

Notes

Introduction

1. On Rove as “the architect,” see “Ex-Utahn Was Architect of Victory,” *Deseret News*, 7 November 2004, <http://deseretnews.com/dn/view/0,1249,595103609,00.html> (accessed 29 April 2005); “Four More Years Attributed to Rove’s Strategy,” *Washington Post*, 7 November 2004; “Rove Unleashed,” *Newsweek*, 6 December 2004, <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6596809/site/newsweek> (accessed 29 April 2005). For the quote from Roosevelt on election night, see Lela Stiles, *The Man behind Roosevelt: The Story of Louis McHenry Howe* (Cleveland: World, 1954), 218. The other man Franklin Roosevelt thanked for his victory was Louis Howe.

2. James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938); *Jim Farley’s Story: The Roosevelt Years* (New York: Whitelsey House, 1948).

3. For Schlesinger’s view of Farley, see Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, vol. 3, *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 440–43.

Chapter 1

1. Joseph Alsop, “James A. Farley Biography,” James A Farley—“Life” 1938 Article, box 32, Joseph and Stewart Alsop Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as LC).

2. James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 4–5. See also <http://www.hoganstand.com/general/identity/geese/stories/farley.htm> (accessed 27 March 2005).

3. *Ibid.*

4. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 5–6. For Haverstraw brickmaking, see George V. Hutton, *The Great Hudson River Brick Industry: Commemorating Three and a Half Centuries of Brickmaking* (Fleischmanns, N.Y.: Purple Mountain, 2003); or visit <http://www.haverstrawbrickmuseum.org/pages/1/index.htm> (accessed 13 March 2005).

5. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 11.

6. *Ibid.*, 10.

7. *Ibid.*, 11–12, 15.

8. *Ibid.*, 13–14.
9. Joseph Alsop, interview with Thomas Corcoran, 9 August 1938, James A. Farley—“Life” 1938 Article, box 32, Alsop Papers, LC; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 15; James A. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story: The Roosevelt Years* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1948), 68.
10. Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), 346. For Moley’s delineation of his and Farley’s roles in the 1932 presidential campaign, see Raymond Moley, *After Seven Years* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939), 36–37. See also Raymond Moley, *Twenty-seven Masters of Politics, in a Personal Perspective* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949), 106–16.
11. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 20.
12. Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember* (New York: Hutchinson, 1950), 62.
13. On Farley’s baseball career for Grassy Point and other local teams, see Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 17. For evidence of Farley’s renown as a contact maker, see Dale Carnegie, *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, rev. ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 75–77. By the end of his life, Farley had met nine U.S. presidents, three popes, and dozens of world leaders, including Churchill, Mussolini, Franco, Chiang Kai-Shek, and Indira Gandhi.
14. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 9, 18–19. For Farley’s last interview, in which he was still clearly taking an active interest in the Democratic Party’s affairs, see “One Last Hurrah for Mr. Democrat,” *New York Sunday News*, 11 July 1976, reel 52, Farley Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (hereafter cited as FDRL).
15. Ernest Cuneo, “Roosevelt and Farley,” pp. 10–14, box 91, Ernest Cuneo Papers, FDRL; David M. Ellis, *New York: State and City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 5.
16. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 18.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, 17–20; Farley Memoranda, 15 February 1938, p. 7, reel 4, Private File, James A. Farley Papers, LC; James S. Olson, ed., *Historical Dictionary of the New Deal: From Inauguration to Preparation for War* (New York: Greenwood, 1985), 160–62.
19. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 19–22.
20. *Ibid.*, 22; Farley Memoranda, 15 February 1938, pp. 8–9, 20–21; Alsop, “Farley Biography.” Though Farley is most closely associated with the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, he was also a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Fraternal Order of Eagles, the Improved Order of Red Men, the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, and the Knights of Columbus.
21. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 23.
22. *Ibid.*, 27; *Rockland County Times*, 8 May 1919, 12 June 1919, box 49, Farley Papers, LC.
23. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 23–24.
24. Robert A. Slayton, *The Empire Statesman: The Rise and Redemption of Al Smith* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 120–21.
25. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 188.
26. *Ibid.*, 38; see also clippings from Farley Scrapbooks, 1923, reel 10, Farley Papers, LC.

27. *Rockland County Times*, 8 November 1923, reel 10, Farley Papers, LC.
28. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 39–41; *The American Issue: Organ of the Anti-Saloon League* (New York), 24 November 1923, reel 10, Farley Papers, LC; clipping from Farley Scrapbooks, 1923, reel 10, Farley Papers, LC.
29. 1923 campaign material, reel 10, Farley Papers, LC.
30. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 27.
31. *Rockland County Times*, 8 November 1923; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 27.
32. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 43.
33. Farley's company underwent a series of mergers until it joined with five other large firms to become the General Builders Supply Corporation. Farley was president of the company, chiefly in charge of its sales division from its inception in 1929 until he left for Washington on 4 March 1933. See Farley Memoranda, 15 February 1938, pp. 6–7; clipping from *Building Supply News*, 1930, reel 10, Farley Papers, LC.
34. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 45–50; Farley Memoranda, 15 February 1938, pp. 12–16; 1925, reel 1, Private File, Farley Papers, LC.
35. Farley Memoranda, 1925.
36. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 49.
37. On “the rules of the game,” see, for instance, Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 134, 146; Farley, *Jim Farley's Story*, 92, 147; Farley interview, 3 August 1957, pp. 21–23, Columbia University Oral History Project (hereafter cited as CUOHP); Farley interview, 19 May 1976, pp. 27–29, University of Kentucky Oral History Project (hereafter cited as UKOHP).
38. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 43–48; Farley Memoranda, 15 February 1938, pp. 14–18.
39. William V. Shannon, *The American Irish*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 333–34; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 51. The figure of one hundred thousand dollars was arrived at according to the consumer price index by using the inflation calculator at <http://eh.net/hmit/compare/> (accessed 19 April 2005).
40. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 243–49, 258–60.
41. *Ibid.*, 23–27; James A. Farley and James C. G. Conniff, *Governor Al Smith* (Toronto: Vision Books, 1959).
42. Dean Albertson, “The Reminiscences of Frances Perkins,” Interviews with Frances Perkins, 1951–55, 7:521–24, CUOHP.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Elisabeth I. Perry, *Belle Moskowitz: Feminine Politics and the Exercise of Power in the Age of Alfred E. Smith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 141–51, 161–83; Mary W. Dewson, “An Aid to the End,” vol. 1, p. 12, boxes 26–27, Mary W. Dewson Papers, FDRL.

Chapter 2

1. William L. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall: A Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1994), 73.
2. James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956), 118–19; Frank B. Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1954), 259; Frank B. Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Triumph* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1956), 88–90, 152.

