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The Presidential Election of 1932 in Western Massachusetts

Philip A. Grant, Jr.

On July 2, 1932, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York was nominated by the Democratic Party as its candidate for President of the United States.¹ Sixteen days earlier the Republicans had renominated incumbent President Herbert Hoover.² Although the two major political parties had officially chosen their respective presidential candidates by early July, the campaign of 1932 did not actually begin until Labor Day weekend.

Between September 5 and November 7 the American electorate had the opportunity to evaluate the Democratic and Republican candidates. During these ten weeks both Governor Roosevelt and President Hoover travelled throughout the nation, delivered formal addresses over the various radio networks, and issued a multitude of detailed position papers on their campaign promises. Although the people of the United States were certainly interested in the outcome of the presidential contest, it seemed quite likely that they were equally, if not more, preoccupied with the prolonged sufferings occasioned by the Great Depression. Indeed, nearly three years had elapsed since the outbreak of the Wall Street financial crisis of October 1929.

Among the regions involved in the 1932 presidential election was western Massachusetts. Having a population of approximately six hundred thousand,³ western Massachusetts consisted of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire Counties and embraced an area of twenty-seven hundred and ninety-seven square miles. Interestingly, since a majority of the citizens in western Massachusetts had cast their votes for the victorious candidates in seven of the nine presidential elections since 1896,⁴ the area in past years had proved to be somewhat of a barometer of New England, if not nationwide, political sentiment.

Between the beginning of the twentieth century and the election of 1928 western Massachusetts had been steadfastly Republican in its political orientation. Not only had western Massachusetts maintained a tradition of favoring Republican candidates both for the House of Representatives and United States Senate,⁵ but also had voted Republican in twenty-four of the twenty-five gubernatorial elections since 1900.⁶

During the first three decades of the twentieth century the Republican Party in western Massachusetts had been dominated by four well-known public servants, W. Murray Crane of Dalton, Calvin Coolidge of Northampton, Frederick H. Gillett of Springfield, and Allen T. Treadway of Stockbridge. Crane, a three term Governor of the Commonwealth, had served in the United States Senate from 1904 to 1913.⁷ Coolidge, after spending several years in the Legislature and as Massachusetts' Chief Executive, had become the Thirtieth President of the United States.⁸ After completing more than a quarter century in the House of Representatives, Gillett in 1919 had been elevated to the speakership of that body.⁹ Treadway, having relinquished the presidency of the State Senate in 1911, was thereupon elected to sixteen consecutive terms in Congress.¹⁰

The Republican Party had emerged triumphant in western Massachusetts in the three presidential elections of the decade after World War I. In November 1920, Senator Warren G. Harding had carried western Massachusetts by 52,130 votes,¹¹ while four years later President Calvin Coolidge, a resident of Northampton, had recorded an unprecedented majority of 59,946.¹² Finally in 1928, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover had defeated his Democratic opponent, Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, by the relatively narrow margin of 108,542-104,668.¹³ Primarily because of the Governor's Catholicism and the growing unpopularity of prohibition, Smith in 1928 had won both Hampden and Berkshire Counties.¹⁴

By the early autumn of 1932 many western Massachusetts Democrats were distinctly optimistic about their party's prospects in the November election. First of all, they suspected that a substantial number of their fellow citizens were losing confidence in the ability of President Hoover to solve the vexing problems brought about by the Great Depression.¹⁵ Secondly, they were encouraged by the facts that two years earlier they had contributed to the successful campaigns of three Democrats, Governor Joseph B. Ely of Westfield, Senator Marcus A. Coolidge of Fitchburg, and Congressman William J. Granfield of Longmeadow.¹⁶ Thirdly, the Democrats were elated by their party's exceptionally strong showing in the September elections in the staunchly Republican State of Maine.¹⁷ These factors prompted some Democrats to anticipate that western Massachusetts, notwithstanding its Republican heritage, might favor their party in November 1932.

The initial stages of the 1932 campaign in western Massachusetts and other parts of the Commonwealth occurred in late September, at which time the two major parties scheduled their state conventions. Although such gatherings were ordinarily held for the purpose of adopting state platforms, it seemed inevitable that the Republican and Democratic delegates would react to the presidential contest.

