

4-1-2012

The 1940 Election in Middletown

Patrick Moriarty

Follow this and additional works at: <http://wescholar.wesleyan.edu/middletownpapers>

Recommended Citation

Moriarty, Patrick, "The 1940 Election in Middletown" (2012). *Middletown Papers*. Paper 2.
<http://wescholar.wesleyan.edu/middletownpapers/2>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Local History at WesScholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Middletown Papers by an authorized administrator of WesScholar. For more information, please contact dschnaidt@wesleyan.edu, ljohnson@wesleyan.edu.

The 1940 Election in Middletown

Patrick Moriarty
Spring 2012

Voting in Middletown

On November 3, 1936 Americans raced to the election polls in record-setting fashion. After four years of FDR's "New Deal" many citizens from the economic elite were preparing for a Republican to reenter the Oval Office. *Literary Digest*, a weekly general-interest magazine similar to *Time* or *Newsweek*, predicted GOP candidate Alf Landon would capture a commanding 57 percent to 42 percent victory.¹ As results began to pour in, it became increasingly apparent that not only was the poll inexact, it was incorrect.

In Middletown, CT the next day newspaper headlines told of a different story. "Middletown voted overwhelmingly for Democratic candidates in the national and state elections yesterday," wrote *The Middletown Press*.² Four years prior when FDR won the Presidency in a landslide, only part of Middletown had voted Democratic. During that election the Second and Fourth Districts of Middletown went Republican by substantial margins. In 1936, each of Middletown's four districts voted Democratic for the first time in the city's history. Connecticut governor Wilbur Cross had taken Middletown by 2,143 votes, where four years ago Governor Cross had a local majority of 1,064 votes.³

Two years later, the Republican Party experienced a revival. "They had succeeded in only two years in overcoming majorities that ranged from 2,118 to 2,262 and returning various candidates by pluralities that ranged from 48 to 303 votes and seemed satisfied" wrote *The Middletown Press*.⁴ For the first time in over a decade Republicans had won the city of Middletown, taking three of its four districts. To boast even further, Connecticut's governor and lieutenant governor both had personal ties to the city. Lieutenant governor James L.

McConaughy, president of Wesleyan University in Middletown, had won by the largest margin of any one candidate on the winning ticket.

The political reversal in Middletown could not be attributed entirely to the splendor of the Republican Party. In the gubernatorial election, virtually the same number of Republican votes were cast in 1936 as in 1938. “The highlight of the election was the sudden and somewhat expected Socialist upswing at the polls. Where Jasper McLevy polled 56 votes here a year ago, he had 2,036 votes yesterday, almost exactly the difference between the vote Governor Cross polled yesterday and in the election two years ago” recounted *The Middletown Press*.⁵

Regardless of cause, the Republican Party had successfully overtaken its Democratic counterpart. Heading into the election of 1940, a potential existed for Middletown voters to sway in either political direction. Both the state and national elections had significant personal meaning for the citizens of the ordinary Connecticut city. Wesleyan University’s President was on the Republican ticket seeking to become lieutenant governor again. Not to be outdone, the Republican candidate for governor, Raymond Baldwin, grew up in Middletown and attended Wesleyan University. Baldwin came extremely close to gaining the Vice-Presidential nomination and was aggressively campaigning for Presidential candidate Wendell Willkie.

Middletown’s decision in 1940 reflects more than just another political shift. The citizens’ votes represented what all Americans felt and valued during such a trying time in their country’s history.

An Unsuccessful Campaign

It is, and I say it solemnly and with full understanding of the terrible meaning of the words, it is that for nearly eight years our government has been carrying us step by step down a road that leads to the destruction of our democratic way of life.⁶

- Wendell Willkie (Republican candidate for President), November 2, 1940

The day of restoration had finally arrived. November 4, 1940 marked an opportunity for the Republican Party to reclaim the office of Chief Executive after eight years of Democratic rule. In Connecticut, crowds congregated inside one particular home in hopes of celebrating a Republican victory in the gubernatorial election. The home was that of incumbent governor Raymond Baldwin.

As the hour past midnight and Election Day had closed, it became clear there was to be no moment of victory for Baldwin and his friends. They intermittently departed from his home. Many failed to say goodnight or even congratulate Baldwin on his campaign. His friends felt too sorry and did not wish to add to his current grief. Even cameramen who had arrived to snap candid shots of the governor in his moment of victory ducked out unannounced.

After the crowd departed, an old friend of the governor's showed up on the doorstep. Retired Colonel Thomas E. Clinton lit his pipe and shared both a smoke and a series of encouraging words with the losing candidate. The man who was more than twenty years Baldwin's senior knew a young man in need of support when he saw one.

By three in the morning Raymond Baldwin had conceded defeat and headed to bed. Walking up the stairs alongside his wife and three sons, his eldest son posed a question: "Dad, it didn't do you any good to work so hard, did it? All of the times when we might have gone sailing and fishing, and on trips, you couldn't go because you had to work. You had to be in this campaign. Do you really think it was worthwhile, Dad?"

Baldwin began explaining to his fifteen year old son the merits of hard work and perseverance. His response seemed to sum up what his entire political party was feeling at the time. "This is a bad hour, but there have been some good ones, too. You want to remember that we won [before], and we can win again."⁷

1940 Republican National Convention

The Republican National Convention occurred in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania during June of 1940, almost a month before the Democratic Party had scheduled their own. In months leading to the GOP Convention there emerged three legitimate candidates seeking the nomination. Thomas E. Dewey, a District Attorney from Manhattan fronted the pack. He was followed by Senator Robert Taft of Ohio and Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan. The Democratic Party believed that no matter who received the nomination, they would triumph versus these three. As proceedings drew closer, signs became increasingly evident none of these men were a perfect fit for the nomination.

“Mr. Dewey was doomed before the convention opened” wrote political theorist Frank R. Kent in his national article *The Great Game of Politics*. “It is generally conceded that Mr. Dewey’s chance for the nomination began to fade early in May when, without explanation or excuse, he changed his position on the international situation.”⁸

There existed two crucial aspects that would come to the fore regardless of the Democratic candidate—the economy and foreign policy. Though Willkie was a businessman from Indiana who lacked any legitimate political experience, his stances on these two issues were second to none. Willkie was outspoken regarding aid toward the Allies in Europe, particularly following Germany’s descent into France. His staunch internationalist approach was refreshing for Republicans who longed to have a candidate openly support their wishes. Willkie had also eloquently critiqued FDR’s attempt to break up monopolies in the New Deal. The fact that Willkie had been a pro-Roosevelt delegate at a former Democratic Convention and had never

previously run for public office was insignificant.⁹ Willkie possessed the charisma and gall to revamp the Republican Party.