3. David M. Ellis, *New York: State and City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 1, 180.
4. Howard A. Scarrow, *Parties, Elections, and Representation in the State of New York* (New York: New York University, 1983), 12–13.
5. Ernest Cuneo, “Roosevelt and Farley,” p. 32, box 91, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.
6. Ellis, *New York*, 186; quotation from Scarrow, *Parties, Elections, and Representation*, 98.
7. Scarrow, *Parties, Elections, and Representation*, 101, 104.
8. *Ibid.*, 114.
9. “The Reminiscences of Herbert H. Lehman,” pp. 239–40, CUOHP.
10. Scarrow, *Parties, Elections, and Representation*, 5.
11. Matthew and Hannah Josephson, *Al Smith: Hero of the Cities; A Political Portrait Drawing on the Papers of Frances Perkins* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), 200–201, 259, 266–67.
12. James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 30–32.
13. Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Ordeal*, 117–19.
14. County-by-county New York State election analyses, 1918–28, 1928–30, box 52, Farley Papers, LC.
15. “The Reminiscences of Frances Perkins,” p. 272, CUOHP.
16. On Howe, see Lela Stiles, *The Man behind Roosevelt: The Story of Louis McHenry Howe* (Cleveland: World, 1954); Alfred B. Rollins, *Roosevelt and Howe* (New York: Knopf, 1962).
17. For Farley’s view of the 1924 convention, see Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 27–28. On the Democrats’ divisions in the 1920s, see David Burner, *The Politics of Provincialism: The Democratic Party in Transition, 1918–1932* (New York: Knopf, 1968); Allan J. Lichtman, *Prejudice and the Old Politics: The Presidential Election of 1928* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Douglas B. Craig, *After Wilson: The Struggle for the Democratic Party, 1920–1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992). John W. Davis receives biographical treatment in William H. Harbaugh, *Lawyer’s Lawyer: The Life of John W. Davis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
18. Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion*, 93–94; Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Ordeal*, 169–70; James A. Farley to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1 May 1924, James A. Farley to Alfred E. Smith, 2 May 1924, Martin A. Driscoll to James A. Farley, 9 May 1924, and Franklin D. Roosevelt to James A. Farley, 17 May 1924, folder F, box 10, FDR Campaign of 1924, FDRL.
19. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 51–52; Cuneo, “Roosevelt and Farley,” 74; Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Ordeal*, 233.
20. Cuneo, “Roosevelt and Farley,” 79–80.
21. Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion*, 104–6.
22. Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Ordeal*, 259; Frank Freidel, interview with James A. Farley, 7 August 1954, Frank Freidel Interviews Folder—Farley, Special Collections, FDRL.
23. James A. Farley to County Chairmen, 22 September 1928, 10 October 1928,

folder F, box 7, General Correspondence, New York City, Democratic Party, National Committee Papers (hereafter cited as DNC Papers), FDRL.

24. James A. Farley to County Committee members, 22 September 1928, folder F, box 7, General Correspondence, New York City, DNC Papers, FDRL; Farley to County Chairmen, 10 October 1928.

25. James A. Farley to County Chairmen, 29 October 1928, folder F, box 7, General Correspondence, New York City, DNC Papers, FDRL.

26. Frank Freidel, interview with James A. Farley, 7 August 1954; John R. Earl to James A. Farley, 30 October 1931, box 1, General Correspondence, 1923–31, DNC Papers, FDRL.

27. James A. Farley to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 15 October 1929, box 34, Presidential File, FDR 1928–1933, FDR Papers, FDRL.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

31. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 55.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Mary W. Dewson, “An Aid to the End,” 1:48, box 26, Dewson Papers, FDRL.

34. Kenneth T. Jackson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Ten, 1976–80* (New York: Scribner’s, 1995), 232–34; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 223–38.

35. Farley to Roosevelt, 15 October 1929.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. Louis Howe, “Summary of the Situation,” pp. 1–3, State Campaign 1930: Campaign Strategy, Secretary to FDR 1928–32, Howe Papers, FDRL.

39. Farley to Roosevelt, 15 October 1929; Howe, “Summary of the Situation,” pp. 1–3.

40. Howe, “Summary of the Situation,” pp. 1–3.

41. Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2003), 206; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 53; *Columbus Avenue Dispatch*, 14 October 1930, and *New York Times*, 15 October 1930, Farley Scrapbooks, reel 97, Farley Papers, LC; Freidel, interview with Farley, 7 August 1954.

42. Freidel, interview with Farley, 7 August 1954. On the 1942 gubernatorial contest, see John Syrett, “Roosevelt v. Farley: The New York Gubernatorial Election of 1942,” *New York History* 56, no. 1 (1975): 51–81.

43. Freidel, interview with Farley, 7 August 1954.

44. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 54–55, 63.

45. Ernest K. Lindley, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Career in Progressive Democracy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1931), 289–90; Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion*, 122.

46. Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt*, 55–57.

47. Lindley, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 288–90.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*, 309.

50. *Ibid.*, 289–90. For the trouble in Erie County, see Farley to Roosevelt, 15 Octo-

ber 1929; John W. Marlinski to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 21 January 1929, box 826, DNC Correspondence 1928–33, Special Files, DNC Papers, FDRL.

51. *New York Times*, November 1930, Farley Scrapbooks, reel 11, Farley Papers, LC; Roland Crangle to James A. Farley, 15 January 1931, Folder: James A. Farley, box 27, FDR Governorship Papers, Series 1, FDRL; *New York Times*, 10 January 1931, Farley Scrapbooks, reel 11, Farley Papers, LC.

52. Herbert C. Pell to James A. Farley, 10 November 1930, box 1, General Correspondence, Farley Papers, LC.

53. James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 69.

Chapter 3

1. James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 58–191.

2. The best account of the preconvention campaign remains Elliot A. Rosen's *Hoover, Roosevelt, and the Brains Trust: From Depression to New Deal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 95–114, 212–75. For a recent, colorful narrative of the 1932 convention, see Steve Neal, *Happy Days Are Here Again: The 1932 Democratic Convention, the Emergence of FDR—and How America Was Changed Forever* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004). For two outstanding accounts of the 1932 campaign, see Rexford Tugwell, *The Brains Trust* (New York: Viking, 1968), 267–522; Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Triumph* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1956), 312–71.

3. For William Hard, see David Burner, *The Politics of Provincialism: The Democratic Party in Transition, 1918–1932* (New York: Knopf, 1968), 142; for FDR's quotations, see James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956), 95; for Rogers, see David M. Ellis, *New York: State and City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 201.

4. On Raskob's background and agenda, see Rosen, *Brains Trust*, 27–29. For the quotation by Smith, see Burner, *Politics of Provincialism*, 144.

5. Burner, *Politics of Provincialism*, 144, 149; Rosen, *Brains Trust*, 26–29.

6. Franklin D. Roosevelt to numerous recipients, 5 December 1924, folder F, box 10, FDR Campaign of 1924, Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers, FDRL.

