.

of doing. They have made the winning of Presidential campaigns a general thing and they can go about their task in a routine way plowing ahead with machine-like precision. The campaign of 1932 found them on their way in the same old manner in spite of the fact that the Democratic standard bearer had declared war on tradition.<sup>13</sup> The Republicans felt that the trend was toward Hoover and that those who were against him and denounced him early in the year were later speaking sympathetically about him<sup>14</sup> and declaring him to be a two to one favorite.<sup>14</sup>

Yet political observers said the trend was toward Roosevelt. There were many discontented citizens who were inclined to hold the party in power, to blame for the depression and were ready to vote against it.<sup>15</sup>

The uppermost question in the minds of the American people was a return to normal economic conditions, and economic not political issues were to be in the foreground. Mr. Hoover had erred it was said when he urged employers, in the early days of the depression, not to reduce wages. They had to later, but conditions would have been better had they taken the step sooner<sup>16</sup> instead of later.

The Republicans expected to spend in 1932 about one-half

13. Time, V 20, (July 18, 1932), 11.

14. Paul Hutchinson "Can Any Democrat Be Elected," Forum, V 87, (June, 1932).

15. The New York Times, July 24, 1932, (editorial).

16. William B. Munro, "The Presidential Campaign Opens," Current History, (June, 1932), 257.

what they spent in 1928 when it cost \$9,433,604 to put Mr. Hoover in the White House. Headquarters were opened in the Palmer House in Chicago<sup>17</sup> and later a palatial suite at the Waldorf Astoria in New York was taken over for campaign<sup>18</sup> purposes.

Everett Sanders, the chairman of the National Committee, announced his choice of the men who were to take over the running of the campaign. Joseph R. Nutt was appointed national treasurer; Senator Hebert of Rhode Island, assisted by William Hill of New York, was named Eastern campaign manager, Henry J. Allen of Kansas, George Akerson, Walter H. Newton, and Lawrence Richey<sup>19</sup> were given places on the executive board.

The Roosevelt campaign board kept Charley Michelson as director of publicity, set up its headquarters in New York and appointed a strong board of men to direct the campaign. Evans Woolen, an Indiana banker and industrialist was made chairman of the finance committee; former Governor Byrd of Virginia who had put his State on a solvent basis, accepted chairmanship of the executive committee; Daniel J. Tobin, former treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, became chairman of the Labor committee; Frank C. Walker, a lawyer, and a close friend of

17. Time, V 20, (July 18, 1932).

18. The New York Times, August 16, 1932, (news item).

19. Ibid., August 31, 1932, (news item).

Governor Roosevelt was named as treasurer. The appointment of Mr. Woolen and Mr. Byrd was a bid for the conservative vote. Mr. Woolen was not likely to be interested in promoting the election of one who was an enemy of property.

Governor Roosevelt asked, over the radio, for small gifts to run his campaign. Only one-fourth of the amount spent in 1928 was said to be needed to finance the 1932 campaign. Messers. Farley, Byrd, and Woolen too spoke over the nation wide hookup.

The Republicans were ready to label Mr. Roosevelt as a "fake liberal without a program," and Mr. Garner as a "waster of public funds," while the Democrats, "presenting a front of unaccustomed solidity" were going to picture Mr. Hoover as a "bewildered man without any fixed convictions." The Republican opponents of the President had been his bitterest critics and the Democrats capitalized on their attacks. Mr. Roosevelt too, had been attacked by members of his own party and was confronted by a three fold problem. First he had to convince Tammany Hall that he was benevolent; second, he had to convince the Democratic bosses in other States that he was safe and reliable; third, he had to show the public that he was safe

20. Ibid., August 1, 1932, (news item).

21. Ibid., August 12, 1932, (editorial).

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., July 13, 1932, (news item).

and that he was fearless.

Before the campaign reached its most active stage, a series of events occurred some of which were both encouraging and discouraging to the candidates and their hopes.

Mr. Hoover's great worry was the Bonus Army encamped in the outskirts of the Capital, definitely voicing their demands that the soldiers' bonus be paid immediately. This group known as the Bonus Expeditionary Force, and commonly referred to as the B.E.F. became quite embarrassing to the Administration. They were antagonistic to Mr. Hoover himself and showed their disapproval of him in no certain way.

On July 28, these veterans of the World War were expelled from Government buildings by the police. This led to a scuffle and finally Federal troops were called out. By quick action the fifteen hundred soldiers ejected the squatters, using gas bombs, sabres, cavalry, infantry, and tanks, and then burned their camps.

President Hoover said that one-half of the B.E.F. were not veterans; Secretary of War Hurley said that two-thirds of them were not veterans, but Veteran Administrator Hines said that records showed that ninety-four per cent had served overseas and

24. Alva Johnston, "Political Showmen,"  
Forum, V 88, (July, 1932), 21-25.

25. The New York Times, July 29, 1932, (news item).

twenty per cent were drawing Federal disability compensation or allowance.  
26

General Douglas McArthur, chief of staff of the Army, said that the situation was of a serious nature and that President Hoover had delayed taking strong action until the last moment, yet Chief of Police General Glassford who had been in constant touch with the daily happenings in the Bonus Army camps, and who seemed to have the situation well in hand, would not agree to the White House story and denied the seriousness of the scrimmage that brought out the troops.  
27

Satisfaction that the threat of danger and violence was removed from the capital, and dissatisfaction over the heartless method of handling the veterans was expressed on all sides. A Washington taxi driver expressed a widespread feeling when he said that the ex-soldiers "were decent fellows and didn't give much trouble, but Hoover couldn't begin his campaign until they were gone." Another Washingtonian so employed, said that they had kept visitors out of the city because of fear.  
28

Later General Glassford again refuted the Administration's charges against the Bonus Army, when the Department of Justice's report on the B.E.F., was made public by President Hoover.

26. Time, V 20, August 15, 1932, 9.

27. Wilfred Parsons S. J., "The Rout of the Bonus Army," America, V XLVII, (August 13, 1932), 445-447.

28. Ibid.

Many items in the report he said, were in conflict with the police records. There were only twelve criminals in the Bonus Army and their own military police, sponsored by the Washington Police Department, frustrated attempts by the communists to influence the veterans.<sup>29</sup>

The job of completely dispersing the B.E.F., was accomplished through the efforts of the President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Daniel Willard, David<sup>30</sup> Barry, a brother-in-law of Charles M. Schwab, and Eddie McCloskey the mayor of Johnstown Pennsylvania who saw to it that the veterans were given free transportation to their homes.

Governor Roosevelt too, was confronted with a major problem from which he emerged as victor, winning acclaim instead of embarrassment and loss of prestige, as had been predicted.