...

On the Convention floor sat Governor Raymond Baldwin of Connecticut. Baldwin had been adamant from the very outset that Wendell Willkie was best fit for the Republican nomination. As the floor murmured in deliberation prior to the first ballot, Baldwin had already convinced his delegation where their votes were to be tallied. After the ballot, Connecticut had cast the entire vote of its delegation in support of Willkie. The state proved to be the only one whose entire delegation supported Willkie on this and the next two ballots.

As momentum shifted from Dewey to Willkie, Baldwin began listening to clamoring on the floor. Due to Baldwin's unconditional support he was beginning to be regarded as the frontrunner for Vice Presidential candidacy. When Willkie was officially handed the nomination, a movement started in hopes of Baldwin becoming his running mate. To the governor, the notion of becoming Vice President a mere two years after being elected head of Connecticut was appealing. Aware of the potential disappointment, he tried his hardest not to invest much hope in the idea.¹⁰

The Pride of Middletown

“One of my earliest recollections is that of sitting on the lap of my grandfather, Hebert Clarke Baldwin of Beacon Falls, at a session of the Connecticut General Assembly” remembered Raymond Baldwin.¹¹ It seemed appropriate that the little boy sitting on his grandfather's lap would one day stand in the Hall of the House of Representatives delivering his inaugural address as the governor of Connecticut. Yet the road traveled was anything but straight.

Born in Rye, New York, Raymond Baldwin moved to the city of Middletown in 1900 at the turn of the century. His father's family had lived in Connecticut for eight generations. Despite his birthplace, Baldwin's allegiance fell staunchly to the Constitution State—he had lived there since he was seven. His education from Central Grammar School to Middletown High School and through college kept Baldwin's studies strictly in Middletown. After graduating from Wesleyan University in 1916, Baldwin branched out and attended Yale Law School in New Haven.¹²

In 1919, after two years of serving for the United States Navy during World War I, Baldwin returned to Yale and sought his law degree. He graduated two years later and began practicing what he hoped would become a prosperous and enjoyable profession.

Baldwin's bloodline seemed to call for something greater. His grandfather had been a member of Connecticut's House of Representatives, and his uncle Alfred served as a member of the Republican State Central Committee. In 1922, the newly elected governor Charles Templeton was in search of an executive secretary. Baldwin's uncle believed his nephew would benefit greatly from traveling with him and meeting the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. They drove to Hartford with hopes of giving Raymond a few respectable connections for a young veteran such as himself. When they arrived, Raymond ran into "the bigwigs of a political party" for the first time. One in particular, the Chairman Mr. J. Henry Roraback, piqued Baldwin's interest.¹³

"He was a man of tremendous ability, a man of considerable vision, and a man who had been successful in leading a political organization to elect good governors for Connecticut," Baldwin would later recall.¹⁴ In other words, Roraback was a political boss.

After a quick examination consisting mainly of verifying Baldwin's past as a veteran, Roraback decided it would be suitable and preferred if he took the job as Governor Templeton's executive secretary. "I want you to take young Baldwin up to see Charlie Templeton" Roraback told another political leader.¹⁵

The thoughts of success swirled through the young man's head. "I thought to myself, Ray, you are certainly in the big time" Baldwin would later come to admit.¹⁶ Baldwin was newly married; his wife was from Middletown and after graduating from Connecticut College for Women worked as a teacher in the town. The prospect of a newly married man with a child-on-the-way increasing his salary from \$1,200 to \$6,000 annually was nothing to scoff at.¹⁷

A scheduled meeting had been arranged, and finally Baldwin encountered the governor-elect. They shook hands, and after a friendly slap on the shoulder Templeton said: "You are just the kind of man I need. However, several fellows are looking for the job, and I don't want to have them read about your appointment in the paper. I'd like to have an opportunity to think the matter over, and to tell them so that they won't be too disappointed. You'll hear from me Monday."¹⁸

Monday came and went. As Tuesday passed by, Baldwin became worried and called a local political leader. He was explained something about a misunderstanding and reassured that he would be given the appointment soon enough. As time passed, Baldwin became increasingly aware that his chances at the position were dwindling. One day he picked up his newspaper and saw another man had been given the job. Baldwin was done with politics.¹⁹

He began to prove himself as a lawyer in Stratford, CT. In 1928, Baldwin's work had merited his nomination to the General Assembly in hopes of becoming the judge of Stratford's

Town Court. His chances diminished when the current judge decided to seek another term, yet it became apparent that Baldwin was a young man who commanded great respect.

Two years later Baldwin was asked to deliver a speech in the basement of Stratford's Congregational Church on the topic of law enforcement. In the crowd was junior United States Senator from Connecticut, Frederick Walcott. After a successful speech, the next day Baldwin woke up to see newspaper headlines reading "Stratford Prosecutor Favors Repeal of Volstead Act, and the 18th Amendment."²⁰ He was aware his speech had an impression on the audience. After all, they had stood up in the basement and gave him a round of applause. But to have this level of publicity was unexpected.

A night shortly after the speech, a knock came at Baldwin's door. "Ray," said his friend Shang Wheeler, "I have been talking to a lot of fellows in town. They think you should run for Legislature."²¹ His decision to do so essentially catapulted Baldwin to the fore of Connecticut's Republican Party. In 1930 he was elected to the General Assembly, and shortly thereafter became judge of Stratford District Court. Three years later in 1933 Baldwin became House Majority Leader and Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. His ascent to governor was simply a matter of time.

Connecticut's New Republicans

Baldwin had started his 1938 political campaign for governor in the most modest of manner. He openly acknowledged that "In 1937 and 1938, the Republican party reached its nadir in Connecticut."²² Nonetheless, the man convinced to run for General Assembly eight years earlier was also convinced to run for the highest position in Connecticut.