Assembling in Boston on September 29, the Republicans dutifully pledged their "allegiance and support" to the President. After reviewing the record of the Hoover Administration, the Massachusetts Republicans concluded:

In these trying times of worldwide economic distress he has been a patient, wise and fearless chief executive. He has been faithful to his trust. He has been faithful to the American people. His capacity for constructive statesmanship is proved. Under his leadership we are making definite progress toward recovery. That progress must not be interrupted. It is therefore imperative that President Hoover be reelected.¹⁸

The 1932 Democratic Convention opened in Lowell on September 30. The Democrats, after applauding the performance of Governor Ely, excoriated the Hoover Administration. Obviously disagreeing with the Republicans on the quality of the Hoover Administration, the Massachusetts Democrats asserted:

...unaided by the most powerful government in the world, to which they had the right to look for guidance, our people by their own struggles have at last begun to recover from the hardships imposed upon them by the misuse of the monetary resources of our country in unsound banking and stock gambling, and by the exploitation of our citizens by the representatives of special privilege which have dominated our national government.¹⁹

In addition to the standard efforts of the local Republican leaders, several prominent political figures from various parts of the nation volunteered to campaign for Hoover in western Massachusetts. Among these individuals were Mrs. Dolly Curtis Gann, Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur, Senator Felix J. Hebert of Rhode Island, Representative Bertrand H. Snell of New York, and Assistant Secretary of War Frederick H. Payne. Mrs. Gann, sister of Vice-President Charles Curtis, sternly criticized Governor Roosevelt and warmly praised President Hoover. Warning that Roosevelt was committed to a "reversal of all the beneficial Hoover policies," Gann charged that the Democratic nominee was "associated in this campaign with men sponsoring legislation, the enactment of which would be utterly calamitous to this country." Gann, insisting that the President's reelection was "more to be desired than anything else in the world," offered the following analysis of the state of the nation after four years of Hoover's Administration:

Our own United States stands sure and steadfast with no threat from any quarter against its form of government, no menace anywhere to the stability of its institutions, no slightest doubt in the minds of its citizens that no matter whatever the storm may now be beating upon us, our sturdy old ship of state will ride it through and bring us all into a haven of contentment and prosperity.²⁰

Totally failing to comprehend what Roosevelt was "driving at" in his numerous campaign speeches, Wilbur accused the Democrats of gambling that the nation's electorate would "vote the depression" and predicating their hopes on the "stupidity of the American people." The Secretary, expressing admiration for the President, believed that Hoover's "most outstanding char-

acteristic is courage." Certain that the economy of the country was improving, Wilbur attributed the success of the United States in combatting the Depression primarily to the "superb management of a man who understands how to handle nations in distress."²¹

Hebert, campaigning in Holyoke and Chicopee, strongly defended the performance of the Hoover Administration. Hailing the President's record as one of "humanitarianism and reconstruction," the Rhode Island senator reminded his audiences that no individual had "devoted as much of his life to the relief of suffering, not only in the United States, but in the whole world, as Herbert Hoover." Hebert, while acknowledging the problems caused by the Depression, declared: "No man in our time, indeed, perhaps no man in the history of this country, has had a more difficult task than has the President of the United States."²²

A veteran congressman from upstate New York, Snell was to serve as Republican House Leader between 1931 and 1939. Denouncing Roosevelt for "spreading glittering generalities, quack remedies and panaceas for every ill," Snell depicted the Governor as a candidate "appealing to discontent, prejudice, and passion and backed by every radical and discontented element from every school of political thought that America has ever known." The New York congressman, endeavoring to contrast the Democratic and Republican presidential rivals, appraised Hoover as follows:

... you have a tried and seasoned general; a man who has lived with every phase of the existing depression both at home and abroad; a man who has conceived and developed the machinery for dealing with it; a man of proved capacity who has had more experience in alleviating human misery than any leader among the nations of the world; a man who has put his heart and soul into this work and who has the confidence of the American people.²³

Payne, referring with pride to President Hoover, asserted that no other man had "such a comprehensive grasp of the many elements involved in the national issues that now confront us." Extolling the President "for the courage to say no to the many ill-advised schemes that have been urged upon him with the backing of large elements of the population," Payne claimed that "untold harm would have resulted" if a less resolute individual had been occupying the post of Chief Executive.²⁴

The highlights of the 1932 Democratic campaign in western Massachusetts involved personal appearances by Senator David I. Walsh of Clinton, former Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, and Governor Roosevelt. Walsh, Smith, and Roosevelt had been active in political affairs for more than two decades and certainly ranked among the most prestigious Democrats from the Northeast during the twentieth century.