7. Robert M. Switzer to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 19 December 1924, A. E. Helmick to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 25 January 1925, Daniel Carrington Imboden to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 13 December 1924, and J. L. Andrews to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1 January 1925, FDR Papers 1920–28, FDR Papers, FDRL.

8. On the New Deal and Western progressivism, see Richard Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). For studies of important individual progressives, see Richard B. Henderson, *Maury Maverick: A Political Biography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970); Richard Lowitt, *Bronson M. Cutting: Progressive Politician* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992); Patrick J. Maney, *Young Bob La Follette: A Biography of Robert M. La Follette, Jr., 1895–1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978); John E. Miller, *Governor Phillip La Follette, the Wisconsin Progressives, and the New Deal* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982); Millard L. Gieske, *Minnesota Farmer-Laborism: The Third-Party Alternative* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979); Richard Lowitt,

George W. Norris: *The Triumph of a Progressive, 1933–44* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978). On the weakness of parties in the West, see Paul Kleppner, “Politics without Parties: The Western States, 1900–84,” in Gerald D. Nash and Richard W. Etulain, eds., *The Twentieth-Century West: Historical Interpretations* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 317–21.

9. Lowitt, *George W. Norris*, 31.
10. Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Triumph*, 46, 102.
11. Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Triumph*, 111, 243; Lowitt, *The New Deal*, 2–3.
12. Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Triumph*, 208.
13. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 80–81; James A. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story: The Roosevelt Years* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1948), 11–12; Edward J. Flynn, *You’re the Boss* (New York: Viking, 1947), 84.
14. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 81; itinerary, reel 1, James A. Farley Papers, FDRL.
15. “Just an Elk on a Trip,” *Kansas City Star*, 15 July 1931, reel 1, Farley Papers, FDRL.
16. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 86–87; Louis Howe to Edward M. House, 17 August 1931, box 55, Secretary to FDR 1928–1932, Louis Howe Papers, FDRL.
17. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 83; William W. Howes to James A. Farley, 4 July 1931, South Dakota Preconvention File, box 325, DNC Papers, FDRL; Scott Bullitt to James A. Farley, 10 July 1931, Washington State Preconvention File, box 349, DNC Papers, FDRL; Oswald West to James A. Farley, 9 August 1931, Oregon Preconvention File, box 293, DNC Papers, FDRL.
18. Thomas J. Walker to Frank Walker, 5 July 1931, Montana—Abstract, box 183, DNC Papers, FDRL.
19. Wyoming memorandum for Louis Howe, July 1931, box 1, General Correspondence, Farley Papers, LC.
20. Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion*, 127.
21. James A. Farley to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 6 July 1931, box 34, President’s File, FDRL.
22. Kansas memorandum for Louis Howe, July 1931, box 1, General Correspondence, Farley Papers, LC; South Dakota memorandum for Louis Howe, 6 July 1931, box 1, General Correspondence, Farley Papers, LC; Neal, *Happy Days*, 31.
23. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 11; Neal, *Happy Days*, 294.
24. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 142–43.
25. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 20.
26. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 144; Dickerman quotation cited in Neal, *Happy Days*, 275.
27. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 132.
28. *Ibid.*, 62.
29. *Ibid.*, 69–71.
30. *Ibid.*, 68.
31. For the “Stop Roosevelt” campaign, see Rosen, *Brains Trust*, 26–38, 212–42.
32. *Ibid.*, 33–36.
33. *Ibid.*, 19, 220. This Robert Jackson is not the Robert H. Jackson whom Roosevelt appointed to the Supreme Court. For the latter, see Robert H. Jackson, *That Man: An Insider’s Portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
34. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 114.

35. Ibid., 219–22.
36. Ibid., 238, 412–13.
37. Ibid., 239
38. Ibid.; Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Triumph*, 299.
39. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 116–17; Mary W. Dewson, “An Aid to the End,” 1:36, box 26, Dewson Papers, FDRL.
40. Rosen, *Brains Trust*, 253.
41. Democratic National Convention, 1932 to Read Case, box 55, Secretary to FDR 1928–1932, Howe Papers, FDRL; Neal, *Happy Days*, 254.
42. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 58–191.
43. Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Triumph*, 370.
44. Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion*, 141; Dewson, “An Aid to the End,” 1:24.
45. Dewson, “An Aid to the End,” 1:24.
46. Rosen, *Brains Trust*, 226–28.
47. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 110–11.
48. Farley Memoranda, 1931, reel 1, Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 111, 143; Roger Biles, *Big City Boss in Depression and War: Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984), 12, 14.
49. Farley Memoranda, 1931.
50. Alex Gottfried, *Boss Cermak of Chicago: A Study of Political Leadership* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), 308.
51. *New York Times*, 16 July 1932; 22 July 1932.
52. Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion*, 140–41; Farley to Roosevelt clubs, 12 August 1932, DNC 1932 Campaign Materials—James A. Farley Correspondence Book, box 853, DNC Papers, FDRL.
53. DNC 1932 Campaign Materials, Club Division, box 853, DNC Papers, FDRL, especially Richard Roper to L. B. Barley, 24 October 1932.
54. Freidel, *Roosevelt: The Triumph*, 320.
55. Raymond Moley, *After Seven Years* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939), 36–37; Raymond Moley, “Prometheus Unbound: James A. Farley,” in *Twenty-seven Masters of Politics, in a Personal Perspective* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949), 106–16.
56. Conrad Black, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2003), 249–50; Lela Stiles, *The Man behind Roosevelt: The Story of Louis McHenry Howe* (Cleveland: World, 1954), 218.
57. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 187–88.

Chapter 4

1. Edgar E. Robinson, *The Roosevelt Leadership, 1933–45* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1955). For the affirmation of democracy in the face of crisis, see Mario Einaudi, *The Roosevelt Revolution* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959). For friendly, liberal critiques, see Eric Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (New York: Knopf, 1952); Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Democratic Roosevelt: A Biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1957); and James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956).

2. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, 3 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957–60); William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963). For the New Left interpretations of the late 1960s and early 1970s, see Barton J. Bernstein, “The New Deal: The Conservative Achievements of Liberal Reform,” in *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 263–68; Ronald Radosh, “The Myth of the New Deal,” in *A New History of Leviathan: Essays on the Rise of the American Corporate State*, ed. Ronald Radosh (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972), 146–87; Howard Zinn, ed., *New Deal Thought* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), xv–xxxvi; Gabriel Kolko, *Main Currents in Modern American History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 100–156. For an overview of organized labor in the New Deal, consult Robert H. Zieger, *American Workers, American Unions, 1920–1985* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 26–61. For the emphasis on the rank and file, see, for example, Alice Lynd and Staughton Lynd, eds., *Rank and File: Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers* (Boston: Beacon, 1973); Peter Friedlander, *The Emergence of a UAW Local, 1936–1939: A Study in Class and Culture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985). An excellent summary of the 1970s debates in labor history is Bernard Sternsher, “Great Depression Labor Historiography in the 1970s: Middle-Range Questions, Ethno-Cultures and Levels of Generalization,” *Reviews in American History* 11, no. 2, (June 1983), 300–319. For the persistence of localism, see Paul Conkin, *The New Deal* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968); Barry D. Karl, *The Uneasy State: The United States from 1915 to 1945* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983).