Samuel Seabury, counsel for the Hofstadter inquiry, brought charges against Mayor James J. Walker of New York. These charges brought Mayor Walker before Governor Roosevelt at Albany and thereby put Mr. Roosevelt "on the spot." If he found Mr. Walker guilty and ousted him, he would lose the support of Tammany, and the national party would be sacrificed to that organization's spirit of revenge; if the Governor dismissed the charges the

29. The New York Times, September 13, 1932, (news item).

30. Time, V 20, (August 15, 1932), 9.

rest of the nation would feel that Mr. Roosevelt had not done his duty but that he had sold out to Tammany. However the press in general, glowingly praised the Governor for his impartial, intelligent, sincere, and yet ruthless manner in which he conducted the hearing. He showed that he had studied the evidence and that he was anxious to dispatch the business before him. The Mayor's counsel fought over every technicality but the Mayor's conduct throughout was above reproach.<sup>31</sup>

In the winter, Sheriff Thomas M. Farley, a Tammany district leader, was removed from office by Governor Roosevelt for failing to explain where he acquired large amounts of cash. Mr. Roosevelt went on record as laying down the ruling that a public official when under investigation must satisfactorily explain his private income as well as his official acts. The Governor intimated that Mayor Walker would have to explain where the large sums of money came from if those handled by the missing Russell T. Sherwood were his.<sup>32</sup>

Counsel for Mr. Walker tried to introduce evidence that the charges were the result of a plot designed by Republican leaders to discredit Mr. Roosevelt and ruin his presidential prospects. The Governor struck out such testimony as having no bearing on the case.<sup>33</sup>

31. The New York Times, August 13, 1932, (news item).

32. Ibid., August 16, 1932, (news item).

33. Ibid., August 21, 1932, (news item).



Before the Governor could pass judgment upon the evidence presented to him, Mr. Walker complained of the way the Governor handled his case and resigned, promising to submit his candidacy to the people in the Fall.<sup>34</sup>

The Republicans were cheered by the split in the Democratic party and it seemed that New York might be lost to Roosevelt in November. However, Mr. Walker was dropped by Tammany as a candidate for mayor and the threatened rift<sup>35</sup> was never realized.

Business conditions improved during July and August; the stock market became active, prices rising from two to twelve points; banks in Chicago and New York loaned large sums of money, and unemployment showed a steady drop. Prices of commodities, and production and consumption had reached new lows so that even a small rise in prices greatly interested the public.<sup>36</sup> The Republicans became quite hopeful even at these faint signs of recovery, but the public was wary. "A people straitened by adversity and no longer trustful of the judgment of its financial and political leaders is not yet sure."<sup>37</sup>

Faith in Roosevelt was given as the cause of the upturn, by the Democrats. Senator Cohen of Georgia said that the slight rise in commodity prices "was to be expected due to the changed

34. Ibid., September 2, 1932, (news item).

35. Ibid., August 7, 1932, (news item).

36. Arthur Krock, "The Silver Lining Appears But the Public is Wary," The New York Times, August 7, 1932.

37. Ibid., August 9, 1932, (news item).

policy of the Federal Reserve Board which permits Federal Reserve banks to make laws to private individuals and to corporations; to the adjournment of Congress, and to the certainty in the minds of the American people that there is going to be a change in government."<sup>37</sup>

Before the two parties held their major conventions, important business men who had once been advocates of Prohibition, came out supporting the movement for repeal. Some of these leaders were: Harvey S. Firestone, Alfred P. Sloane Jr., John D. Rockefeller Jr., Charles Edison, son of the inventor, and J. N. Willys, retiring Ambassador to Poland.<sup>38</sup> The Democrats held that their stand was helpful to the cause of the Democrats.

The Roosevelt leaders were cheered on many occasions as important men in every field as well as organization boasting of either large membership or wide influence rallied to their standard. The Hotel, Restaurant, Club and Allied Industries Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, with a membership of 100,000,<sup>39</sup> voted to back the candidacy of Governor Roosevelt; the Los Angeles Republican Club for Roosevelt promised active support;<sup>40</sup> Judson King, director of The National Popular Government League, favored the record of Governor Roosevelt on

37. Ibid., August 9, 1932, (news item).

38. Ibid., June 12, 1932, (news item).

39. Ibid., July 13, 1932, (news item).

40. Ibid., August 29, 1932, (news item).

power, stating that the President favored control by private interests. Important signers of this declaration were Professor Beard and Professor Barnes of Yale University<sup>41</sup> Major Smedley D. Butler, a life long Republican and a retired marine officer<sup>42</sup> advised his friends to vote for Roosevelt.

In his acceptance speech in Chicago, Governor Roosevelt extended an invitation to the Progressives to join him. Senator Hiram Johnson of California was expected<sup>43</sup> to join with Senator Norris, Progressive Republican from Nebraska, who had lined up with the Democrats. Senator Johnson praised Roosevelt's manner of receiving the nomination and said that the preparation of his speech while enroute to Chicago in an airplane, was a "tribute to the frankness of writer." Senator Nye of North Dakota and Senator La Follette of Wisconsin were known to oppose the re-election of Mr. Hoover, and the Democrats looked for them to join their ranks. Senator Borah of Idaho was no friend of the President's but he was lost to the Democrats because he was always a regular party man.

The American Federation of Labor would not endorse either candidate, since their members have political freedom, yet the body went on record for advocating modification of the Volstead

41. Ibid., September 12, 1932, (news item).

42. Ibid., September 12, 1932, (news item).

43. Ibid., July 5, 1932, (news item).

Act.

In his first major address since the Convention at Chicago, Governor Roosevelt spoke at Columbus, Ohio, on August 20, before 30,000 jubilant Democrats. He played the leadership of the Republicans; advocated Federal control of stock and commodity exchanges; demanded more rigid supervision of national banks; recommended separation of investment and commercial banking; denounced the use of Federal Reserve funds for speculation and the implied approval given by the State department to floating foreign bond issues, and the attempts of the government to influence the stock market by misleading statements.<sup>45</sup> The "flash and fire" shown in his speech gave heart to the Democrats who felt that "here was after all, another Roosevelt for national leader."<sup>46</sup>

Secretary Hurley answered the Roosevelt speech, but was considered ineffective. Secretary Mills or Secretary Chapin would have done a better job, or Mr. Hoover himself - "the best expounder of the President's policies" - would have been the one to return Mr. Roosevelt's thunder.<sup>47</sup>

A Labor Day visitor at Crum Elbow, the Roosevelt estate at Hyde Park, New York, was Bernard Baruch who had ridiculed the

44. Ibid., September 4, 1932, (news item).

45. Ibid., August 21, 1932, (news item).

46. Time, V 20, (August 29, 1932), 10.

47. The New York Times, August 26, 1932, (editorial).

idea that Mr. Roosevelt was "a dangerous radical." It was known that Mr. Baruch had kept in close touch with the Governor and had aided him in the preparation of his addresses.<sup>48</sup>

Governor Roosevelt invaded Vermont, a Republican State, because he was not willing to concede it to the Republicans. It was an audacious move on Roosevelt's part, because a Democrat had not invaded Vermont since the Civil War and no Democrat had been elected since 1858.<sup>49</sup> New England was lost to Roosevelt it was said, unless Mr. Smith would take an active part in campaigning. Real concern was felt over the party prospects in the Bay State election unless word was received for the former standard bearer, and as yet it was not forthcoming.<sup>50</sup>

Mayor Frank Hague of New Jersey, a Smith Democrat and a bitter opponent of Mr. Roosevelt during the Chicago Convention, staged a big rally at Sea Girt, New Jersey on August 27, for the Democratic candidate when he arrived there for a major address. More than 100,000 heard him speak and gave him an enthusiastic welcome. It was a show like the one put on four years before for Alfred E. Smith. In his address, the Governor attacked principally the stand of Hoover and Curtis on the Dry law.<sup>51</sup>

48. Ibid., September 6, 1932, (news item).

49. Ibid., September 8, 1932, (news item).

50. Ibid., September 9, 1932, (news item).

51. Ibid., August 28, 1932, (news item).

Governor Roosevelt, against the advice of the strategists, decided to make a nation wide tour leaving Albany on September 12, and returning to Buffalo on October 3, to attend the New York State Democratic Convention in order to nominate Lieutenant Governor Lehman as his successor.