Baldwin's candidacy cannot be mentioned without explaining the "New Republican" group he helped form and legitimize. Mr. J. Henry Roraback captivated Baldwin's awe as a

young man when visiting Republican political leaders back in 1922. Fifteen years later, Roraback committed suicide to the despair and disappointment of all Connecticut Republicans. With their party boss no longer with the Republican Party, the onus to recapture and redefine the Connecticut GOP fell squarely on the shoulders of Raymond Baldwin. Many men were interested in reconstructing the Party from the ground up. “At this juncture the so-called Beef Steak Club was organized” recalled Baldwin.²³ The Club consisted of Republicans, mostly young but some old, who were all keenly aware of the low point they had reached in the previous statewide elections. The discussions varied widely, but focused mostly on who to nominate for the GOP ticket in the 1938 election.

At one particular meeting, Raymond Baldwin’s close friend Carl M. Sharpe urged him to consider vying for the nomination of governor. Over the previous four years Baldwin had traveled throughout the state sharing and demonstrating his intellect to a number of audiences when delivering speeches. Another friend, Charlie Arrigioni, supported the notion. Baldwin began considering what at first seemed nothing short of a novel and unrealistic idea.²⁴

Neither Baldwin nor U.S. Senator-hopeful John Danaher were particularly fond of the idea. 1936 demonstrated the Connecticut Republican Party required an immense amount of work in order to realistically have a shot of winning any election. Yet as a member of what became known as “The New Republicans”, and after the urging of Jim McConaughy, Baldwin was compelled to run. McConaughy was the president of Wesleyan University, a staunch Republican, opponent of FDR, and in Baldwin’s eyes “a man who had the respect of everyone.”²⁵ He would come to be Baldwin’s Lieutenant Governor and campaigned around the state with him.

McConaughy was a man very unabashed about his political sentiments. In October of 1936, just weeks before his reelection for Presidency, FDR took part in a tour around America’s

cities. One stop on the list was Middletown, CT. While Roosevelt saw the beauty of Middletown's North End and St. John's Cathedral, there existed one particularly intriguing absence during the sightseeing. Wesleyan University, undoubtedly one of the highlights of Middletown's appearance, was avoided for fear of potential demonstrations from the student body.²⁶ During this period, Wesleyan was a staunchly conservative and Republican climate. Often the children of America's wealthy elite, their political sentiments seemed to reflect that of their powerful and intelligent university President. In fact, "According to a straw poll taken by the college paper three days before Roosevelt's visit, Wesleyan students favored Landon over FDR by nearly three to one." Upon hearing of the news of FDR's avoidance of High Street, McConaughy sneered saying, "I feel certain [the President] would have received from all of us the courtesy due him."²⁷

"In 1938 not many people gave the Republican party in Connecticut even a narrow chance to win" admitted Baldwin. "Governor Wilbur L. Cross was a popular governor. As a Democrat, he not only had strength in the cities, but, hailed as a typical Connecticut Yankee, he also had a following in the towns where old Connecticut stock is stronger."²⁸

A "vigorous, earnest, forthright" Socialist mayor from Bridgeport, CT helped to change all of that. The well-respected politician Jasper McLevy served successfully as mayor of Bridgeport since 1933. "He had given an excellent administration in Bridgeport, where partisan politics and a double political machine had brought the city government to a low level. Many people proposed a chance to clean up the double machine in the state" Baldwin remarked.²⁹ As a third party politician, McLevy realistically posed no legitimate threat in winning the gubernatorial election; nevertheless he was capable of taking enough votes from Democratic voters to help Baldwin become victorious.

The Republican ticket of Baldwin and McConaughy garnered nearly the exact same amount of votes as their 1936 predecessors had. The 2,000 some-odd votes McLevy captured in Middletown, for instance, seemed to all come at the expense of the Democratic Party candidate Wilbur Cross. Baldwin captured 3576 votes and three of Middletown's four districts—the 1st District remained Democratic. Meanwhile Wilbur Cross received 3433 votes for governor. A small political contingent known as the Union Party had also thrown their support behind Baldwin, giving him an extra 49 votes for governor. The notion that Republicans could not win proved to be misguided and untrue. The few votes of the Union Party throughout Connecticut accounted for the difference between four-term incumbent governor Cross and Baldwin.³⁰

While in office Baldwin performed dutifully, particularly with regards to his awareness of economic circumstances and the impending foreign conflict. Baldwin completely reorganized Connecticut's military department and established the State Development Commission and the Aeronautical Development Commission. These two programs helped create jobs for citizens during peacetime by manufacturing defense and war material. Later when WWII began, Connecticut would be regarded as having one of the highest quality Defense Councils in the country.³¹ Economically, Baldwin opposed an increased Federal government and FDR's New Deal. In his first term, he helped gain greater workers' compensation as well as pushed for more progressive labor legislation.

A Vice-Presidential Meeting

A day after the Republican nomination for President, Baldwin was called into Willkie's headquarters for a meeting with the man himself. The two discussed the possibility of a Willkie-Baldwin ticket for 1940. Though Baldwin may have contained his hopes earlier, he could no

longer do so. Not only did he desire the opportunity, he knew he was tremendously deserving and fit for the job.

“Frankly, Ray, I had seriously considered you as my running mate in this campaign,” said Willkie. “The political leaders tell me that I ought to have a vice presidential candidate from the West running with me on the ticket. I feel that in this particular instance I must defer to them. And I think myself that this is the best thing to do.”³²

Though disappointment had set in, Baldwin remained composed and respectful. Not only could his personal future benefit from doing so, but also the future of his Republican Party. “You made no outright promise to me that I would be on the ticket with you as your running mate,” rationalized Baldwin. “I’ll throw myself into this campaign and work as hard as I can for you.”

Leaving the headquarters Baldwin thought this was a classic case of valuing geography more than politics. A ticket of Willkie and Baldwin would promote “a man who does things on his own, and who isn’t inhibited by political leadership that is sometimes far behind the thinking of the people.”³³ He would leave Philadelphia largely responsible for the nomination of Wendell Willkie, but also seeing Senator Charles McNary of Oregon given the vice presidential nomination he so strongly desired.

The fallout of Willkie’s nomination was almost immediate. Republicans had nominated a compelling and magnetic leader who Baldwin regarded as “one of the truly great men in American history”. The Democratic Party needed to nominate a candidate capable of defeating this charismatic leader and securing the correctness of the New Deal and foreign policy.