3. For example, on the judiciary, compare William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Barry Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); G. Edward White, *The Constitution and the New Deal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000). On African Americans and the New Deal, see Kevin J. McMahon, *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Road to Brown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). See also Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Karen Ferguson, *Black Politics in New Deal Atlanta* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). On gender and the New Deal welfare state, consult Linda Gordon, *Pitied but Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890–1935* (New York: Free Press, 1994); Jill Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). For the state and sexuality, see Margot Canaday, “Building a Straight State: Sexuality and Social Citizenship under the 1944 G.I. Bill,” *Journal of American History* 90, no. 3 (December 2003), <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/90.3/canaday.html> (accessed 29 April 2005). For the origins of the institutionalist turn and the rejection of corporate liberalism, see Theda Skocpol, “Political Response to Capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the New Deal,” *Politics and Society* 10 (1980–81): 155–201; Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and

Thecla Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

4. Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion*; James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933–1939* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981); Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Knopf, 1995).

5. James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 189–90, 207–9.

6. “The Reminiscences of Frances Perkins,” pp. 489–90, CUOHP; Farley Memoranda, 5 November 1937, reel 4, Private File, James A. Farley Papers, LC.

7. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 197.

8. *Ibid.*, 223–28.

9. Farley Memoranda, 3 March 1934, 25 April 1934, reel 1.

10. Farley Memoranda, 1 May 1933, reel 1.

11. *Ibid.*

12. For examples of Farley’s explanations for early appointments, see Farley Memoranda, 27 May 1933, reel 1. On the formalization of appointments, see, for example, Sean Savage, *Roosevelt: The Party Leader, 1932–1945* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 22–23; Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion*, 187.

13. Farley Memoranda, 20 December 1934, reel 1.

14. My argument here is influenced by Sidney M. Milkis’s *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). I concur with Milkis’s observation that “the New Deal is properly viewed as contributing to, rather than simply interrupting, the long secular decline of the party system” (317). For a wide-ranging discussion of the changing relationship between parties and the constitution, see Sidney M. Milkis, *Political Parties and Constitutional Government: Remaking American Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). For the demise of the old-style party politics, beginning in the Progressive Era, see Michael McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865–1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). On the Progressive Era origins of party decline, see Herbert Croly, *Progressive Democracy* (New York: Macmillan, 1914); Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908). On the challenge to traditional parties posed by the Progressive Party in 1912, see Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1983). An illuminating study that points to the contention between localized parties and an emergent administrative state is Stephen Skowronek’s *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982). For party reform and long-term party decline, see Nelson W. Polsby, *Consequences of Party Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Byron E. Shafer, *Quiet Revolution: The Struggle for the Democratic Party and the Shaping of Post-Reform Politics* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983); Martin P. Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties, 1952–84* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986); Benjamin Ginsberg and Martin Shefter, *Politics by Other Means: The Declining Importance of Elections in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1990); Mar-

tin Shefter, *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). For the New Deal and the traditional party bosses, including both rural and city machines, see V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1949); Lyle W. Dorsett, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the City Bosses* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1977). For important studies of individual machines and bosses, see Lyle W. Dorsett, *The Pendergast Machine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Bruce Stave, *The New Deal and the Last Hurrah: Pittsburgh Machine Politics* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970); Roger Biles, *Big City Boss in Depression and War: Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984); Michael P. Weber, *Don't Call Me Boss: David L. Lawrence, Pittsburgh's Renaissance Mayor* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988). On organized labor and campaign finance, see William E. Leuchtenburg, "The Election of 1936," in *The FDR Years: On Roosevelt and His Legacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 130–34. For the Democratic Party's special divisions, see Savage, *Roosevelt*.

15. Farley Memoranda, 15 October 1933, reel 1.

16. Mary W. Dewson to James A. Farley, 5 August 1933, Farley Correspondence, 1933–36, Democratic Party, Women Division, National Committee Papers, FDRL; Farley Memoranda, 15 October 1933, reel 1.

17. Claude Bowers to James A. Farley, 2 May 1934, Personal File, Farley Papers, LC.

18. Farley Memoranda, 26 January 1934, reel 1.

19. Harold L. Ickes, diary, 20 April 1933, 18 May 1933, reel 1, Harold L. Ickes Papers, LC; Farley Memoranda, 15 October 1933, reel 1.

20. Ickes, diary, 21 June 1933, reel 1.

21. Quotations in text from Henry F. Pringle, "Who's on the Payroll?" *American Magazine* 117 (November 1934): 19; Ickes, diary, 10 May 1935, reel 1.

22. *New York Times*, 7 August 1934.

23. Farley Memoranda, 16 August 1934; Ickes, diary, 10 May 1935.

24. See clippings and letters from Farley Scrapbooks, Farley Papers, LC: *Ithaca Journal*, 22 January 1934, reel 16; *Washington Herald*, 22 April 1934, reel 16; *Washington Daily News*, 22 June 1934, reel 17; *Baltimore Sun*, 22 June 1934, reel 17; George Norris to James A. Farley, 22 September 1933, reel 16; James A. Farley to George Norris, 25 October 1933, reel 16.

25. The classic account of the rise of the conservative coalition is James T. Patterson's *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal*.

26. *New York Times*, 26 January 1933, 27 January 1933, 28 January 1933, 1 February 1933; Farley Memoranda, 18 November 1933, reel 1.

27. *New York Times*, 23 February 1933, 20 March 1933.

28. Thomas Kessner, *Fiorello La Guardia and the Making of Modern New York* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989), 101.

29. Savage, *Roosevelt*, 70.

30. Edward J. Flynn, *You're the Boss* (New York: Viking, 1947), 133; Kessner, *Fiorello La Guardia*, 237–47.

31. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story*, 43; Flynn, *You're the Boss*, 138; Farley Memoranda, 9 September 1933, reel 1.

32. Ernest Cuneo, "Roosevelt and Farley," p. 28, box 91, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.
33. Kessner, *Fiorello La Guardia*, 248–50; *Baltimore Sun*, 25 September 1933; *Boston Christian Science Monitor*, 5 October 1933; *Washington News*, 6 October 1933; *New York World Telegram*, 13 October 1933, 8 November 1933.
34. Kessner, *Fiorello La Guardia*, 247–48; Savage, *Roosevelt*, 70–71. On Kelly, see Biles, *Big City Boss*. On Pendergast, see Dorsett, *Pendergast Machine*; Lawrence H. Larsen and Nancy J. Hulston, *Pendergast* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997).
35. Kessner, *Fiorello La Guardia*, 252.
36. Cuneo, "Roosevelt and Farley," 30; Farley Memoranda, 29 May 1934, 6 June 1934, reel 1.
37. Farley Memoranda, 19 June 1934, reel 1.
38. Guy A. Thomas to Louis Howe, 17 April 1934, Official File 300, box 22, DNC—Minnesota Politics, FDRL; Farley Memoranda, 21 May 1934, reel 1; Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion*, 202.