Walsh, a former Governor of the Commonwealth, in 1932 was in the midst of his third of five terms on Capitol Hill. He was also the only Democrat ever to carry western Massachusetts both in quests for the governorship and a seat in the Senate. Tracing the causes of the Depression, Walsh deduced that the Republican Party was largely to blame "by reason of its having encouraged gambling and speculation unparalleled in the world's history." The Bay State's senior senator, emphasizing that the Depression has been plaguing the nation since 1929, charged that President Hoover "failed to recognize its significance, and delayed and postponed action, and failed utterly to exercise the leadership which should be expected of our chief executive."²⁵

Smith in 1928 had polled the largest number of ballots ever received by a Democratic presidential aspirant in the history of western Massachusetts. Moreover, he had won an overwhelming majority of the votes in the 1932 Massachusetts presidential primary. As a Catholic from an urban background, the New York Governor was enormously popular with the numerous ethnic groups clustered in dozens of cities and medium-sized towns in western Massachusetts. Responding to an invitation by Massachusetts' Democratic leaders, Smith in late October delivered an eloquent campaign speech in behalf of Roosevelt at the Boston Arena. After leaving Boston, Smith and Governor Ely proceeded by train through western Massachusetts. Greeting large and enthusiastic crowds at Springfield, Westfield, and Pittsfield, Smith urged his listeners to approve Roosevelt's candidacy. Expressing happiness "to have worked side by side with Governor Ely and your other party leaders in this state," the 1928 Democratic nominee climaxed his remarks to a Springfield throng variously estimated at between ten and thirty thousand:

I come here for just one purpose, to tell you that we must all get together and work for the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He supports the Democratic platform, which I heartily approve and which I am sure makes a strong appeal to you all.²⁶

Roosevelt, while not scheduling a formal speech in western Massachusetts, travelled through communities in all four of the region's counties. After leaving Albany on October 29, the Democratic candidate was joined by Governor Ely at the Massachusetts state line. Roosevelt was then driven eastward, stopping at Williamstown, North Adams, Greenfield, and Orange.²⁷ Arriving in Boston, the New York Governor delivered one of his major campaign addresses at the Boston Arena. Thereafter, he toured several cities in Rhode Island, and completed his busy day of political activity by visiting Ware, Palmer, Springfield, and Longmeadow. In Springfield, Roosevelt drove through the city accompanied by Democratic Mayor Dwight W. Winter. Among the citizens of Springfield who conferred with the Democratic nominee was Lawrence F. O'Brien, one of the Governor's earliest supporters in Massachusetts and the father of the future Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.²⁸

On November 8, 1932 nearly forty million Americans went to the polls to

choose between Roosevelt and Hoover. The early returns indicated an unmistakable Roosevelt trend in all parts of the nation. By midnight it was evident that Hoover had experienced a humiliating political defeat. Altogether Roosevelt would carry forty-two of the forty-eight states, including Massachusetts by more than sixty-three thousand votes.

In western Massachusetts the preliminary election figures pointed to a surprisingly close race between Roosevelt and Hoover. Roosevelt was winning nine of the area's eleven most populous communities, while Hoover was receiving the bulk of the votes in the traditionally Republican small towns. The official tabulation, completed several days after the ballots were actually cast, was as follows: Roosevelt 105,021; Hoover 104,499.²⁹ Roosevelt, carrying western Massachusetts by a mere five hundred and twenty-two votes, became the *only* Democrat to prevail there in a presidential contest prior to 1932.

Like Smith in 1928, Roosevelt carried both Hampden and Berkshire Counties. He also lost Hampshire and Franklin Counties by somewhat smaller margins than the 1928 Democratic nominee. The official votes of the four western Massachusetts counties were as follows:

	Roosevelt	Hoover
Hampden County	63,189	55,032
Berkshire County	23,252	23,186
Hampshire County	12,332	13,241
Franklin County	6,248	13,040

Although Roosevelt lost Springfield by slightly more than two thousand votes, he fared remarkably well in eleven other cities and towns. Roosevelt approximated Smith's 1928 vote in most of these communities and did even better in Chicopee, Westfield, Ware, and Montague. Indeed, these twelve cities and towns easily provided Roosevelt with his margin of victory in 1932. The vote in these communities were as follows:

	Roosevelt	Hoover
Springfield	25,809	27,664
Holyoke	14,561	7,202
Chicopee	9,681	3,482
Pittsfield	9,401	8,984
North Adams	4,627	3,793
Northampton	4,558	4,094
Westfield	3,336	3,231
Adams	2,802	1,407
Ware	1,924	782
Palmer	1,780	1,315
Easthampton	1,724	1,534
Montague	1,571	1,294
	<hr/> 81,774	<hr/> 64,782

Roosevelt's victory in western Massachusetts was supplemented by strong showings for all other candidates on the Democratic ticket. Conspicuous among the Democrats reelected in 1932 were Governor Ely and Congressman Granfield. Unlike Roosevelt, both Ely and Granfield carried Springfield. Ely's triumph was especially notable, as the Governor defeated his Republican challenger by an astounding plurality of 20,671 votes in western Massachusetts.³⁰

In the election of 1932, Roosevelt was unquestionably the beneficiary of the profound discontent over the precarious state of western Massachusetts' economy. The number of factories in primarily industrial western Massachusetts had dropped from 1,099 to 966 between 1929 and 1932. During the same period the total of factory employees had decreased from 88,746 to 50,729 and the value of manufactured products had diminished from \$280,051,878 to \$199,965,625. Compounding the industrial problems were precipitous declines in retail sales and the number of building permits. In 1929 the cities of Springfield and Holyoke employed 12,090 individuals in retail establishments registering sales of \$136,828,000, while in 1932 the number of employees had been reduced to 9,238 and the sales were computed at \$73,252,000. In 1929, 1,665 building permits had been issued in Springfield and Holyoke, while in 1932 the corresponding figure was 718. From personal experience many voters realized how acutely western Massachusetts had suffered during the four years of Hoover's presidency. As a region located in close proximity to several of the nation's foremost industrial centers, western Massachusetts in many respects mirrored the economic problems plaguing the Northeast. Like nearly all other sections of the United States, western Massachusetts had enjoyed the widespread prosperity of the nineteen twenties and had undergone the most severe excesses of the early years of the Great Depression. Thousands of its citizens who had routinely identified the economic vitality of the nineteen twenties with the Republican Party in 1932 turned to the Democratic Party and Franklin D. Roosevelt in desperation.

Another factor assisting Roosevelt in 1932 was the tremendous enthusiasm generated among Democrats by the spirited 1928 presidential campaign of Alfred E. Smith. Two highly respected authorities on twentieth century American political history, Samuel Lubell and J. Joseph Huthmacher, have credited Smith with greatly strengthening the Democratic Party in Massachusetts and several other populous northeastern states.³¹ In 1924 the Democratic presidential nominee, John W. Davis, had polled 35,917 votes in western Massachusetts, while in 1928, Smith had received 104,668 votes. In the predominantly Catholic cities of Springfield, Holyoke, Chicopee, and Pittsfield the Democratic presidential tally rose from 18,202 in 1924 to 60,102 in 1928. In every other community in western Massachusetts the Democratic presidential vote had increased by a minimum of one hundred percent. Since western Massachusetts had tens of thousands of Catholic residents of Irish, French-Canadian, Italian, and Polish extraction, it seems reasonable to assume that many of these individuals were genuinely grateful to the Democratic Party for having tendered the 1928 presidential nomination to an ur-

ban Catholic of immigrant background. Indeed, it is more than a coincidence that the same communities favoring Smith in the presidential election of 1928 have been consistently in the Democratic column for the past half century.

Also abetting Roosevelt in 1932 was a unified Democratic Party led by several attractive personalities. In 1932 the Democrats had a Governor, two United States Senators, and a Congressman from the Second District. Governor Ely was a talented administrator and an unusually effective candidate. His election in 1930 had been in large measure accomplished by the support of western Massachusetts, where a 1928 Democratic defeat by 15,846 in the gubernatorial vote had been transformed into a 1930 victory by 10,019.³² Senators Walsh and Coolidge, destined to become chairmen of standing committees in 1933, had won elections in 1928 and 1930, respectively, and each had carried western Massachusetts.³³ Congressman Granfield's 6,421 plurality in the 1930 special election was quite a contrast to the 8,488 Republican margin in 1928.³⁴ By 1932 the Democrats controlled the key offices in Massachusetts, and such individuals as Ely, Walsh, Granfield, and Marcus Coolidge had supplanted Crane, Gillett, and Calvin Coolidge as the formidable political figures in the western portion of the Commonwealth. Thus, in 1932, Roosevelt had the distinct advantage of running in an area where two incumbent senators were available to provide campaign assistance and two local residents, a Governor and a Congressman, were mounting successful quests for reelection.