Connecticut Democratic Convention

It seemed peculiar the way the 1940 election was playing out. The issue of foreign policy had become a pivotal aspect in many state elections. Not to be outdone, the issue of a third term

Presidency seemed to indicate one's view on democracy. Connecticut was a prime example of national interest coming to the front in a state election. The gubernatorial election primed incumbent Republican Raymond Baldwin against a man who staunchly supported FDR and the New Deal.

In late August of 1940, Connecticut Democrats traveled to New Haven where their biennial nomination convention would take place. The main issue at hand proved to be the gubernatorial candidacy. 78-year-old Wilbur Lucius Cross, a former governor of Connecticut for eight years, was considered. The other potential nominee was Robert Hurley—a man who Cross had appointed to be the Commissioner of Public Works just three years earlier. He was a brash yet focused man two days short of forty-five years.

Hurley certainly was not a man to shy away from controversy. As Commissioner of Public Works, Hurley took it upon himself to investigate the construction of the Merritt Parkway as well as the man responsible for its construction—Commissioner of the State Highway Department, John A. MacDonald. Commenting on Hurley's assessment of the highway, then Governor Cross would note "No good word was said about anybody or anything. Even the beautiful Merritt Parkway was ill designed, ill constructed, and destined to become a dangerous road for travelers to ride over,"³⁴. Despite the harsh critique, a Grand Jury convened in Fairfield County later that year and ruled in agreement with Hurley. Although he may have been outspoken, he was also correct.

As the nomination for Democratic gubernatorial candidacy neared, Hurley found himself involved in yet another political rift. On this occasion Hurley was up against the U.S. Senator from Connecticut, Francis T. Maloney. Maloney saw an opportunity to become the definitive voice for the Connecticut's Democratic Party as aging former governor Wilbur Cross neared

retirement. In the spring of 1940 Francis Maloney had been given his own nomination before the rest of the Democratic ticket—a sign of his importance to the party. Hurley took exception to this gesture.

Seven months before the convention, Robert Hurley began putting his name out as a potential candidate for governor. Senator Maloney was not keen on this idea. Maloney saw Hurley as a threat to his dominance over the Connecticut Democratic Party. He began openly backing former state treasurer Guy Holt for the new Democratic state chairman position. This was largely because Holt did not favor the potential nomination of Hurley.³⁵

In New Haven, the convention opened with a keynote speech delivered by Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt. The following day various committees met to iron out complications before the nominations were to begin. The decisions came to a screeching halt as the nomination for governor was deliberated. “The Hurley-Cross struggle, first for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination since 1928, was so bitter and had so many important angles, that it overshadowed the jockeying going on for other posts on the state ticket,” wrote *The Middletown Press*.³⁶

Before any lesser positions were chosen, Democrats needed to decide the direction their party would head. Many were in favor of “the renewal of a combination of state leaders which controlled the party for many years before 1930”.³⁷ Hurley represented new blood on the ticket and within the party. A fair contingent was skeptical that the man who caused so much political controversy was right for the nomination.

The convention roared on, and it became increasingly clear Hurley needed to be nominated. In the same way the National Democratic Party broke tradition by nominating FDR for a third consecutive term, Connecticut’s Democratic Party also needed to break tradition.

Wilbur Cross was the nomination for the past decade. On August 25, 1940 Connecticut's Democrats handed Robert Hurley the opportunity to run for governor on the Democratic ticket. He would become the first Roman Catholic to be elected governor in over 300 years of rule in Connecticut. In many previous elections this fact would be a headline story. By 1940, being a Roman Catholic in Connecticut was more the majority than minority. The 1100 some-odd delegates had voted for Hurley over Wilbur by a two-to-one margin.

An International Predicament

Throughout Roosevelt's presidency existed the ominous and recurring threat across the Atlantic that was Adolf Hitler. Beginning in 1933 with the National Socialist Party's overthrow of the Weimar Republic and spanning the entirety of his two terms in office, FDR was particularly cognizant of Hitler's actions internationally. More than any election previously, the international situation facing the United States was nearing its paramount. Voters were strikingly aware the next President faced a pivotal decision regarding whether to take part in the violence occurring across the Atlantic. The fears of many Americans trickled all the way down to the state election campaigns.

...

On September 1, 1939, the Chancellor of Germany's Third Reich stepped into the Kroll Opera House in Berlin inspecting a multitude of microphones and electrical hook ups. He had recently witnessed electricians setting up amplifiers along the streets of Berlin and its provincial capitals so that all his words could be heard in the streets. Hook ups had been arranged ensuring the three major United States broadcasting companies would cover the speech. As a signal kicked in, the announcer for the German broadcasting system acknowledged that Adolf Hitler's words would span across to globe to Italian, Hungarian, Spanish, British and French national

networks to name a few. At 5:10 am in the United States, Marshal Goering opened the address and turned the floor over the Herr Hitler.

“We have all been suffering under the tortures that the Versailles Treaty has been inflicting upon us,” opened Hitler. The vigor and purpose in which he spoke roused the attention of the crowd. The Nazi officers who packed into the Kroll Opera House were dressed in their uniforms and paying particularly close attention to every word their leader spoke. His message was being broadcast across the globe and the magnitude of what he would say was incomparable to anything previously experienced. A rousing cheer filled the room after Hitler’s introductory statement, serving as a great reminder to all who were listening.³⁸

Hitler captivated the attention of his crowd. His oration slowed, paying particular attention to the importance of every word he would say. “The Treaty of Versailles for us Germans is not a law. It is not fair to put a pistol to a man’s head, starve him and then say you are acting under a sacred law,” he repeated. His speech was firm and unyielding. Germany would fight until there was a resolution to the situation at hand. Hitler even outlined Germany’s plan of action should anything happen to prevent him from remaining Chancellor. “I shall carry on this fight regardless of against whom I may come,” he roared. “From now on bomb will be met with bomb.”³⁹

The underlying message had been sent. Germany did not break any law because the Versailles Treaty was not law to begin with. Hitler informed the world that more peaceful solutions were offered to Poland prior to his country’s invasion. In response, he claimed, Poland merely responded with violence and aggression toward German women and children. In his mind and the mind of the German people, Danzig was and always would be a German city.

When his speech concluded, the deputies enacted a law incorporating Danzig into the Reich. The Third Reich officially and openly invaded Poland in order to regain what was rightfully theirs. The entire world watched in anticipation of what would follow.