52

The Governor's special train, the "Pioneer," cost the party \$20,000 whereas Mr. Smith's "special of 1928 cost \$43,000. The train was scheduled to cover 8,000 miles. Making the trip with the Democratic candidate was his daughter, Mrs. Anna Dahl; his son, James; Professor Raymond Moley, chief of his "brain trust;" Melton McIntyre the Governor's press representative; twenty four news hawks, and twelve camera men. The "special" was due in Salt Lake City on September 17, and there Democratic National Chairman Farley was to board the train for the rest of the trip. Left behind to take charge of the national headquarters was Mr. Roosevelt's confidential secretary, Louis McHenry Howe. Mrs. Roosevelt was to join the party at Williams, Arizona, where she would be, visiting her girlhood friend, Mrs. Isabella Greenway.

53

Before leaving for the West, Mr. Roosevelt spoke over the radio in an appeal to the forgotten man for small contributions to the Democratic campaign fund. \$1,500,000 was the goal set.

54

52. Time., V 20, (September 19, 1932), 10.

53. Ibid., September 19, 1932.

54. The Nation, V 20, (September 5, 1932), 13.

Within a week \$10,000 was received from 2,678 supporters who responded to the appeal for "forgotten dollars."<sup>55</sup>

The Republican Campaign fund at this time was in the "red" since the big contributors of other years had failed to give.<sup>56</sup>

The Republicans were not alone in depleted finances. The money box of the Anti-Saloon League was practically empty and its prestige and power gone. An editorial in The New York Times, commenting on the plight of the once powerful league said, "Westerville, Ohio, once the moral capital of the United States and chief seat of authority is unregarded and unheard of. Wayne B. Wheeler was fortunate he didn't live to see the evil days when his skillfully led forces are routed, discouraged, and divided."<sup>57</sup>

The trend in the West was disconcerting to the Republicans. Five Cabinet members were appointed to trail Roosevelt and reply to his arguments. Secretaries Mills, Hyde, Hurley, Wilbur, and Doak were assigned to the task.<sup>58</sup>

The American Legion National Convention to be held in Portland, Oregon was viewed suspiciously by the Administration. Secretary Hurley and General McNider, were sent to work against a move on the part of that body to censure Mr. Hoover on the

55. The New York Times, September 1, 1932, (news item).

56. Ibid., September 7, 1932, (news item).

57. Ibid., September 12, 1932, (editorial).

58. Ibid.

eviction of the B.E.F., from Washington. In State Conventions in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Texas, New Mexico, and Maryland resolutions were passed censuring Mr. Hoover and the Veterans of Foreign Wars condemned the President's action.<sup>59</sup> The Republicans were going to be kept busy settling problems in the West during the month of September.

The Republicans' fears concerning the action of the American Legion were not unfounded. A fight in the Resolutions Committee over a proposal to censure the President reached large proportions and was intensified by the wave of resentment following the Attorney-General's report made public by the President and mentioned above, but the Committee succeeded in smothering the proposal which seethed under the surface of the Convention all week. President Hoover's name was not mentioned once during the entire convention.<sup>60</sup>

Secretary Hurley distributed pamphlets in franked envelopes<sup>61</sup> to the entire delegation, who became incensed about it. When he appeared before the Convention he was "booed," but after a safe and sound speech on armament he was cheered as well as "booed."<sup>62</sup>

The Legion disregarded the President's appeal against the

59. Time, V 20, (September 12, 1932), 9.

60. Ibid., (September 19, 1932), 9.

61. The New York Times, (September 16, 1932).

62. Time, V 20, (September 19, 1932), 9.



Bonus and voted for the immediate payment in committee, 29 to 1, and in the Convention 1,167 to 109. They voted for the repeal of the Volstead Act 1,145 to 133.<sup>63</sup>

The Hoover campaign heads became alarmed over the election in Maine. The Democrats clinched victory there, electing a governor, two members of Congress, and many state and county officials.<sup>64</sup> The Republican vote fell off 31,000 from four years before and the shift in party lines was amazing. "It was a solemn warning if not a verdict and when the results became known President Hoover was asked to take charge of the active campaigning.<sup>65</sup> The Republicans confessed to "dangerous symptoms and the President himself called for "strong and renewed efforts."<sup>66</sup>

Mr. Roosevelt hailed the results of the Maine election as a forerunner of the results in November. He sent a telegram of congratulations to the Governor-elect, Louis J. Brann.

Enroute to Topeka, Governor Roosevelt was greeted by cheering throngs. He spoke to a cheering crowd in the Kansas capital, to a crowd more than twice as large as the one that heard Vice-President Curtis make his acceptance speech. The Governor's suggestion that the Department of Agriculture be reorganized was loudly cheered. He pledged tariff aid and declared that

63. Ibid.,

64. The New York Times, September 14, 1932, (news item).

65. Ibid., (editorial).

66. Ibid., September 16, 1932, (editorial).

Hoover's policies were a failure.

The press reacted favorably to Mr. Roosevelt's speech and telegrams and letters of commendation were sent him from all sections of the country.

68

Roosevelt's farm speech at Topeka, the results of the vote in Maine, recent primaries results showing Democratic strength in Republican States and the scarcity of effective Republican campaign speakers forced the President to decide to go direct to the country. "Nothing but a belated appreciation of the desperate state of his cause could have brought him (Mr. Hoover) to this momentous decision," said Senator Pat Harrison.

69

The President received telegrams from worried party leaders urging him to face a situation they described as critical. He was the only one who could adequately reply to the assertions and suggestions advanced by his rival. To add to the party's worries, Joseph R. Nutt, the Campaign treasurer, who was accused of inactivity, refused aid to State committees, complained of meagre funds and reported that only one-third the amount of money needed for campaign purposes had been received.

70

71

In Salt Lake City, Governor Roosevelt delivered a splendid speech, broadcast over both the Columbia Broadcasting System

67. Ibid., September 14, 1932, (editorial).

68. Ibid., September 16, 1932, (news item).

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., September 15, 1932, (news item).

71. Ibid.

and the National Broadcasting Company. This speech, prepared after a consultation with Railroad presidents, and executives of the Railroad Unions and approved in principle by both groups, advocated many needed reforms. A ten per cent cut had been accepted temporarily by the workers and, a twenty per cent cut was threatened; the railroads omitted dividends on their stocks and defaulted interest on their bonds. Governor Roosevelt did not disguise the seriousness of the problem. He approved the policy of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation as a temporary measure aiding the Railroads. He advanced six points in a railroad program; that the government stand behind the railroads in the development of a national transportation policy; the elimination of a multiplicity of receiverships and court actions and the staggering expenses allowed to lawyers and receivers; the regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission of competing motor carriers; the elimination of competition where traffic is light; railroad consolidations safeguarding all interests and the control by the Interstate Commerce Commission of railroad holding companies.

72

The only complaints against Governor Roosevelt's speech came from "speculators and stock waterers." Roosevelt it was 72. Ibid., September 18, 1932, (news item).

agreed, had intelligently outlined the steps needed to preserve<sup>73</sup> investors and workers their savings and their jobs.

Governor Dern said that Roosevelt had made a favorable impression and would carry the State of Utah. His tour was very successful and everywhere he was warmly received. Those who had advised against his making the trip were happy to admit that Roosevelt had borne himself well throughout the trip, which he regarded not only as a campaign<sup>74</sup>, but as a fact finding trip.