Chapter 5

1. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, vol. 3, *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 441.
2. On "the nationalization of presidential politics," see Byron E. Shafer, *Bifurcated Politics: Evolution and Reform in the National Party Convention* (London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 4. For an important, more broadly framed analysis of the evolution of the relationship between the presidency and political parties, see Sidney M. Milkis, *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). The first major histories of the New Deal, especially Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.'s enormously influential *Age of Roosevelt* trilogy, presented the New Deal as a progressive, nationalizing force. For important works that challenged this assumption in various ways, see James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933–1939* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981); James T. Patterson, *The New Deal and the States: Federalism in Transition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner, and David Brody, eds., *The New Deal: The State and Local Levels*, 2 vols. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1975); Bruce Stave, *The New Deal and the Last Hurrah: Pittsburgh Machine Politics* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970); Lyle W. Dorsett, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the City Bosses* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1977); Barry D. Karl, *The Uneasy State: The United States from 1915 to 1945* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
3. See Byron E. Shafer, *Quiet Revolution: The Struggle for the Democratic Party and the Shaping of Post-Reform Politics* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983).
4. James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 23.
5. *Ibid.*, 34.
6. *Ibid.*, 134, 146.
7. The best way to gain a sense of how Farley operated is to sample his memo-

randa. Some of these consist of little more than lists of meetings and phone calls; others are more reflective; some provide an in-depth view of how Farley saw the political terrain on a particular day. See Farley Memoranda, reels 1–5, Private File, Farley Papers, LC.

8. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 193.
9. Frank B. Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Triumph* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1956), 156.
10. John M. Blum, *Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951), 73.
11. *Ibid.*, 242.
12. *Ibid.*, 32.
13. *Ibid.*, 72.
14. David Burner, *The Politics of Provincialism: The Democratic Party in Transition, 1918–1932* (New York: Knopf, 1968), pp. 9–10.
15. Desmond S. King, *Separate and Unequal: Black Americans and the U.S. Federal Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 28–31; Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910–1917* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), 247–51; Paul T. David, *Party Strength in the United States, 1872–1970* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), 27–33.
16. Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Schenectady: Twayne, 1982); Lois Scharf, *To Work and to Wed: Female Employment, Feminism, and the Great Depression* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1980); Winifred D. Wandersee, *Women's Work and Family Values, 1920–1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).
17. Susan Ware, *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), xii, 94–95.
18. *Ibid.*, xiii; Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 64.
19. Mary W. Dewson to James A. Farley, 17 June 1938, box 2, Dewson Papers, FDRL; Dean Albertson, “The Reminiscences of Frances Perkins,” interview with Frances Perkins, 1951–55, 7:492–94, CUOHP; James F. [sic] Farley, Wellesley College speech, 20 March 1940, box 2, Dewson Papers, FDRL.
20. Albertson, “The Reminiscences of Frances Perkins,” 7:501.
21. James A. Farley and Mary W. Dewson to State Democratic Women Leaders, 19 December 1934, box 2, Dewson Papers, FDRL.
22. Mary W. Dewson to James A. Farley, 26 September 1933, Mary W. Dewson to Eleanor Roosevelt, 18 August 1933, and Mary W. Dewson to James A. Farley, 21 August 1933, boxes 1259–60, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, FDRL.
23. Mary W. Dewson to Eleanor Roosevelt, 3 April 1933, boxes 1259–60, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, FDRL.
24. Eleanor Roosevelt to James A. Farley, 17 May 1933, 14 August 1934, box 34, Presidential File, Eleanor Roosevelt Correspondence, 1932–62, FDR Papers, FDRL.
25. Mary W. Dewson, “An Aid to the End,” 1:40–44, box 26, Dewson Papers, FDRL.
26. Mary W. Dewson to James A. Farley, 5 October 1933, boxes 1259–60, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, FDRL.
27. Dewson, “An Aid to the End,” 1:125.

28. Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 64–66; Dewson, “An Aid to the End,” 2:37.
29. Mary W. Dewson to James A. Farley, 21 December 1935, 8 August 1936, Farley Correspondence, 1933–36, Democratic Party, Women’s Division, National Committee Papers, FDRL; Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 65.
30. Steve Fraser, *Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor* (New York: Free Press, 1991), 356–57.
31. Stanley High to Steve Early, 14 February 1936, Stanley High Good Neighbor League Papers, Small Collections, FDRL.
32. Memorandum re Deficit of Democratic National Committee, Subject File: Folder—DNC 1932–43, PSF 129, FDR Papers, FDRL; Statement of Deficit as at 13 May 1933, Subject File: Folder—DNC 1932–43, PSF 129, FDR Papers, FDRL.
33. Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 68; Sean Savage, *Roosevelt: The Party Leader, 1932–1945* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 86; Statement of Deficit as at 22 July 1937, Subject File: Folder—DNC 1932–43, PSF 129, FDR Papers, FDRL.
34. Budget for the Democratic National Campaign of 1936, Subject File: Folder—DNC 1932–43, PSF 129, FDR Papers, FDRL.
35. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 216; Farley Memoranda, 11 September 1934, reel 1; *New York World Telegram*, 22 June 1935; *Washington Post*, 4 July 1935.
36. “The Reminiscences of Frances Perkins,” 7:503–4.
37. *Ibid.*, 7:507.
38. *Ibid.*, 485–86; Farley Memoranda, 14 January 1937, reel 3.
39. Cuneo, overview of the impact of the New Deal on American government, p. 12, box 91, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.
40. Fraser, *Labor Will Rule*, 364.
41. “The Reminiscences of James A. Farley,” 1–10 May 1957, pp. 15–16, CUOHP.
42. “The Reminiscences of Edward J. Flynn,” 1950, pp. 20–22, CUOHP.
43. Savage, *Roosevelt*, 90–91.
44. *Ibid.*, 95.
45. Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 63.
46. Farley Memoranda, 24 March 1934, reel 1.
47. Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 90; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 327.
48. John Nance Garner to James A. Farley, 6 September 1935, General Correspondence, box 3, Farley Papers, LC.
49. Nancy Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

Chapter 6

1. See at <http://www.hoganstand.com/general/identity/geese/stories/farley.htm> (accessed 27 March 2005).
2. “The Reminiscences of Charles Poletti,” May 1978, pp. 618–19, CUOHP.
3. Dale Carnegie, *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, rev. ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 75–77.