Germany's invasion of Poland was certainly not the only foreign issue the United States paid close attention to. With the aid of Hitler's armed forces, Italy had successfully invaded Ethiopia in 1935. Spain was engaged in a civil war that almost every European nation was either peripherally taking part in or closely watching with baited breath. The Popular Front, consisting of communists, anarchists, and socialists were at war with the Fascist ruler Francisco Franco and each other. Franco had called on Germany and Italy for military aid in order to ensure a fascist victory.

"Italy and Germany did a great deal for Spain in 1936... Without the aid of both countries, there would be no Franco today," Hitler said in September of 1940.⁴⁰ A growing camaraderie emerged between Adolf Hitler of Germany and Benito Mussolini of Italy. It was no accident the two desired Spain under fascist control. There would be one less ally for France and Britain to have when the time came for Hitler to expand his empire.

Even more, the 1937 invasion of the Republic of China by Japan had a particularly close connection with the United States. The violence in Asia between these two powers marks the start of World War II. Regardless, the United States' political allegiance and loyalty in the involvement went to China. Japan had no justifiable or legitimate means to the resources necessary for war—many European nations were engaged in violence with Germany at that time. The United States placed an embargo on Japan earlier in 1940 to ensure they would not have sufficient resources to continue attacking China.

A growing countrywide uncertainty regarding how to handle international conflict reached its paramount. By the 1940 election, the issue of a potential conflict in Europe became a leading element of the campaign.

...

Exactly a month before Election Day, headlines on the front page of *The Middletown Press* read “Hitler and Mussolini Reported at Brenner: Rome Hears Pair Discussing New Axis War Move Involving Spain”.⁴¹ Ominous signs the two men were discussing potential war moves with representatives from Russia, Spain, and Greece were present. Days before the election, Italy invaded Greece—officially marking its entrance into World War II. More importantly, the headline concerning two international figures on the front page of the local newspaper was a testament of the importance being placed on foreign policy. Residents not just of Middletown, but throughout the country, were aware the impending election would have significant consequences globally.

During the European turmoil taking place with Roosevelt in office, he delivered a speech clearly outlining both the importance of a grounded international strategy as well as the importance of trust amongst nations. The Quarantine Speech, as it came to be known, was delivered in Chicago on October 5, 1937. “It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading,” Roosevelt explained. “When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.”⁴²

His words were chosen carefully. The ambiguity of Roosevelt’s speech ensured that no particular foreign power was targeted. Many assumed FDR targeted his words at Japan, while others most certainly had Hitler and the Third Reich in mind when listening to the President’s

speech. “President Roosevelt, for all his eloquence at Chicago, cannot be credited with anything...specific,” observed the *New York Herald Tribune*.⁴³

Roosevelt was beginning to be regarded as politically weak by the time of his Quarantine Speech. FDR failed to outline any specific plan that could quell the fears millions of Americans possessed. Even more, many citizens came to hear Wendell Willkie’s internationalist strategy of aiding Britain and agreed with the Republican candidate. By the time of the Democratic National Convention in 1940, not only were Americans thinking of Wendell over Roosevelt, some were thinking of other Democratic candidates over Roosevelt as well.

1940 Democratic National Convention

Over a decade had passed since the Republican Party under Herbert Hoover was victorious in a presidential election. As a result, his administration served as a barometer for many Americans to compare political parties. Hoover’s attempt at reelection in 1932 marked a monumental occasion in America. The economic elite as well as those struggling mightily were equally dissatisfied with the Republican economic policy. The resulting Presidential election went decidedly in favor of the Democratic candidate, New York governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt. For the first time since 1876 a Democrat had won a majority of the popular vote. To the delight of many, a GOP candidate would not be the President of the United States. Only six states, including Connecticut, voted Republican.

Roosevelt’s attempt at reelection in 1940 marked an even greater occasion in America. As FDR’s second term neared its end many citizens presumed the forthcoming presidential election would consist of two new candidates. Dating back to the nation’s first President, a standard had been set that only two terms would be served. Though the precedent was never made official constitutionally, the only prior instances where men sought a third term were

Theodore Roosevelt and Grover Cleveland—neither had served two consecutive terms prior to running.

Contention among Democrats existed involving Roosevelt's impending nomination. There was a minority who devoutly believed FDR would not seek a third term regardless of the circumstances. But a vast majority of Americans, not simply Democrats, believed Willkie's nomination increased the chances FDR would break tradition. Some Democrats viewed the end of Roosevelt's second term as an opportunity to become leaders of the Party. They quickly became aware of the growing likelihood this would not be an option. Only Vice President John Nance Garner who had become disillusioned with FDR's politics and Postmaster General James Farley legitimately sought nomination at the Democratic Convention. Following the nomination of a compelling Republican leader in June, there was little doubt FDR needed to seek a third term as President.

Frank Kent wrote on the eve of the Democratic National Convention that "the vast majority...believe the Willkie nomination, while vastly diminishing Mr. Roosevelt's chances of being reelected, increases the chances that he will accept the nomination and try to hold on to his job." There had emerged a predicament for the Democratic Party, the political theorist asserted: "He has created a situation where he must become the candidate or leave the Democratic Party in a state of demoralization. He and his friends have contrived a state of affairs in which he now seems the only possible candidate."⁴⁴

Roosevelt's inevitable nomination did not mean unanimous support was given on his behalf. During the Democratic Convention "a number of Democratic party leaders including a group of prominent anti-New Dealers appeared in agreement on not supporting Mr. Roosevelt for a third term." Politicians Lewis W. Douglas, former director of the budget under Roosevelt

and John W. Hanes, a former undersecretary of the treasury under FDR, led an independent coalition to elect Wendell Willkie. Even the day before the election, a contingent of Democrats actively campaigned as “Democrats for Willkie”. In fact, Douglas and Hanes’ coalition was responsible for numerous visuals in newspapers with instructions explaining how to vote for Willkie and for Democratic candidates on the rest of the ticket.