Portland cheered Governor Roosevelt both before and during his address on the regulation of Government utilities and the Federal ownership of power sites. He declared that the President was opposed to Federal regulation and control. He advocated Federal control of holding companies and the enacting of legislation forbidding the publishing or circulating of false or deceptive matter relating to public utilities.<sup>75</sup>

The Democratic candidate was accused of being unfair to Mr. Hoover in this speech. It was pointed out that the President a few months after his inauguration had asked for Federal regulation and in his first message to Congress he advocated making the Federal Power Commission the ultimate

73. Ibid., September 19, 1932, (news item).

74. Ibid., September 16, 1932, (news item).

75. Ibid., September 22, 1932, (news item).

arbiter of interstate transmission.

It was dinner hour when Governor Roosevelt arrived in San Francisco, yet one hundred thousand people turned out to give him an enthusiastic reception. More than sixteen thousand filled the hall to hear his address and cheered him for five minutes. Mr. Roosevelt praised Alfred E. Smith and demanded repeal, in a stirring speech, that pleased his listeners. <sup>77</sup>

In Sacramento, the next stop, again Mr. Roosevelt received a warm greeting. Senator Hiram Johnson had made a speech criticizing President Hoover. The Democratic candidate praised the California senator's progressive-Americanism and Mr. Johnson showed his pleasure and appreciation. Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward Progressives and progressivism in California was in sharp contrast to the President's attitude. <sup>78</sup>

Governor La Follette was defeated in the Wisconsin primaries. It was hailed by both the Democrats and the Republicans as their victory. The Republicans began to lose signs of the fright they showed after the Maine election, but the Democrats, said, Arthur Krock, were in the first position to carry Wisconsin for Governor Roosevelt. <sup>79</sup> For forty years the Democrats had helped the La Follettes in primaries, but in

76. Ibid., September 23, 1932, (editorial).

77. Ibid., September 23, 1932, (news item).

78. Ibid., September 24, 1932, (news item).

79. Arthur Krock, The New York Times September 25, 1932, (news item).

1932, because of enthusiasm for Governor Roosevelt, they went into their own primaries. "If the Progressives desert the "Stalwarts" and aid the Democrats at the polls, the Republicans will be on the losing end,"<sup>80</sup> and so the La Follette defeat has its dark forebodings for the Republicans.

Senator Borah complained that he and other ardent champions of national Prohibition had been "neatly disfranchised this year."<sup>81</sup> A break up of old party lines was seen. Prohibition as well as dissatisfaction was eating into Republican strength and as the campaign approached a climax, it showed no signs of abating.<sup>82</sup>

The Literary Digest poll which was said to generally favor the Republicans because those on their mailing list were the people who could afford the luxuries of life,<sup>83</sup> showed that out of 70,000 votes covered, almost forty per cent of the votes for Roosevelt came from people who said they had voted for Hoover in 1928. Mr. Hoover drew only six per cent of his strength from voters who cast their ballot for Mr. Smith in 1928. The breakdown of party lines, however, was said to be due more to emotion than reason.

Before the Roosevelt tour ended, the Republicans conceded

80. Ibid.

81. The New York Times, September 25, 1932, (editorial).

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., September 16, 1932, (news item).

84

Washington, Oregon, and California to the Democrats. At the same time Senator Norris organized in Washington, The National Progressive League and was named its chairman. He announced that he would make a coast to coast speaking tour for the Democratic candidate. The slogan of the League was a statement made earlier by Senator Norris, "What this country needs is another Roosevelt in the White House." Other Progressives who offered to take the stump were Mayor Murphy of Detroit, Bainbridge Colby of New York, (one of the founders of the Bull Moose Party in 1912), and Amos Pinchot, another Progressive of 1912, and brother of Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania. <sup>85</sup>

Milwaukee was added to the list of Roosevelt triumphs. While there the Governor lauded Wisconsin liberalism, thereby putting the finishing touch on his program to win the support of the well known Liberals who as yet had not come out openly for the Democratic Candidate, the La Follettes, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, Senator Bronson Cutting of New Mexico, <sup>86</sup> and the Farmer-Labor groups of Minnesota and the Dakotas.

Governor Roosevelt was hailed by throngs of Chicagoans when he arrived in that metropolis. More than 200,000 lined the streets to watch the huge parade staged to welcome him.

84. Ibid., September 26, 1932, (news item).

85. Ibid., September 25, 1932, (editorial).

86. Ibid., October 1, 1932, (news item).

It was one of the greatest demonstrations ever given a political candidate and bore out the prediction that the trend in Illinois was toward Roosevelt.<sup>87</sup>

In Detroit, Governor Roosevelt made a non-political address, pleading for social justice and again received the enthusiastic greeting that was becoming a habit.<sup>88</sup> His attractive personality and his unusual crowd appeal added considerably to the feeling that he was a successor to the other Roosevelt.<sup>89</sup>

As Governor Roosevelt turned back East, President Hoover started West. Des Moines, Iowa was to be the scene of his first major address of the campaign, since making his speech of acceptance in Washington on August 11. The eyes of the nation were focused on Iowa as the President journeyed to the state of his birth to begin his active campaign. His schedule called for addresses in Fort Wayne, Cleveland, Detroit, and Indianapolis.<sup>90</sup>

In his speech, the President pointed with pride to his successful efforts in keeping the United States from going off the gold standard when it was within two weeks of doing so, and offered a twelve point Farm program, laying down as a cardinal principle the maintenance of a high protective tariff on farm

87. Arthur Krock, The New York Times, October 3, 1932, (news item).

88. The New York Times, October 3, 1932, (news item).

89. Arthur Krock, "The Campaign Is Under Way," The New York Times Magazine, (September 18, 1932).

90. President Hoover and Ex-President Coolidge Campaign Speeches of 1932, Doubleday, Doran and Co., New York, 1933.



products. Some of the highlights were: relief for recipients of drought feed and seed loans who are unable to pay under stress of times; a national program of land utilization; repeal of the price stabilization provisions of the farm marketing act; completion of the St. Lawrence to Gulf waterway; a call for a conference of experts to work on a program of relief from extra burdens for public revenue and a continuation of the efforts of the government to reverse the processes of deflation and "bring things back to their real values."<sup>91</sup>

The Coliseum was filled with a selected audience and the speech was broadcast over one hundred and ten stations. Legionaires and cavalry flanked him in a parade, helping the Iowans to put on a "brave show."<sup>92</sup> His visit was well managed<sup>93</sup> and he received a tumultuous welcome.

Arthur Krock said that in spite of the President's appearance in Iowa the Republicans were facing a hard fight to gain control of the State since the Iowans blame the Farm Board and "the administration generally for their miseries." Personal feeling against Mr. Hoover was deep. Before his train arrived the Farmers' Union staged a peaceful but protesting parade. All the Banners carried were Anti-Hoover, two of which carried

91. The New York Times, October 5, 1932, (news item).

92. Arthur Krock, "Republicans Facing A Hard Fight in Iowa." The New York Times, October 5, 1932.

93. The New York Times, October 9, 1932, (news item).

these slogans, "In Hoover we trusted; Now we are busted;" and  
 "Hoover, Hyde, Hell and Hard-Times, the Republican 4 H Club." 94

Mr. Hoover's speech was said to be sound Republican doctrine and that it began the real battle of the campaign, - the  
 contest between the two candidates for the Presidency. 95

Senator Glass however, took the lead in denouncing the President's speech in part. Senator Glass, an authority on banking, took exception to the remarks of Mr. Hoover on the "gold standard." The Senator from Virginia sent a telegram to The New York Times. He said that at no time did any spokesman for the Administration privately or publicly express concern for the gold standard, and if there had been concern, he knew of nothing that was done or suggested by the Administration to avert such a disaster as being driven off the gold  
 standard. 96

No doubt President Hoover's reference to the threat of the danger of our going off the gold standard was uttered for home consumption only, but it had a "distant and financial  
 effect not at all intended." 97 French newspapers expressed surprise at the news given out by the President, one of which  
 said, "What evils can result from an American election." 98

94. Arthur Krock, October 5, 1932.

95. The New York Times, October 9, 1932, (news item).

96. Ibid., October 8, 1932, (Senator Glass's telegram).

97. Ibid., October 10, 1932, (editorial).

98. Ibid. (foreign newspapers quoted in editorial).

Another one said, "The President seeking to restore confidence seems somehow to accomplish the opposite result." <sup>99</sup> Indeed the President's reference to the gold standard was unfortunate.