4. Election forecasts from Jim Farley's observers in the states, 1936, OF 300, FDR Papers, FDRL; Farley Memoranda, 11 August 1936, reel 3, Private File, James A. Farley Paper, LC.
5. 12pm Press Conference, 24 August 1936, p. 2, Party Conferences/Press Conferences, box 54, Farley Papers, LC.
6. *Ibid.*, 6.
7. Farley Memoranda, 22 August 1936, reel 2; Memo from Mrs. Roosevelt, 16 July 1936, box 34, Presidential File, Eleanor Roosevelt Correspondence, 1932–62, Eleanor Roosevelt, FDRL.
8. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Age of Roosevelt*, vol. 3, *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 575–76. Franklin D. Roosevelt to James A. Farley, 22 May 1936, James A. Farley Correspondence, 1932–44, box 89, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.
9. 12pm Press Conference, 24 August 1936, p. 2.
10. 11am Press Conference, 12 September 1936, p. 5, Party Conferences/Press Conferences, box 54, Farley Papers, LC.
11. 12pm Conference with County Leaders, 9 September 1936, p. 1, Party Conferences/Press Conferences, box 54, Farley Papers, LC; James A. Farley to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 26 January 1937, "Summary of Vote Cast in State of New York, 1936," DNC 1932–43, PSF 129, FDR Papers, FDRL.
12. Democratic State Committee press release, 14 September 1936, Farley Memoranda, reel 2.
13. Sidney M. Milkis, *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 69–70.
14. *Ibid.*
15. James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 108; "The Reminiscences of James A. Farley," 31 August 1957, p. 32, box 49, CUOHP.
16. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 327.
17. *Ibid.*, 324–25.
18. James A. Farley, speeches, August 1936–April 1937, box 61, Farley Papers, LC; Mary W. Dewson, "An Aid to the End," 1:45–46, box 26, Dewson Papers, FDRL; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 323, 327. On Hurja and opinion polling, see Melvin G. Holli, *The Wizard of Washington: Emil Hurja, Franklin Roosevelt, and the Birth of Public Opinion Polling* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
19. For the scale and significance of the 1936 election, see William E. Leuchtenburg, "The Election of 1936," in *The FDR Years: On Roosevelt and His Legacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 101–58.
20. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 326.
21. Dewson, "An Aid to the End," 41–44, 48.
22. Harold L. Ickes, diary, 17 December 1934, 11 January 1935 (pp. 776–81), reel 1, Ickes Papers, LC.
23. Farley Memoranda, 22 December 1934, reel 1.
24. Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1957).
25. Edwin O'Connor, *The Last Hurrah* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1956), 428.

26. *Pueblo (Colo.) Star-Journal*, 6 February 1936, Farley Scrapbooks, reel 33, Farley Papers, LC.
27. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 3 November 1934.
28. James A. Farley to Eleanor Roosevelt, 25 July 1936, box 34, Presidential File, Eleanor Roosevelt Correspondence, 1932–62, Eleanor Roosevelt, FDRL; Farley Memoranda, 12 August 1936.
29. Sean Savage, *Roosevelt: The Party Leader, 1932–1945* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 50. For an excellent biographical study of one boss who did make the transition from pre– to post–New Deal politics, see Michael P. Weber, *Don't Call Me Boss: David L. Lawrence, Pittsburgh's Renaissance Mayor* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988).
30. Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 58–59.
31. Savage, *Roosevelt*, 59–61.
32. Farley Memoranda, 21 August 1934, reel 1, 14 October 1936, reel 3, 26 October 1936, reel 3; *New York Times*, 13 June 1936.
33. Memorandum: Franklin D. Roosevelt to James A. Farley, 24 January 1936, box 309, President's Personal File, FDR Papers, FDRL.
34. James A. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1948), 108, 134; Farley Memoranda, 12 August 1936, 3 October 1936, reel 3; Lyle W. Dorsett, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the City Bosses* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1977), 72; Donald Shaughnessy, "The Reminiscences of James A. Farley," 3 August 1957, p. 7, box 49, CUOHP.
35. Savage, *Roosevelt*, 64.
36. James A. Farley to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 11 September 1935, box 34, Presidential File, FDRL.
37. Dorsett, *Roosevelt and the City Bosses*, 72.
38. Like Farley, Pendergast owned a firm of building contractors, though Pendergast, unlike Farley, was never shy about profiting from mixing concrete with politics. Farley was sometimes accused of using his government connections to gain contracts for his building supply company, but the mud never stuck. A senatorial investigation in 1935, launched in response to claims made by Huey Long, cleared Farley of any wrongdoing. See Dorsett, *Roosevelt and the City Bosses*, 74–77; Savage, *Roosevelt*, 66.
39. Weber, *Don't Call Me Boss*, 68–70.
40. *Ibid.*, 12.
41. *Ibid.*, 109, 194, 208.
42. Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 442.
43. For the transformation of the South, see Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938–80* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). On the West, see, for example, Roger Lotchin, *Fortress California, 1910–60: From Welfare to Warfare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 4–15. See also Ann Markusen, *The Rise of the Gunbelt: The Military Remapping of Industrial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
44. Leuchtenburg, "The Election of 1936," in *FDR Years*, 155; David R. Mayhew,

Placing Parties in American Politics: Organization, Electoral Settings, and Government Activity in the Twentieth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 319.

Chapter 7

1. The most important account is Farley's second autobiography, *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1948). In the last years of his life, Farley collaborated with Ernest Cuneo, a former New Deal labor lawyer, in the creation of a manuscript based on Farley's memoranda and provisionally entitled "Roosevelt and Farley" (box 91, Cuneo Papers, FDRL). The manuscript was never published. Farley gave further accounts as part of oral history research projects at Columbia University and the University of Kentucky (Farley interviews, 10 May 1957–26 October 1957, CUOHP; Bill Cooper, interview with James A. Farley, 19 May 1976, UKOHP). For key historical works that discuss the Democratic Party and the New Deal during Roosevelt's second term, see James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956); James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933–1939* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981); Bernard F. Donahoe, *Private Plans and Public Dangers: The Story of FDR's Third Nomination* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965); Sean Savage, *Roosevelt: The Party Leader, 1932–45* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991); Sidney M. Milkis, *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). For the most important among the many records and reminiscences by Farley's political contemporaries that touch on the Farley-Roosevelt rift, see Raymond Moley, "Prometheus Unbound: James A. Farley," in *Twenty-seven Masters of Politics, in a Personal Perspective* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949), 106–16; Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*, 3 vols. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953–54), available in unpublished form in the Ickes Papers, LC. See also "The Reminiscences of Frances Perkins," vol. 7, CUOHP.

2. James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 328–55; Farley, *Jim Farley's Story*, 68.

3. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story*, 147.

4. Moley, *Twenty-seven Masters of Politics*, 110; see also Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, vol. 3, *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 576–79.

5. Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 442.

6. *Ibid.*

7. William V. Shannon, *The American Irish*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 330–36, 349–52.

8. *Ibid.*, 349–50.

9. *Ibid.*, 330–31.