For Republicans, the largest grievance against Roosevelt was his hunt for a third term. “To date, the third term candidate has not discussed any of the real issues of 1940” maintained Willkie throughout his campaign.⁴⁵ His palpable reluctance to refer to Roosevelt by name, but rather as the third term candidate demonstrated an issue many Americans battled when viewing Roosevelt. If the country needed one man to ensure democracy was safe within its borders, how was this democracy at all? Willkie did not stop there with the criticism. Just days before the election, perhaps feeling as though he needed to make an impression on the voting population, Willkie stooped low when comparing FDR’s speech to other foreign leaders’. “President Roosevelt in his Brooklyn speech last night employed ‘the tactics of Lenin, the strategy of Hitler, and the preaching of Trotsky...to stir up class hatred and divide the people’” the GOP candidate claimed.⁴⁶

Displeasure toward Roosevelt extended far beyond seeking a third-term. “FDR Let Hitler and His Allies Arm with \$1,861,623,747 U.S. War Materials” headlined a full-page advertisement taken out by the Willkie campaign just a day before the election. The message from the Republican Party resounded—FDR’s time had passed. After listing every form of aid given to the Soviet Union, Italy, Japan, and Germany, the ad concluded with an indubitable declaration: “It is too late for us to trust you again!”⁴⁷

There remained no doubt many Americans were still infatuated by their President over the past eight years. Then again, a growing admission of Roosevelt's fallibility began to circulate throughout the country. No longer was FDR seen as a political mastermind; instead, his political record was critiqued harshly. Whoever gained office would need to settle the economic and international issues that were running to the American forefront. The right man needed to be elected.

Voting in Middletown

The nominations had been chosen for either party, but an outcome was far from decided. Both national and statewide elections were painted as inevitably close races. The nomination of Wendell Willkie had nationally rejuvenated the Republican Party. FDR's attempt at a third consecutive term marked an enormous and particularly controversial decision for the Democratic Party. There remained little doubt the national Republican ticket would improve compared to the two previous colossal and emphatic electoral victories for FDR. Time would tell if the GOP could not only improve, but come out victorious.

In Connecticut, much of the gubernatorial election became a reflection of national politics. 1940 marked an extraordinarily transitional period in the United States. In 1932 the Great Depression officially hit the United States' economy. The wealthy elite and those struggling mightily both were unhappy with Hoover's economic policy. By 1940 the tone had shifted. No longer were people blindly sold on FDR's New Deal; the elections existed as a clash between parties and a separation of classes.

The GOP National Convention served as an avenue to launch their party's resurgence. To the Republicans of Connecticut, many were thankful Raymond Baldwin had failed to gain the

Vice Presidential nomination because this meant he would be able to seek reelection for another term as their governor.

From the very outset it seemed the opposing candidates for Governor had vastly different campaign strategies. Baldwin was the incumbent and won his previous election when the Republican Party was beginning to recover from the devastating 1936 electoral defeat. In that year, seventy-six U.S. Senate seats went to the Democratic Party and all but two states went to FDR in the Presidential Election. As a result of Baldwin's sudden emergence, he was regarded as a superb and evolving politician. "Baldwin is destined to play a large part in the 'reconstruction period' of current American history," wrote *The Middletown Press*. Middletown may have had particular allegiance toward Baldwin, yet the view of him as a key cog in the "reconstruction period" was a common sentiment throughout all of Connecticut.⁴⁸

It made sense then that Baldwin would campaign for the gubernatorial election but also help Wendell Willkie seek Presidency. Baldwin had proven himself as a successful governor even if much of the country were Democrats during his term. Even more, the Republican Party had recently been revamped with Willkie's nomination—a large part of which was Baldwin's responsibility.

"I will put all my energy into the campaign [to elect Wendell Willkie]" said Baldwin shortly after acknowledging he would seek reelection as Connecticut's governor.⁴⁹

Giving a lecture at his alma mater Wesleyan University years later, Baldwin would recall the mistake he made in getting wrapped up in Willkie's campaign:

In the Willkie campaign very elaborate equipment was placed at my disposal for campaigning—a great white sound truck with a special platform and loudspeaker. When one of the experienced political leaders saw the \$35,000 worth of motorized equipment at a factory gate he dryly observed, 'It'll attract a lot of attention but not many votes.' He was right. It never pays to put on airs in anything, much less in political campaigning. 'Be yourself' is the best principal to follow.⁵⁰

In 1940, Baldwin lost his identity while campaigning. He was a legitimate political figure around the country, and as a result reaping the rewards. Yet flaunting elaborate equipment and assuming political status garnered reelection was not what Connecticut residents envisioned. They were living through the most difficult economic crisis in the country's history. Citizens of Connecticut were subjected to frightening headlines coming from across the globe on a daily basis. What Connecticut desired in a governor was stability and hope—not a faceless political figure.

The day after Robert Hurley received the nomination as Democratic candidate for governor he was fully aware of the obligation and conditions that would earn a victory. "I'll rest for a few days and then roll up my sleeves and go to work," said Hurley.⁵¹ The reason for rest was not because of the exhausting buildup to Connecticut's Democratic nomination convention. Nor was the rest needed as a result of celebrating both his nomination and 45th birthday the night before. Out of respect for his opponent, Hurley rested and waited for Baldwin to return to Connecticut after campaigning nationally for Wendell Willkie.

Middletown represented a city Robert Hurley needed to win in order to take the election. Much of Hurley's nomination could be attributed to delegates from the largest cities in Connecticut. Yet Hurley insisted that he possessed the ability to take cities like Middletown on Election Day. "Look at my ticket and find out how many machine politicians are on it," Hurley posed. "Much of my support came from small towns and smaller cities where there are no machines."⁵²

An election with the potential to focus on Hurley's Roman Catholic religion, or Baldwin's aversion toward increased Federal government became a microcosm of the national election. More important than anything Hurley's campaign said was his unwavering support of

FDR's "New Deal" and proclamation that "your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars".⁵³ More important than anything Baldwin's campaign said was his certainty that Willkie was the man to turn the Republican Party around and lead our country out of distress.

It would be no surprise to the residents of Middletown if there was a clean sweep, both national and state, in favor of one particular party. Which party that would be developed into a point of interest in the city. The Republican U.S. Representative from Connecticut, William J. Miller, expressed confidence and certainty his party would take national and state elections just days before Americans went out to the polls. "Beware of any last minute effort to take your mind off the really important issues," Miller instructed. Otherwise, the Congressman predicted, a decisive GOP victory for the national and state tickets would occur.⁵⁴

Not all residents of Middletown were ready to take the inevitable Republican victory as guaranteed. "After reading various attacks on the New Deal, I wondered if some of the forgetful voters of Connecticut did not need to be reminded of the conditions in 1932, the last year of Republican rule in this country"⁵⁵ one Middletown resident wrote to *The Hartford Courant*. Many Middletown residents were reminded of four years prior, when Alf Landon was predicted to defeat Roosevelt in an electoral rout. "In view of the rather extravagant claim now being made by some Republican prophets it might be well for the rest of our citizens to consider what happened in 1936," reminded another resident of Middletown. No matter what the polls or predictions claimed before the election, time would identify the victor. "I sincerely hope that all Willkie voters will refresh their minds by reading and pondering of this list, and possibly they will change their attitude" beseeched a Middletown citizen.⁵⁶

...