After the Des Moines speech, the price of wheat fell two cents and the stock market dropped from <sup>100</sup> two to eight points. Correspondents covering the entire national political scene continued to report a growing favorable attitude toward Governor Roosevelt's candidacy. The Republican Chiefs disagreed saying that the Democratic candidate had reached the crest of his popularity and he was now on the downgrade. <sup>101</sup>

Mr. Hoover stopped at Fort Wayne for a speech and went on to Cleveland where he delivered another major address. Here he received an enthusiastic welcome from the Ohioans and told them of the policies and measures put into effect by his administration as they related to the nation's "wage and salary earners." He listed twelve major ones: a successful fight against the menace of cold and hunger through leadership in organizing the country's charities, supplemented by \$300,000,000 State aid from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; stimulation of industrial employment through the White House conferences with business leaders at the outset of

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid., October 6, 1932.

101. Ibid., October 9, 1932.

the depression; speeding up of the Federal building program and inducement of the States to do likewise; inauguration of a system of Federal aid for "self liquidating construction work; introduction in the Federal service of the five day week principle; establishment of the home loan bank system to aid small home owners; leadership in advocating high wage levels as the economic basis of the country; maintenance of high tariffs to protect American labor; restriction of immigration to protect American workmen; watchful guarding of the dollar against all efforts at currency inflation; support of private credit as the means of restoring normal activity in business and normal employment; and cooperation by the Administration in international efforts to solve the depression, including the support of the forthcoming world economic conference.

102

While President Hoover was advocating the benefits of a high tariff, the Prime Minister of Canada, R. B. Bennett made public the new Canadian treaty which specifically pointed out that the Hawley-Smoot Tariff had closed United States to Canadian farm products, Canada in turn placed a high tariff on non-British products which would reduce the exports from the United States by about \$75,000,000.

103

102. Ibid., October 16, 1932.

103. Ibid., October 14, 1932, (editorial).

The Federal Reserve Bulletin showed that between June 1930 (when the Hawley-Smoot tariff went into effect) and August 1932 the farm or food prices declined 16% in England, 7% in France, 17% in Germany and 45% in the United States. The average monthly value of exports for the first seven months in 1932 showed the following decline from average monthly figures for the full year of 1930: England, 33%; France, 54%; Germany, 51% and the United States, 59%. The question was raised, "How has the tariff helped?"<sup>104</sup>

In the United States, an open petition signed by one hundred and eighty economists from the list of two thousand who had asked the President in 1930 not to sign the Hawley-Smoot bill, again asked that the Chief Executive eliminate the inequalities existing and to reduce the excessive duties that were retarding world recovering. The petition, it was explained, was signed by a relatively small number because it was impossible to present it to the two thousand economists who had signed two years previous.<sup>105</sup>

Again the Republicans received disconcerting news. In reply to insistent inquiries, Senator Johnson issued a statement to the newspapers declaring that "he cannot and will not

104. The New York Times, November 2, 1932, (editorial).

105. Ibid., October 17, 1932, (news item).

support Mr. Hoover for re-election." He said that he was a Progressive Republican and Mr. Hoover was not, and that he would not put "political fealty above the people's welfare."<sup>106</sup>

In an attempt to win the East for Mr. Hoover, ex-President Coolidge addressed a Republican rally in Madison Square Garden, New York City on October 11. His audience of eighteen thousand did not fill the hall and were not anxious to applaud his speech which stressed economic issues.<sup>107</sup>

"It cannot be said that his speech was nicely calculated to dispel Republican gloom. There was nothing in it to fill his audience with a frenzy of hope and delight. ... His natural restraint kept him from rhetorical extremes either in praise or blame. He was not lyric about President Hoover. He was not violent against Governor Roosevelt. ... A half apologetic note was struck again and again by Mr. Coolidge in his speech. There was little in its scope or form to fire the Republican heart ... That is not to say that Mr. Coolidge did not give a lift to the Republican campaign in these parts."<sup>108</sup>

Mr. Hoover made his next major address in Detroit where he met the first hostile demonstration of his campaign. He was "booed" and heckled at the Union Station, along the route, and

106. Ibid., October 15, 1932, (news item).

107. Ibid., October 12, 1932, (news item).

108. Ibid., (editorial).

when he reached the Arena, the boos had become a virtual roar.  
 109  
 Inside the hall he was enthusiastically cheered.

In his speech the President gave the steps he had taken to bring about recovery, stressing the increased value of bonds, increased manufacturing production, the increase in employment and the decreased number of bank failures. Agricultural products he said were still "hideously low" but they too had shown some increase.  
 110  
 The picture he painted was one of returning normalcy.

In an editorial in The New York Times concern was expressed over Mr. Hoover's reception in Detroit. Consideration was due him for his efforts since he had given to the country, in the midst of public misfortune, the best that was in him. He had at least "the proud satisfaction of knowing that he has done his best" while in command.  
 111

On his way back to Washington from Detroit, President Hoover decided to make a whirlwind trip to the West coast, speaking at New York, Newark, Indianapolis, Chicago and possibly in San Francisco.  
 112  
 These plans were changed however in favor of stops at Indianapolis, St. Louis, and St. Paul,

109. Ibid., October 22, 1932, (news item).

110. Ibid., October 24, 1932, (editorial).

111. Ibid., October 24, 1932, (news item).

112. Ibid.

with a final radio talk on the eve of Election Day, before<sup>113</sup>  
reaching his home in Palo Alto, California.

This program of a strenuous last minute campaign was declared unwise politics. It gave proof of the desperate condition of the party and inferred that the Cabinet members were ineffective in their attempts to stem the tide of public disapproval. "Putting the heavy burden of carrying the load of the Republican campaign upon the shoulders of the already overworked President, created the inference that he is responsible for the Republican plight and that he must do something drastic about it."<sup>114</sup> Twenty two addresses in four days was the schedule laid out for Mr. Hoover. Three of these addresses were to be major ones and one was scheduled for a<sup>115</sup> thirty minute period.