Western Massachusetts, similar to most other sections of the United States, was in part reacting against both the accumulated shortcomings of twelve years of Republican administrations and the apparent failure of Herbert Hoover to cope with the Great Depression.³⁵ It was also confirming the facts that the vigorous 1928 campaign of Alfred E. Smith and the subsequent victories of Joseph B. Ely, Marcus A. Coolidge, and William J. Granfield were consolidating Democratic control of Massachusetts politics. The presidential election of 1932 indicated that a majority of the citizens of western Massachusetts desired a change in national leadership.³⁶ Interestingly, the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt not only facilitated the most sweeping domestic reform movement in the nation's entire history, but also marked the ascendancy of a prolonged period of Democratic domination in western Massachusetts.³⁷

NOTES

1. *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, 1932* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 206-331; Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Triumph* (Boston, 1956), pp. 291-332.
2. *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Republican National Convention, 1932* (New York, 1932), pp. 167-200; Edgar E. Robinson and Vaughn R. Bornet, *Herbert Hoover, President of the United States* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 239-248.

3. According to the Census of 1930, Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire Counties had an aggregate population of 579,609. Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population* (4 vols.; Washington, 1932), III, 1082.
4. Only in 1912 and 1916 did the western Massachusetts voting patterns deviate from the nationwide trend. In both 1912 and 1916, Democrat Woodrow Wilson was victorious, while losing western Massachusetts by margins of 1,855 and 6,454, respectively. Edgar E. Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932* (Stanford, 1934), pp. 226-227.
5. Western Massachusetts included the Commonwealth's First and Second Congressional Districts. Between 1900 and 1928, Republicans had prevailed in all thirty House contests. Also, subsequent to the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913, Republicans had won four of the six popular elections for seats in the United States Senate.
6. Only in 1913 did western Massachusetts support the Democratic candidate for Governor. The 1913 results were as follows: David I. Walsh (Democrat) 22,648; Augustus P. Gardner (Republican) 15,832; Charles S. Bird (Progressive) 14,541. Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *Manual of the General Court, 1914* (Boston, 1915), p. 424.
7. George H. Haynes, "Winthrop Murray Crane," *Dictionary of American Biography* (22 vols.; New York, 1928-1958), IV, 510-511.
8. Allan Nevins, "Calvin Coolidge," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XXI, 191-198; Robert Sobel (ed.), *Biographical Directory of the United States Executive Branch, 1774-1977* (Westport, Connecticut, 1977), p. 73.
9. George H. Haynes, "Frederick Huntington Gillett," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XXI, 343-345.
10. Lawrence F. Kennedy (comp.), *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, 1971), p. 1829.
11. *Manual of General Court, 1921-1922*, p. 394.
12. *Ibid.*, 1925-1926, p. 400.
13. *Ibid.*, 1929-1930, p. 408.
14. Smith, the four term Governor of neighboring New York and the first Catholic ever to be nominated for President by a major political party, was an avowed critic of the Eighteenth (Prohibition) Amendment. In 1928, he carried the cities of Holyoke, Chicopee, Pittsfield, North Adams, and Northampton and the towns of Adams, Palmer, Ludlow, Easthampton, Lenox, Lee, Ware, and Montague.
15. Detailed accounts of the hardships experienced by western Massachusetts and other parts of the industrial Northeast may be found in the following works: Broadus Mitchell, *Depression Decade, 1929-1941* (New York, 1947), pp. 25-81; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order* (Boston, 1956), pp. 166-183; Harris G. Warren, *Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression* (New York, 1959), pp. 98-131.
16. In November 1930, Ely and Coolidge had carried western Massachusetts by margins of 10,019 and 10,479, respectively. In February 1930, Granfield had prevailed by 6,421 votes in a special election to complete an unexpired term and in November of that year had been reelected to a full term by 9,185 votes. *Manual of General Court, 1931-1932*, pp. 439, 443, 468.
17. On September 12, 1932, Maine elected a Democratic Governor and two Democrats to Congress, thereby resulting in the most overwhelming Democratic victory in that state since