10. Jordan A. Schwarz, *The New Dealers: Power Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 140–41; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 3–16.

11. For portraits of Corcoran, see David McKean, *Tommy the Cork: Washington's Ultimate Insider from Roosevelt to Reagan* (Hanover, N.H.: Steerforth, 2004); Schwarz,

New Dealers, 138–56; Michael Janeway, *The Fall of the House of Roosevelt: Brokers of Ideas and Power from FDR to LBJ* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 13–27.

12. Farley Memoranda, 17 December 1936, 24 December 1936, 31 December 1936, 9 January 1937, 13 January 1937, reel 3, Private File, James A. Farley Papers, LC.

13. Dr. Harlan B. Phillips, “Justice Jackson’s Story,” interview with Robert H. Jackson, 1952–53, CUOHP, Robert H. Jackson Papers, LC.

14. Harold L. Ickes, diary, 19 December 1934, reel 1, Ickes Papers, LC.

15. Ickes, diary, 6 February 1938, reel 2.

16. Ickes, diary, 17 March 1938, 5 March 1938, 5 September 1938, reel 2.

17. Farley Memoranda, 11 January 1937, reel 3.

18. Farley Memoranda, 31 December 1936, 11 January 1937.

19. Frank B. Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990), 98–99.

20. Corcoran interview, 20 June 1979, pp. 3–4, 9, FDR Library Oral History Project, Interviews Folder, box 601, Thomas G. Corcoran Papers, LC; Schwarz, *New Dealers*, 141–42, 151.

21. Thomas G. Corcoran, “Rendezvous with Democracy: ‘The Memoirs of Tommy the Cork,’” with Philip Kopper, 1980, pp. 15–16, box 586a, Corcoran Papers, LC.

22. For Farley’s fullest account of the purge campaign, see Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 120–50.

23. Farley Memoranda, 5 November 1937, reel 3.

24. “The Reminiscences of James A. Farley,” 9 November 1957, p. 8, box 49, CUOHP; Freidel, *Roosevelt: A Rendezvous*, 228.

25. Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 331, 352–53; *Jim Farley’s Story*, 77–90.

26. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 72.

27. *Ibid.*, 73; Farley Memoranda, 10 February 1937, 11 February 1937, 15 February 1937, reel 4.

28. Farley Memoranda, 7 March 1937, reel 3; Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 75–76.

29. Farley Memoranda, 7 March 1937.

30. Farley Memoranda, 7 March 1937; Farley Memoranda, European memo, August–September 1939, reel 4.

31. Farley Memoranda, 7 March 1937; Farley, *Behind the Ballots*, 111–12.

32. Farley Memoranda, 7 March 1937; Farley speeches, 9 March 1937 (University of North Carolina), 13 April 1937 (Jefferson Day Dinner, Penn Athletic Club, Philadelphia), 29 April 1937 (civic dinner, Cincinnati, Ohio), box 61, Farley Papers, LC.

33. Farley speech, 9 March 1937, box 61, Farley Papers, LC.; Farley Memoranda, 7 March 1937; *New York Times*, 10 March 1937.

34. Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 80.

35. Farley Memoranda, 16 July 1937, reel 3; Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 87–88.

36. Farley Memoranda, 18 July 1937, reel 3; Farley interview, 19 May 1976, p. 29, UKOHP.

37. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 92; Farley interview, 3 August 1957, pp. 21–23, CUOHP; Farley interview, 19 May 1976, pp. 27–29.

38. Farley Memoranda, 10 March 1937, reel 3.
39. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story*, 92, 97–98; Farley Memoranda, 12 December 1936, 9 October 1937, 6 November 1937, reel 3.
40. Farley Memoranda, 12 November 1937, reel 3.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*; Farley Memoranda, 3 January 1938, reel 4.

Chapter 8

1. For the standard account of the purge campaign, see James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933–1939* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981), 250–87.
2. For Farley's account of the purge, see James A. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1948), 120–50; the full text of Farley's statement is at 120–21; see also Farley Memoranda, 27 January 1938, reel 4, Private File, James A. Farley Papers, LC.
3. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story*, 121.
4. Farley Memoranda, 16 May 1938, reel 4.
5. Sidney M. Milkis, *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 85–86.
6. On grassroots conservatism in the 1950s and 1960s, see John A. Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997); Mary C. Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Rebecca Klatch, *A Generation Divided: The New Left, the New Right, and the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001); Gregory L. Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of the Contemporary Right* (New York: New York University Press, 1999). On the tax revolts of the 1970s and their origins, see David O. Sears and Jack Citrin, *Tax Revolt: Something for Nothing in California* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). On the adaptation of city machines see, for a general overview, Lyle W. Dorsett, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the City Bosses* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1977). An important case study is Bruce Stave's *The New Deal and the Last Hurrah: Pittsburgh Machine Politics* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970). See also Michael P. Weber, *Don't Call Me Boss: David L. Lawrence, Pittsburgh's Renaissance Mayor* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988).
7. Farley Memoranda, 10 May 1938, 2 June 1938, reel 4.
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12. Josiah Bailey to James A. Farley, 14 June 1938, General Correspondence, box 6, Farley Papers, LC; 10 October 1938, General Correspondence, box 7.
13. Kevin J. McMahon, *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Road to Brown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). Two useful biographical studies that explore the interaction of race and southern conservatism are William Anderson’s *The Wild Man from Sugar Creek: The Political Career of Eugene Talmadge* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975) and Chester M. Morgan’s *Redneck Liberal: Theodore G. Bilbo and the New Deal* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985).
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15. Farley to John Nance Garner, 27 September 1938, General Correspondence, box 7, Farley Papers, LC.
16. Farley Memoranda, 13 September 1938, reel 4.
17. The occasion of Farley’s first night on the presidential yacht was a Jefferson Island “harmony meeting” held after the congressional fight over court reform. See Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 144.
18. *New York Times*, 26 May 1938, 27 May 1938, 29 June 1938, 8 July 1938, 11 July 1938; *New Republic*, 24 August 1938; *Newsweek*, 5 September 1938; *Colliers*, 10 September 1938.
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20. Farley Memoranda, 14 September 1938, reel 4.
21. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 237, 244; Farley Memoranda, 20 October 1939, reel 4.
22. Farley Memoranda, 10 January 1939, reel 4.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*; Farley Memoranda, 20 September 1938, reel 4.
25. Farley Memoranda, 20 September 1938; 27 November 1939, reel 5.
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27. *Ibid.*; George H. Gallup, *Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935–71*, vol. 1, 1935–48 (New York: Random House, 1972).
28. Richard N. Smith, *Thomas E. Dewey and His Times* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 285; Gallup, *Gallup Poll*.
29. Farley Memoranda, European memo, August–September 1939, reel 4.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Farley Memoranda, 3 January 1940, reel 5.
32. Farley Memoranda, 30 June 1939, reel 4.
33. Farley Memoranda, 12 July 1939, reel 4.
34. *Ibid.*; Franklin D. Roosevelt to R. Walton Moore, 3 August 1940, PPF 309, FDR Papers, FDRL.
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39. Farley Memoranda, 5 November 1937, reel 3; see also 6 July 1939, 7 January 1940, 8 March 1940, 9 May 1940; Harold L. Ickes, diary, 24 March 1940, reel 4, Ickes Papers, LC.
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Chapter 9

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11. Farley Memoranda, 6 August 1940, 19 September 1940, 15 October 1940, reel 5.