The Democrats took exception to the attempts on the part of some staunch Republicans to spread propaganda among their employees in an attempt to secure the re-election of Mr. Hoover. The National Association of Manufacturers began in September, a campaign to inform their industrial workers throughout the country of the benefits from their viewpoint of the protective tariff. Henry Ford announced to his employees that "Hoover

113. President Hoover and Ex-President Coolidge,  
Campaign Speeches of 1932. V.

114. The New York Times, October 27, 1932, (editorial).

115. Ibid.



must be elected." Bainbridge Colby took him to task for it saying, "It is an unsportsman like thing at a time when loss of employment is so grave a disaster. A sportsman and a gentleman would not have done it but I put it on the score of Mr. Ford's shortcomings of education and upbringing."<sup>116</sup>

Senator David A. Reed urged a gathering of Pittsburg business men and industrial leaders to impress upon their employees that the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt "will mean in all reasonable probability, two years of stagnation and alarm." He told the employers that it was their duty to so advise those who believed in them, trusted them, and respected their opinion.<sup>117</sup>

The John Wanamaker store in Philadelphia urged the re-election of President Hoover. The store inserted an advertisement in a local newspaper urging that Mr. Hoover be kept in the White House, ending with the words "Forward, Forward! America is on the upgrade!"<sup>118</sup>

When unstinted praise for his supporters might aid him unmeasurably, William Allen White made public the following evaluation of his Chief. "Conceding all that his enemies say of Herbert Hoover, admitting all his bad qualities, his stub-

116. Ibid., September 17, 1932, (news item).

117. Ibid., October 20, 1932, (news item).

118. Ibid., October 28, 1932, (news item).

borness, his steady refusal to explain and dramatize his course so that the American people may understand what he is driving at; realizing and regretting the fact that he cannot get along with his enemies and brooks no opposition; frankly confessing that he is slow, that he moves tardily, cautiously, sometimes secretively; acknowledging that he is an executive who pushes buttons and tells men to go and is impatient if they do not go - marking off all his faults at one hundred per cent of the charges against him - there still stands in the White House, a strong, wise, honest, courageous man."<sup>119</sup>

While gloom was casting its shadow over the Republican hopes, joy reigned in the ranks of the Democrats. Ex-Governor of New York Alfred E. Smith broke his long silence and came out for Roosevelt, ready to give the active support to the Democratic candidate that his party had looked and listened for throughout the summer and early Fall.

On October 24, Smith carried the fight on Hoover to Newark, New Jersey, where he was wildly cheered by more than 200,000 people. For one hour, interrupted by cheers, the "Happy Warrior" assailed the Republican party for "broken promises, bigotry, deception, and hypocrisy." He called Mr. Hoover the "leader of the Dry forces in America."<sup>120</sup> Charles W. B. Hurd in

119. Ibid., (Reprint from Herald Tribune, October 23, 1932).

120. Ibid., October 25, 1932, (news item).

describing his speech "for which it was difficult to find any parallel," said, "For one hour he awakened them, ('sleeping dogs'), examined them through a microscope and polished them with ridicule."<sup>121</sup>

A few days later Mr. Smith was hailed as the "hero of Boston" when he spoke for Roosevelt amid the cheering of his seventeen thousand listeners, who "raised the rafters in their welcome." He criticized Mr. Hoover for not meeting the depression and in his characteristic way did a thorough job of criticism.<sup>122</sup>

While Mr. Smith was winning the East for the Democratic candidate, that man was doing well for himself. In Atlanta, he was greeted with the enthusiasm of a New York welcome<sup>123</sup> and in Baltimore he was given the greatest reception of all. There he said that he was waging a war against the "four horsement of the Hoover Administration .... Destruction, Delay, Deceit and Despair." It was the most belligerent of his campaign addresses and highly pleased his big audience.<sup>124</sup>

It was here that Governor Roosevelt made the only real blunder of his campaign and his Republican adversaries made capital of it, yet it did not evolve into a real talking point

121. Ibid., October 30, 1932, (news item).

122. Ibid., October 28, 1932, (news item).

123. Ibid., October 25, 1932, (news item).

124. Ibid., October 26, 1932, (news item).

for them. He said that after March 4, 1929 the Republican party controlled all the branches of the Federal government, the Executive branch, both Houses of Congress and "I might add for good measure, the Supreme Court as well."<sup>125</sup>

Senator Johnson too brought joy to the hearts of the Democrats. He came out openly for Mr. Roosevelt and in a fiery speech, demanded the "end of the Tragic Era," assailing the "ineffective, inefficient, disastrous, ~~un~~-American" administration of Herbert Hoover, and the President's philosophy of government. He closed saying, "When a miracle man fails and a mystery man explodes, instinctively we turn to one who knows and understands and feels with us. In this campaign, such a man is Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He is no miracle man or mystery man. He's just an American."<sup>126</sup>

The Republicans needed encouragement at this stage of the campaign and it was forthcoming in financial aid. They released a list of donors and showed that almost \$1,500,000 was received in less than two months. The largest donation came from Eldridge R. Johnson who gave the party, \$50,000. Others who gave from \$10,000 to \$25,000 were Ogden Mills, Andrew Mellon, Harvey Firestone, Alfred P. Sloan Jr., E. F. Hutton,

125. Looker, 253-264.

126. The New York Times, October 29, 1932, (news item).

R. B. Mellon, and Mrs. Andrew Carnegie.

By October 22, the Democrats had spent \$926,208 of the \$1,065,654 they received. The largest contribution was Mr. Baruch's \$45,000. Sums ranging from \$25,000 to \$5,000 were given by William R. Hearst, John J. Raskob, William H. Woodin, Perry S. Strauss, Joseph B. Kennedy, Vincent Astor, and Mrs.

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Harry Payne Whitney.

In his address at Indianapolis, President Hoover drew a censure for his personal attack upon Mr. Roosevelt, who had made no personal remarks whatever against the President. Surprise was expressed because Mr. Hoover himself has always been sensitive to any references or criticism of his own private career. Mr. Hoover attacked Roosevelt for being in the business of selling foreign bonds and loans. This personal allusion was said to again show the desperate plight of the Republicans. During the 1928 campaign Candidate Hoover never mentioned Candidate Smith's name or personally identified him but President Hoover in 1932 referred to the Governor of New York, admitting that he had such an opponent.

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Before leaving for the West, Mr. Hoover spoke in Madison Square Garden, New York City, where he drew a much larger crowd

127. Ibid., October 30, 1932, (news item).

128. Ibid., November 1, 1932, (news item).

129. Ibid., October 31, 1932, (editorial).

than did Calvin Coolidge when he spoke there three weeks before. More than twelve thousand fought the police at the Station, to get a glimpse of him, yet amid the cheers, "boos" were heard.

The President made a sweeping attack on Governor Roosevelt, his allies and his policies. He declared that his job plan was "frivolous" and that the "New Deal" would destroy the foundation of the nation. Mr. Hoover predicted that "grass would grow in the streets of one hundred cities and that weeds would overrun  
130  
millions of farms."

Governor Roosevelt arrived in Boston the following night to seemingly refute the President's charge that his job plan was "frivolous." He laid down a three point program for meeting the immediate problem of unemployment. His first assertion was that the Federal government should step into the breach in the States where charity and State aid proved inadequate to relief distress. He said that in addition to providing emergency relief the Federal government should provide temporary work wherever possible. The nations forests, development of waterway projects, and a program of flood relief would create thousands of jobs giving temporary employment while adding to the well-being of the nation. As a third measure, he called for  
130. Ibid., November 1, 1932, (news item).

the public works program authorized by Congress to be put into effect. He censured the Administration for its delay in getting the program under way saying that it would be still incomplete by the summer if measures to expedite it were not soon taken.

He further gave his approval of a <sup>131</sup>five day week. Fifteen thousand cheered the Governor's speech and he was acclaimed in the factory towns he passed through enroute to Boston. "The warmth of the reception he received was undoubtedly due in large part to his recent reconciliation with his former rival, Alfred E. Smith" and to Mr. Smith's speech in Boston about a <sup>132</sup>week before.