1850. Between 1930 and 1932, Maine's Democratic gubernatorial vote increased from 67,172 to 121,158 and the aggregate Democratic congressional vote rose from 55,471 to 118,371.
18. *Daily Republican*, Springfield, October 1, 1932, pp. 1, 14.
 19. *Sunday Union and Republican*, Springfield, October 2, 1932, pp. 1, 8.
 20. *Daily Republican*, Springfield, October 11, 1932, pp. 1, 13.
 21. *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, Northampton, October 26, 1932, pp. 1, 2; *Daily Republican*, Springfield, October 26, 1932, pp. 1, 2.
 22. *Daily Republican*, Springfield, October 24, 1932, pp. 1, 2.
 23. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1932, pp. 1, 7.
 24. *Berkshire Eagle*, Pittsfield, October 11, 1932, p. 2; *Daily Republican*, Springfield, October 12, 1932, pp. 1, 17.
 25. *Sunday Union and Republican*, Springfield, November 5, 1932, pp. 1, 7.
 26. *Daily Republican*, Springfield, October 29, 1932, pp. 1, 6; *Daily News*, Springfield, October 28, 1932, pp. 1, 2; *Valley Herald*, Westfield, October 27, 1932, p. 1; *Berkshire Eagle*, Pittsfield, October 29, 1932, p. 1. Ely had supported Al Smith, but endorsed Roosevelt after he became the Democratic nominee.
 27. *Sunday Union and Republican*, Springfield, October 30, 1932, pp. 1, 7; *Evening Transcript*, North Adams, October 31, 1932, p. 2; *Recorder*, Greenfield, October 29, 1932, p. 1.
 28. *Daily Republican*, Springfield, November 2, 1932, pp. 1, 14; *Daily News*, Springfield, November 1, 1932, p. 1; Lawrence F. O'Brien, *No Final Victories* (Garden City, 1974), pp. 5, 9.
 29. *Manual of General Court, 1933-1934*, p. 331.
 30. *Ibid.*, pp. 360, 385.
 31. Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (New York, 1952), pp. 34-41; J. Joseph Huthmacher, *Massachusetts People and Politics, 1919-1933* (Cambridge, 1959) pp. 154-190.
 32. Between 1924 and 1930 the proportion of the Democratic gubernatorial vote in western Massachusetts had increased from 45.4% to 53.0%. *Manual of General Court, 1925-1926*, p. 453; *1931-1932*, p. 468.
 33. In the four senatorial elections between 1924 and 1930 the Democratic proportion rose from 45.5% to 53.2%. *Manual of General Court, 1925-1926*, p. 424; *1927-1928*, p. 428; *1929-1930*, p. 432; *1931-1932*, p. 438.
 34. In 1924 the Republican candidate had polled 57.3% of the vote in the Second Congressional District, while in 1930 the Republican proportion had declined to 44.4%. *Manual of General Court, 1925-1926*, p. 428; *1931-1932*, p. 438.
 35. Western Massachusetts was bordered by three counties in Connecticut (Tolland, Hartford, and Litchfield), two counties in New York (Columbia and Rensselaer), two counties in Vermont (Bennington and Windham), one county in New Hampshire (Cheshire), and one county in Massachusetts (Worcester). In 1928, Herbert Hoover carried these eight counties

by 49,022 votes, while in 1932 the President's majority was reduced to 15,763. *Presidential Vote, 1896-1932*, pp. 155, 227, 270, 276, 278, 353.

36. Franklin D. Roosevelt, reelected to the presidency three times, carried western Massachusetts by the following margins: 1936 — 31,964; 1940 — 29,129; 1944 — 33,825; Richard M. Scammon (comp.) *America at the Polls; A Handbook of American Presidential Election Statistics, 1920-1964* (Pittsburgh, 1965), p. 214.
37. Among the prominent Democrats from western Massachusetts since 1932 have been Lawrence F. O'Brien of Springfield, Foster Furcolo of Longmeadow, Roger L. Putnam of Springfield, Edward P. Boland of Springfield, Maurice A. Donahue of Holyoke, John F. Thompson of Ludlow, and David M. Bartley of Holyoke.