12. Farley Memoranda, 21 October 1940, 30 December 1940, reel 5.

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16. Farley Memoranda, 10 May 1941, 13 February 1942, reel 5. See also Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 341–42.

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33. Adolf Berle, diary, 25 July 1942, box 214, Berle Papers, FDRL; Farley Memoranda, 13 February 1942, reel 5.
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35. See Farley's campaign speeches for Bennett, 20 October 1942, 24 October 1942, 28 October 1942, 1–4 November 1942, box 65, Farley Papers, LC; John Syrett, "Roosevelt v. Farley: The New York Gubernatorial Election of 1942," *New York History* 56, no. 1 (1975): 75. For postmortems on the 1942 campaign, see Samuel Dickstein to Edwin Pauley, 21 November 1942, Julian Park to Edwin Pauley, 21 November 1942, James J. Butterly to Edwin Pauley, 24 November 1942, Emanuel Celler to Edwin Pauley, 24 November 1942, Clare Barnes to Edwin Pauley, 1 December 1942, Charles D. Osbourne to Edwin Pauley, 2 December 1942, Campaign of 1942, Post Mortems, box 1156, DNC Papers, FDRL.
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Chapter 10

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9. James A. Farley to John Nance Garner, 23 August 1944, Farley Correspondence, box 18, Farley Papers, LC; Farley Memoranda, 6 September 1944, reel 5.

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11. James A. Farley to John Nance Garner, 23 August 1944.

12. “Big Jim,” *Boston Sunday Globe*, 22 March 1970, reel 50, Farley Papers, FDRL. The first Farley scrapbooks were compiled by one of Farley’s assistants, Bill Lyons. He earned the title “pastemaster general” for his efforts. See Lela Stiles, *The Man behind*

Roosevelt: The Story of Louis McHenry Howe (Cleveland: World, 1954), 200; *New York World-Telegram*, 13 November 1964, reel 48, Farley Papers, FDRL.

13. “Farley Discusses Economies,” *Waterbury Republican*, 20 October 1955, and “Do Your Part,” *Waterbury Republican*, 21 October 1955, reel 41, Farley Papers, FDRL; Statement by James A. Farley on 22nd Constitutional Amendment, 26 February 1951, Private File, reel 5, Farley Papers, LC.

14. “Hoover Unit Asks Public Power Cut,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 30 June 1955, and “Farley Dissents in Power Study,” *Watertown Daily News*, 30 June 1955, reel 41, Farley Papers, FDRL.

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16. *Watertown Times*, 4 June 1958, box 87, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.

17. *New York Times*, 4 June 1958; *Binghamton Press*, 5 June 1958; *New York News*, 5 June 1958; *New York Mirror*, 5 June 1958; Sokolsky quotation from *New York Journal American*, 9 June 1958—all in box 87, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.

18. James A. Farley, speech at the annual dinner of the Putnam County Democratic Committee, Bear Mountain Inn, Bear Mountain, N.Y., 26 July 1958, box 87, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.

19. James A. Farley, undated statement on the death of Harry S. Truman, Folder: JAF Correspondence, Harry and Bess Truman, 1948–73, box 90, Cuneo Papers, FDRL; James A. Farley, speech to the Northampton County Honorary Society, Hotel Easton, Easton, Pa., 18 October 1960, box 87, Cuneo Papers, FDRL. For Farley’s continuing advocacy of face-to-face politics, see his speech “What New York Means to Me,” 4 September 1961, box 87, Cuneo Papers, FDRL. The John Nance Garner quotation is from Mark O. Hatfield, with the Senate Historical Office, *Vice Presidents of the United States, 1789–1993* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1997), 388.

20. James A. Farley to John Nance Garner, 10 September 1964, 12 September 1964, Folder: JAF Correspondence, John N. Garner, 1958, 1964, box 90, Cuneo Papers, FDRL; James A. Farley to General Alfred N. Guenther, 17 January 1964, Folder: JAF Correspondence G, box 89, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.

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23. *Catholic Standard*, 16 May 1974; Lyndon B. Johnson to James A. Farley, 22 June 1972, Folder: JAF Correspondence, Lyndon and Lady Bird Johnson, 1964–75, box 90, Cuneo Papers, FDRL; for Farley’s banqueting schedule, see James A. Farley to Ernest Cuneo, 17 May 1971, Folder: JAF Correspondence, Ernest Cuneo, 1958–76, box 89, Cuneo Papers, FDRL; Telegram: James A. Farley to Lady Bird Johnson, 23 January

1973, Folder: JAF Correspondence, Lyndon and Lady Bird Johnson, 1964–75, box 90, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.

24. “One Last Hurrah for Mr. Democrat,” 11 July 1976, *New York Sunday News*, reel 52, Farley Papers, FDRL.

25. “Mr. Democrat Names Nominee,” *New York Sunday News*, 6 May 1976; see also *Syracuse Herald-American*, 26 November 1972; “One Last Hurrah for Mr. Democrat.”

26. Byron E. Shafer, *Quiet Revolution: The Struggle for the Democratic Party and the Shaping of Post-Reform Politics* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983), 3–13, 525–34.

27. James A. Farley to Paul Corcoran, 8 October 1970, Folder: JAF Correspondence C, box 89, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.

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31. James A. Farley to Marion Dickerman, 20 August 1975, Folder: James A. Farley, box 2, Marion Dickerman Papers, FDRL.

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33. “Only Human: ‘Mr. Democrat’ Names Nominee,” *New York Daily News*, 6 May 1976, box 89, Cuneo Papers, FDRL; *Journal News* (Rockland County, N.Y.), 10 June 1976, 1A, 5A, reel 52, Farley Papers, FDRL.

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35. For Farley’s correspondence, see *Journal News*, 10 June 1976; James A. Farley to Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, letters, Folder: JAF Correspondence, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, box 89, Cuneo Papers, FDRL; Father Charles Coughlin to James A. Farley, 3 December 1973, Folder: JAF Correspondence C, box 89, Cuneo Papers, FDRL; Thomas Corcoran to James A. Farley, 29 May 1975, Folder: JAF Correspondence C, box 89, Cuneo Papers, FDRL; on the 1976 campaign comments, see “Only Human: ‘Mr. Democrat’ Names Nominee.” See also “Country Could Stand Some Farley Politics,” *Reporter Dispatch* (White Plains, N.Y.), 23 September 1973.