In St. Louis, a "wet" German city, the President took up the question of Prohibition for the first time during his campaign. There on November 4, he justified his party's stand on the liquor plank and defended the motives of General Dawes who had been attacked by Democratic orators because he was given an \$80,000,000 loan by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for his bank, three weeks after he resigned as head of that body. Mr. Dawes had acted from the highest motives the President asserted, and his action protected depositors and people in <sup>133</sup>humble walks of life.

131. Ibid.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid., November 5, 1932, (news item).

Mr. Hoover closed his campaign, except for a short radio address broadcast from his special train at Elko, Nevada, on the evening of November 7, with a major address in St. Paul on November 5. He gave a summary of the measures that were adopted to meet the emergency, - measures that he had outlined in previous addresses at different times, emphasizing the fact that social stability had been maintained throughout the depression, and the aid given to country in so many ways by the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

In spite of Mr. Hoover's last minute "one man" effort to win the country to his cause, the odds were against him. Political observers conceded victory to Governor Roosevelt and as the campaign closed, betting odds favored him five to one. Glowing praise was given to the President in an editorial on November 7, captioned "The Fighting Quaker." In part it said, "Whatever else may be said of Mr. Hoover he is a good fighter. Summoned to lead a forlorn hope, he did not hesitate but gave all he had. ... Party support was desperately lacking to Mr. Hoover... (he) did not have Borah or Hughes who helped him mightily in 1928. The honors of campaign speaking were all going to the Democrats, who besides their own Presidential

134. Walter Starr Meyers and Walter H. Newton, The Hoover Administration: A Documented Narrative, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1936, 250-252.
135. The New York Times, November 5, 1932, (news item).



candidate had such men as Senator Glass, Newton D. Baker, Alfred E. Smith, and Owen D. Young. ... The President had to fight his own battle as well as to direct it. He deserves at least a tribute for gallantry in action. ... The campaign closes with every indication of a sweeping victory for Governor Roosevelt. ... But the conviction need not cause any Democrat to withhold praise from an adversary who has thrown every ounce of his strength and courage into what he must have felt was a losing combat." <sup>136</sup>

Praise for Roosevelt came from the same source written on November 6. "Whatever will be the outcome on Tuesday, the campaigning methods of Governor Roosevelt will long furnish an interesting study in American politics. Let it be said at once that he has shown himself to be a skillful politician. He has made no bad blunders whether in speech or in personal attitude. ... Governor Roosevelt emerges from this severe test with a reputation enhanced ... his frankness has been transparent ... he has disclaimed any superhuman powers. ... Of his poise and restraint throughout the campaign little but praise can be said. ... He never stooped to play upon their (the discontented and resentful) passions or to inflame their animosity against

136. Ibid., November 7, 1932, (editorial).

the Hoover Administration. ... There is nothing of the unscrupulous agitator in Franklin Delano Roosevelt. ... He has carried a winning personality into his campaigning but has not degraded his standards as a high bred and educated man. He has preserved both his official and his individual dignity. With the tide visibly flowing in his favor, it has been easy for him to shun anything like the tricks of a political mountebank. If the end crowns the work, in his case, the example which he has set ought to be full of instruction as well as of warning to politicians anxious to learn the secrets of their trade."<sup>137</sup>

137. Ibid., November 6, 1932, (editorial).

## CHAPTER VI

### THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

A sweeping victory had been predicted for Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Literary Digest poll showed him to be a sure winner as did other polls taken during the campaign; <sup>1</sup> betting odds favored his winning and well informed newspaper men conceded victory to him; yet when the returns were tabulated, his victory was greater than prophesied. Mr. Roosevelt won the electoral votes of forty-two states and carried the Democratic ticket to victory in the states where the contest was keenest. <sup>2</sup> of the thirty-six governors elected, thirty-one were Democratic. Party lines were broken and many staunch Republican States gave their votes in the Electoral College to the Governor of New York.

Governor Roosevelt's majority over President Hoover's was greater than Hoover's majority over Smith in 1928, both by popular vote and electoral vote. Hoover controlled 444 electoral votes in 1928, and was given a popular vote of 21,392,199, while former Governor Smith received 87 electoral votes and a popular vote of 15,016,443. In 1932, Mr. Roosevelt was given an electoral vote of 472 votes, a popular vote of 22,821,857. President Hoover received only 59 electoral votes and a popular

1. The New York Times, November 4, 1932, (news item).

2. Review of Reviews, V 86, (December, 1932), (editorial).

vote of 15,761,841, almost the same size as the vote Mr. Smith polled in 1928. The electoral vote President Hoover received from the six states, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Delaware, was a modern low for a Republican presidential candidate.

The following table gives the popular and electoral vote by state in both the 1928 and the 1932 elections:

Non- majority Rep.	Non- majority Dem.	Inde- cisive	Hoover vote 1928	Smith vote 1928	Hoover vote 1932	Roose- velt vote 1932	1932 El. vote	Vote in '28	Vote in '32
	Ala.		120725	127797	34675	207910	11	D	D
	Ariz.		52533	38537	36104	79264	3	R	D
	Ark.		77751	119196	28467	189602	9	D	D
Cal.			1162323	614365	847902	1324157	22	R	D
	Colo.		253872	133131	189617	250877	6	R	D
Conn.			296614	252040	288420	281632	8	R	R
Del.			68860	36643	57073	54319	3	R	R
	Fla.		144168	101764	69170	206307	7	R	D
	Ga.		63498	129602	19863	234118	12	D	D
	Idaho		98848	53074	71312	109479	4	R	D
Ill.			1769141	1313817	1432756	1882304	29	R	D
Ind.			848290	562691	677184	862054	14	R	D
Iowa			623818	378936	414433	598019	11	R	D
Kan.			513672	193003	349498	424204	9	R	D
	Ky.		558064	381070	394716	580574	11	R	D
	La.		51160	164655	18853	249418	10	D	D
Maine			179923	81179	166631	128907	5	R	R
	Md.		301479	223626	184184	314313	8	R	D
Mass.			775566	792758	736959	800148	17	D	D
Mich.			965396	396762	739894	871700	19	R	D
	Miss.		27153	124539	5180	140168	9	D	D
	Mo.		834080	662562	564713	1025406	15	R	D
	Mont.		113300	78578	78078	127286	4	R	D

Nor- mally Rep.	Nor- mally Dem.	Inde- cisive	Hoover vote 1928	Smith vote 1928	Hoover vote 1932	Roose- velt vote 1932	1932 El. vote	Vote in '28	Vote in '32
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Neb.			157603	102660	99212	183515	4	R	D
	Nev.		18327	14090	12674	28756	3	R	D
N.H.			115404	80715	103629	100680	4	R	R
	N.J.		926050	616517	775684	806630	16	R	D
	N.M.		69645	48211	54217	95089	3	R	D
N.Y.			2193344	2089863	1937903	2534959	47	R	D
	N.C.		348992	287078	208344	497566	13	R	D
N.Dak.			131441	106648	11772	178350	4	R	D
Ohio			1627546	864210	1227679	1301695	26	R	D
	Okla.		394046	219174	188165	516468	11	R	D
Ore.			205341	109223	136019	213871	5	R	D
Penn.			2055382	1067586	1453450	1295948	36	R	R
Ri. I.			117522	118973	116266	146604	4	D	D
	S.C.		3188	62700	1978	102347	8	D	D
S.Dak.			157603	102660	99212	183515	4	R	D
	Tenn.		167343	195388	126806	259817	11	R	D
	Tex.		361036	341032	97959	760348	23	R	D
Utah			94618	80985	84795	116750	4	R	D
Vt.			90404	44440	78984	56266	3	R	R
	Va.		164609	140146	89637	203979	11	R	D
Wash.			335844	156772	208645	353260	8	R	D
	W. Va.		375551	263784	330731	405124	8	R	D
Wisc.			544205	450259	347741	707410	12	R	D
Wyo.			52748	29299	39583	54370	3	R	D

Arranged from United States map "Presidential Battle Ground," Daily Times, (Chicago), November 3, 1936.