On Election Day, a record number of voters took to the polls. Presidential votes rose by 400 votes for Democrats and 1,000 for the Republican Party compared to the 1936 election. The edge the GOP gained in that regard amounted for essentially the only victory of the day. Democrats swept the national and state tickets, “completely reversing the situation of two years ago when the Republican state ticket went into office with the single exception of a senator from the 33rd district.”

In Middletown, the Democratic Party fared no differently. President Roosevelt defeated Wendell Willkie by nearly two-thousand votes—6,207 to 4,538. Roosevelt took three of Middletown’s four districts, the only defeat in District 4 being by thirteen votes. The gubernatorial election proved to be the closest margin of any Democratic victory. Incumbent-governor Baldwin captured 5,092 votes and two of Middletown’s districts. The winner, Robert Hurley, captured 5,591 votes and Middletown’s other two districts. The 4th and 2nd districts historically served as more Republican sections of the city, and went this route when electing a governor.⁵⁷

The Middletown Press noted that the election was “An election that was featured by an unusual number of split ballots.”⁵⁸ This made sense, as the Democratic candidate for President won overwhelmingly, while the Republican candidates for governor and lieutenant governor had personal ties to the city. Jim McConaughy earned 4,797 votes to Professor Odell Shepard’s 5,938. Shepard taught at Trinity College, a rival school of Wesleyan University. The irony of the situation was obvious to the residents of Middletown when the newspaper acknowledged “The Trinity College Professor thus being favored over the Wesleyan educator by 1,141 votes.”⁵⁹

Middletown’s Isolationism and Baldwin’s Reelection

Middletown in 1940 featured three particular ethnic groups who had migrated to Middletown in large quantities throughout the city's development. Irish-, Italian-, and German-Americans made up a large portion of Middletown's population and workforce. Interestingly, Germany and Italy highlighted two foreign powers in what came to be known as the Axis Powers. Britain also represented the foreign country that politicians debated assisting in an inevitable battle against Hitler. Dating back to Britain's colonization of Ireland centuries earlier, many Irish-Americans were reluctant to support an internationalist strategy that would help out the country they hated most.

The isolationist sentiments of a large contingent, whether overt or concealed, played a key role in the election of 1940. Throughout campaigning, Wendell Willkie took a staunch internationalist stance when asked about the foreign conflict across the Atlantic. Roosevelt, regardless of his personal opinions, promised that "your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." To a group of ethnic immigrants who recently united in 1936 and voted Republicans out of office, it made sense they all would vote Democratic. Two years later after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the United States was unquestionably involved in World War II. Local sentiments toward Baldwin and McConaughy seemed to persuade some to vote Republican again.

In 1942, after only one term with Democratic governor Robert Hurley, Raymond Baldwin was re-elected in Connecticut's gubernatorial elections. Middletown voters cast 4,357 votes for Baldwin compared to Robert A. Hurley's 4,090, and the GOP swept the city and state office elections. Again, there were split votes from throughout political parties, and again "Middletown's own" became governor.⁶⁰

While in office, Baldwin accomplished a great deal for the improvement of Connecticut. He created the first comprehensive pension system for state employees as well as instituted the Inter-Racial Commission so that cases could be heard regarding the state's African-American citizens. Dating back to his time as a judge and successful prosecutor, Baldwin also helped to reform the minor court system.⁶¹

Toward the end of his term in 1946, Baldwin began to consider calling it a political career. After the sudden departure of Connecticut U.S. Senator Francis Maloney, Baldwin was convinced to step down as governor and fill the remaining Senatorial term in Washington. This decision allowed him to become a senior Senator if he was reelected. Despite being called "Middletown's own", Baldwin lost the election in the city against former governor Wilbur Cross by a 5991 to 4930 margin. In the same election Baldwin's lieutenant governor Jim McConaughy lost his election despite the hometown connection. Middletown had again shifted to the Democratic Party.

Regardless, in the state of Connecticut Baldwin was successful in his attempts to become Senator. The election marked not only a promotion for Baldwin on a national scale, but a symbol he had made it as a leading player in the national Republican scene.

Historical Impact

The 1940 election marked the culmination of a nation's past and a forecast of its future. On a national scale, the decision between FDR and Wendell Willkie proved a choice concerning experience and stability versus vivacity and change. Historically many look back on the election as the moment Americans broke tradition and elected Franklin Roosevelt for a third term. This fails to scratch the surface of its magnitude.

The election symbolized the peak of political and economic contention within the United States. A separation of political party, socioeconomic standing, and foreign attitude highlighted the myriad of disagreements among citizens. The decision to reelect an aging but proven incumbent demonstrated less an appreciation for all he accomplished and more an acknowledgement of security under his rule. FDR's third term does hold with it historical importance. Yet the decision regarding economic policy, foreign thought, and political party reveal the direction our nation was headed.

In Connecticut, the election between Robert Baldwin and Raymond Hurley held equal importance. Historically many citizens look back on the election as the moment Connecticut broke tradition and elected the first Roman Catholic governor in over 300 years of rule. This, too, fails to scratch the surface of its magnitude.

The election provides valuable insight into the way Connecticut politics functioned. 1940 was a moment when both of the state's political parties were searching for redefinition and a shift from tradition. The importance many citizens placed on larger political subjects shows an awareness of national issues and an acknowledgement that our country was entering a point of transformation. Many residents of European heritage were able to rally around the common goals of isolation and economic stability. This breakthrough reveals a crucial aspect in the way Connecticut's elections would run in the future.

In Middletown, the city's inhabitants showed they value protection and improvement more than tradition and egotism. One candidate had ties to their own city, but his politics were not what its residents desired. They valued achievement, they valued economic equality, and they valued immediate progress. The latter helps explain Middletown's growing propensity to waver between Republican and Democrat throughout the decade.