When returns on Election Night indicated the certain election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President Hoover sent from his home in Palo Alto, California, the following telegram to the President-elect; "I congratulate you on the opportunity that has come to you to be of service to the country and I wish for you a most successful administration. In the common purpose of all of us, I shall dedicate myself to every possible helpful effort."<sup>4</sup> Governor Roosevelt replied; "I appreciate your generous telegram for the immediate as well as the more distant future. I join in your gracious expression of a common purpose<sup>5</sup> in helpful effort for our country."

4. The New York Times, November 9, 1932, (news item).

5. Ibid., November 10, 1932, (news item).

To the American people, through The New York Times, the President-elect sent this statement: "While I am grateful with all my heart for this expression of the confidence of my fellow Americans, I realize keenly the responsibility I shall assume, and I mean to serve with my utmost capacity the interest of the nation."<sup>6</sup>

Again Mr. Roosevelt thanked the nation in a radio address on November 9. He said that the vote of the people showed confidence "in the future of sound agriculture and honorable industry." He said further; "This clear mandate shall not be forgotten. I pledge you this and I invite your help, the help of all of you in the happy task of restoration."<sup>7</sup>

Charles Michelson, James A. Farley and Louis McHenry Howe, were given credit for the successful Democratic drive for votes. Mr. Howe, Governor Roosevelt's personal adviser, directed the Governor's policy since 1924, and was "indefatigable in advancing the political fortunes of his chief," with the White House as the goal.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Roosevelt advocated the Jeffersonian theory of government, "the greatest good for the greatest number" and that appeal to the masses was said to be a huge factor in bringing victory

6. Ibid., November 9, 1932, (news item).

7. Ibid., November 10, 1932, (news item).

8. Ibid.

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to the Governor and his party. His opponent had hoped for a major blunder in the Democratic campaign but it was not forthcoming.  
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Confidence was expressed in the ability of the newly elected President. He had proved himself an able administrator, had shown skill as a leader and during the campaign, had exhibited personal qualifications which endeared him to his fellow Americans. He was assured their<sup>11</sup> loyalty and cooperation, and assured party support in Congress. It was said that he could<sup>11</sup> "lead the country along a safe highway to economic recovery."

The Seventy Third Congress was going to be a Democratic one with the wets in control of both Houses. The Democrats had 313 seats in the House, a record, and their margin in the Senate was 12. Important Republican spokesmen, Senators Bingham, Moses,<sup>12</sup> Watson and Smoot, went down to defeat with their party.

Writers on the subject gave about the same reasons for the Democratic landslide, laying it to the "depression, grouch, and resentment against the Prohibition Amendment."<sup>13</sup> Some of them blamed Mr. Hoover, and others the circumstances of which he was said to be the victim.

Sympathy was oft times expressed for the President who was

9. Ibid., November 13, 1932.

10. Looker, 253-264.

11. The New York Times, November 9, 1932, (editorial).

12. Ibid., November 11, 1932, (news item).

13. Ibid., November 10, 1932, (reprint from  
The Post, Denver).



"the fitting target for the clings and arrows of outrageous fortune." His great mistake was that he identified himself with his party's wrong policies in 1928. His party took the credit for good times and had to accept blame for the bad. "A party which takes credit for the rain must bear the blame for the drought" said the late Dwight Morrow in his campaign for Senator from New Jersey in 1930.<sup>14</sup> President Hoover worked hard to lead the country out of its difficult situation and exhibited a steadfast devotion to duty, but in vain he struggled against misfortune. His friends deserted and his enemies assaulted him. When it was evident that the campaign was going against him, he assumed the whole load of it, putting up a good fight against discouraging odds. It was then that he was highly praised for his courage.<sup>15</sup> The campaign aged Mr. Hoover noticeably and his voice over the radio on the eve of election day was weary and tired,<sup>16</sup> while his opponent at the end of his strenuous campaign looked "as if he were about to begin it."<sup>17</sup>

The Republican party had looked for a decided upturn in business and a decrease in unemployment in the Summer and Fall of 1932. There were signs of spasmodic recovery but these were isolated and of short duration. The Farmers' strike in the

14. Elliot Thurston, "Hoover Cannot Be Elected," Scribner's Magazine, V 91, (January, 1932), 13 - 16.
15. The New York Times, November 9, 1932, (editorial).
16. William Allen White, "Herbert Hoover: The Last of the Old Presidents or the First of the New?" The Saturday Evening Post, (March 4, 1933).
17. Drew Petersen, "The President Elect," Harper's Magazine, V 166, (February, 1933).

Northwest, begun in August, attempted to enforce their slogan, "Stay at home and sell nothing,"<sup>18</sup> although not widespread, did counteract the rise in stocks and the better times spurts in business.

In reviewing Mr. Hoover's record, there is something to be said for and against him. The press, was generally critical of him, a condition said to have been of his own making. The press, built him up, and he seemed to be afraid of their power to pull him down, and was unduly sensitive to unfavorable publicity. Mr. Hoover was rather affectionately regarded by them until he went to the White House, when he seems to have changed his attitude toward the "Gentlemen of the Press" from a friendly to a sus-  
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picious one. Yet during the Presidential campaign, some of the newspaper men who had been his severe critics earlier in his administration, were willing to give him the credit they felt was his due. He was praised for his serious attempts to help the country out of its difficulties, praised for his keen sense of duty, and praised for his serious conception of his high office. Attention was called to his good qualities as well as those thought to be a detriment to him. In the matters of administrative planning he was said to excel, but failed when he faced matters of policy. In looking back over his record, up to

18. The New York Times, August 16, 1932, (news item).

19. Paul Y. Anderson, "Hoover and the Press,"  
The Nation, V 133, (October 4, 1931), 382 - 384.

the opening of the campaign, it was said that although he had attacked many problems, "none has really been solved, although they might have been in a partially solved state."<sup>20</sup>

He took counsel from "financial adventurers and industrial sweaters," most of whom helped to precipitate the present situation rather than from the "real brains of the country who were not consulted."<sup>21</sup> His achievements were greater than his failures but "his failures were conspicuous."<sup>22</sup>

Mr. William Allen White, said this of his good friend, the President; "So History stands hesitant, waiting for time to tell whether Herbert Hoover is merely a failure as a politician or a success as a statesman; whether by pointing the way to social recovery this President is the first of the new presidents to come to power fifty years before his time or whether by battling so valiantly against assaults upon the American spirit of the fathers, he is the last of the old."<sup>23</sup>

20. Allan Nevins, "President Hoover's Record," Current History, (July, 1932).

21. Paul Y. Anderson, "The Crisis Reaches Washington," The Nation, V 134, (January 20, 1932), 66.

22. Arthur Krock, "President Hoover's Two Years," Current History, July, 1931.

23. White, The Saturday Evening Post.

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