The 1940 election will forever be known as the year Franklin Delano Roosevelt broke the precedent established in George Washington's Farewell Address. Though this fact may go untouched, it remains important to acknowledge the selection also represents one of the most trying and divisive times in American history. Whether on the national, state, or local level, the election of Democratic candidates represented a tangible admission that the United States would stay the course—wherever that took them.

- ¹Moore, David William. *The Opinion Makers*. (Boston, Mass: Beacon, 2008), 44.
- ²“Democrat Sweep Is 2262 Here” *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 4, 1936, Page 1
- ³“Democrat Sweep Is 2262 Here” *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 4, 1936, Page 1
- ⁴“Socialist Vote Here Surprises” *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 9, 1938, Page 1
- ⁵“Socialist Vote Here Surprises” *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 9, 1938, Page 1
- ⁶“Willkie Offering Self As Servant” *The Hartford Courant*, Nov. 3, 1940, Page B7
- ⁷Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 108-109
- ⁸Frank Kent, “The Great Game of Politics” *The Middletown Press*, July 2, 1940, Page 4
- ⁹Republican Philadelphia, *GOP Convention of 1940 in Philadelphia*, http://www.ushistory.org/gop/convention_1940.htm (May 4, 2012)
- ¹⁰Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 159
- ¹¹Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 3
- ¹²Connecticut State Library, *Raymond Baldwin*, <http://www.cslib.org/gov/baldwinr.htm> (April 30, 2012)
- ¹³Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 8
- ¹⁴Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 8
- ¹⁵Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 9
- ¹⁶Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 9
- ¹⁷Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 9
- ¹⁸Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 10
- ¹⁹Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 10
- ²⁰Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 21
- ²¹Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 21
- ²²Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 83
- ²³Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 82
- ²⁴Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 83-85
- ²⁵Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 86
- ²⁶Ronald W. Schatz, “The Barons of Middletown and the Decline of the Northeastern Anglo-Protestant Elite” (May 2012), 27
- ²⁷Ronald W. Schatz, “The Barons of Middletown and the Decline of the Northeastern Anglo-Protestant Elite” (May 2012), 28
- ²⁸Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 84
- ²⁹Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 83-84
- ³⁰“Socialist Vote Here Surprises” *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 9, 1938, Page 1
- ³¹Connecticut State Library, *Raymond Baldwin*, <http://www.cslib.org/gov/baldwinr.htm> (April 30, 2012)
- ³²Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 159
- ³³Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 159-160
- ³⁴Connecticut State Library, *Raymond Baldwin*, <http://www.cslib.org/gov/baldwinr.htm> (April 30, 2012)
- ³⁵“Hurley, Maloney Rift Is Reported” *The Middletown Press*, July 8, 1940, Page 1
- ³⁶“Hurley Holds Lead In Race At Convention” *The Middletown Press*, Aug. 25, 1940, Page 1
- ³⁷“Hurley Holds Lead In Race At Convention” *The Middletown Press*, Aug. 25, 1940, Page 13
- ³⁸“Hitler Tells the Reichstag ‘Bomb Will Be Met by Bomb’” *The New York Times*, Sept. 1, 1939, Page 1
- ³⁹“Hitler Tells the Reichstag ‘Bomb Will Be Met by Bomb’” *The New York Times*, Sept. 1, 1939, Page 3
- ⁴⁰Casanova, Julián. *The Spanish Republic and Civil War*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 335
- ⁴¹“Hitler and Mussolini Reported at Brenner: Rome Hears Pair Discussing New Axis War Move Involving Spain” *The Middletown Press*, Oct. 5, 1940, Page 1
- ⁴²Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives, *Roosevelt's “Quarantine Speech”*, <http://www.alba-valb.org/resources/lessons/the-spanish-civil-war-u.s.-foreign-policy-individual-conscience-between-the-world-wars/roosevelt2019s-201cquarantine-speech201d> (May 4, 2012)
- ⁴³Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives, *Roosevelt's “Quarantine Speech”*, <http://www.alba-valb.org/resources/lessons/the-spanish-civil-war-u.s.-foreign-policy-individual-conscience-between-the-world-wars/roosevelt2019s-201cquarantine-speech201d> (May 4, 2012)
- ⁴⁴Frank Kent, “The Great Game of Politics” *The Middletown Press*, July 17, 1940, Page 4
- ⁴⁵William H. Lawrence, “GOP Candidate Says Foe Uses Lenin Tactics” *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 2, 1940, Pg 1

-
- ⁴⁶ William H. Lawrence, "GOP Candidate Says Foe Uses Lenin Tactics" *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 2, 1940, Pg 1
- ⁴⁷ "FDR Let Hitler and His Allies Arm with \$1,861,623,747 U.S. War Materials" *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 2, 1940, Page 7
- ⁴⁸ "Baldwin Will Be Candidate Again In Fall" *The Middletown Press*, July 2, 1940, Page 1
- ⁴⁹ "Baldwin Will Be Candidate Again In Fall" *The Middletown Press*, July 2, 1940, Page 1
- ⁵⁰ Baldwin, Raymond E. *Let's Go into Politics*. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 98-99
- ⁵¹ "Hurley Is Mapping Vigorous Campaign" *The Middletown Press*, Aug. 26, 1940, Page 1
- ⁵² "Hurley Is Mapping Vigorous Campaign" *The Middletown Press*, Aug. 26, 1940, Page 1
- ⁵³ National Archives, *Teaching With Documents: Documents Related to Churchill and FDR*, <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/fdr-churchill/> (May 1, 2012)
- ⁵⁴ "Miller Sees Republicans Out In Front" *The Hartford Courant*, Nov. 2, 1940, Page 1
- ⁵⁵ "The People's Forum" *The Hartford Courant*, Nov. 3, 1940, Page A3
- ⁵⁶ "The People's Forum" *The Hartford Courant*, Nov. 4, 1940, Page 9
- ⁵⁷ "Middletown Official Vote" *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 6, 1940, Page 3
- ⁵⁸ "City's Vote Sweep For Democrats" *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 6, 1940, Page 1
- ⁵⁹ "City's Vote Sweep For Democrats" *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 6, 1940, Page 1
- ⁶⁰ "Middletown Official Vote" *The Middletown Press*, Nov. 4, 1942, Page 8
- ⁶¹ Connecticut State Library, *Raymond Baldwin*, <http://www.cslib.org/gov/baldwinr.htm> (April 30, 2012)