Notes

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Chapter 1


3. Ibid.


6. Ibid., 10.

7. Ibid., 11–12, 15.
8. Ibid., 13–14.
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).
16. Farley, Behind the Ballots, 18.
17. Ibid.
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.
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.
29. 1923 campaign material, reel 10, Farley Papers, LC.
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.
43. Ibid.

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5. Ernest Cuneo, “Roosevelt and Farley,” p. 32, box 91, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.
8. Ibid., 114.
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.


32. Ibid.

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


35. Farley to Roosevelt, 15 October 1929.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.


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


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.


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


Chapter 3


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


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


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.
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.
37. Ibid., 239.
49. Farley Memoranda, 1931.
53. DNC 1932 Campaign Materials, Club Division, box 853, DNC Papers, FDRL, especially Richard Roper to L. B. Barley, 24 October 1932.

Chapter 4


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


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

11. Ibid.


15. 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.
23. Farley Memoranda, 16 August 1934; Ickes, diary, 10 May 1935.
25. The classic account of the rise of the conservative coalition is James T. Patterson’s *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal*.
32. Ernest Cuneo, “Roosevelt and Farley,” p. 28, box 91, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.


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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.


11. Ibid., 242.

12. Ibid., 32.

13. Ibid., 72.


18. Ibid., xiii; Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 64.


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.

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.
34. Budget for the Democratic National Campaign of 1936, Subject File: Folder—DNC 1932–43, PSF 129, FDR Papers, FDRL.
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.
44. Ibid., 95.
45. Milkis, *The President and the Parties*, 63.
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.

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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, reel 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.


10. 11am Press Conference, 12 September 1936, p. 5, Party Conferences/Press Conferences, box 54, Farley Papers, LC.


14. Ibid.


17. Ibid., 324–25.


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.


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.


35. Savage, *Roosevelt*, 64.

36. James A. Farley to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 11 September 1935, box 34, Presidential File, FDRL.


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.


40. Ibid., 12.

41. Ibid., 109, 194, 208.


44. Leuchtenburg, “The Election of 1936,” in *FDR Years*, 155; David R. Mayhew,
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3. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 147.


6. Ibid.


8. Ibid., 349–50.


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,


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

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


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.


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.


29. Farley Memoranda, 7 March 1937.


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.


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.
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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.


7. Farley Memoranda, 10 May 1938, 2 June 1938, reel 4.


12. Josiah Bailey to James A. Farley, 14 June 1938, General Correspondence, box 6, Farley Papers, LC; 10 October 1938, General Correspondence, box 7.
15. Farley to John Nance Garner, 27 September 1938, General Correspondence, box 7, Farley Papers, LC.
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.
22. Farley Memoranda, 10 January 1939, reel 4.
23. Ibid.
25. Farley Memoranda, 20 September 1938; 27 November 1939, reel 5.
30. Ibid.
31. Farley Memoranda, 3 January 1940, reel 5.
32. Farley Memoranda, 30 June 1939, reel 4.
34. Ibid.; Franklin D. Roosevelt to R. Walton Moore, 3 August 1940, PPF 309, FDR Papers, FDRL.
35. Farley Memoranda, 12 July 1939, reel 4.
36. Ibid.
38. Adolf Berle, diary, Folder: January–March 1940, box 211, Adolf A. Berle Papers, FDRL.
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.
40. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 229.
41. Farley Memoranda, 19 November 1937, reel 3.
42. Farley Memoranda, 29 March–11 April 1940, reel 5; 22 November 1937, reel 3; Joseph Alsop, notes on Emil Hurja interview, 9 August 1938, James A. Farley—“Life” 1938 Article, box 32, Alsop Papers, LC.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Speech, “Politics as a Profession for Business Men,” 4 April 1940, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, box 64, Farley Papers, LC.
48. Ibid.
51. Ibid.; Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 274.
52. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 286.

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10. Farley Memoranda, 11 January 1940, 6 August 1940, 10 August 1940, 9 September 1940, 8 January 1941, reel 5, LC.

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.

13. For Farley’s reservations about Ed Flynn’s appointment and campaign management, see Farley Memoranda, 1 August 1940, 12 December 1940, reel 5.


15. James A. Farley to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 9 December 1941, OF 4100; Memorandum: Franklin D. Roosevelt to Harry Hopkins, 18 October 1943, OF 4422; P. W. Reeves to Stephen Early, 2 April 1944, OF 4100—all in FDR Papers, FDRL.

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

17. Farley Memoranda, 10 May 1941, reel 5.

18. Farley Memoranda, 5 August 1940, reel 5.
19. Farley Memoranda, 4 January 1941, 15 March 1941, reel 5; Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 237, 257; Farley Memoranda, 5 August 1940.

20. Farley Memoranda, 28 April 1941, 30 April 1941, reel 5.


22. Farley Memoranda, 5 August 1940.

23. Farley Memoranda, 9 July 1941, reel 5; *Brooklyn Eagle*, 11 March 1941; *New York Sun*, 30 June 1941, 8 July 1941.


25. Kessner, *Fiorello La Guardia*, 495–99; *New York Times*, 31 October 1941; Farley speech, 1 November 1941, box 65, Farley Papers, LC.

26. Farley speeches, 29 October 1941, 1 November 1941, 2 November 1941, 3 November 1941, 4 November 1941, box 65, Farley Papers, LC; *New York Times*, 29 October 1941, 30 October 1941.

27. Farley speech, 1 November 1941, box 65, Farley Papers, LC.


31. Ibid., 357–58.


34. Farley Memoranda, 13 April 1942, reel 5.


37. Adolf Berle to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 19 June 1942, box 214, Berle Papers, FDRL;
Syrett, “Roosevelt v. Farley,” 71; Harold L. Ickes, diary, 12 July 1942, reel 5, Ickes Papers, LC.


44. Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, 347; Farley speech, 8 June 1944, box 65, Farley Papers, LC; Farley Memoranda, August 1944 overview, reel 5.


Chapter 10

1. Farley Memoranda, 2 January 1943 (Hoover), 25 March 1943 (Villard), 30 March 1943 (Bullitt), 6 April 1943 (Baruch), 14 April 1943 (Landon), 10 November 1943 (Shaver), reel 5, Private File, James A. Farley Papers, LC.

2. Farley Memoranda, 23 March 1943, reel 5.

3. Farley Memoranda, 2 January 1943; Farley Memoranda, Report on Trip, 10 January–17 February 1943, 14–16 April 1943, reel 5.


5. Farley Memoranda, 26 July 1944, reel 5.

6. Ibid.

7. Post-Convention Statement, 21 July 1944, Farley speeches, box 65, Farley Papers, LC.


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
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15. For example, Farley elaborated these views in a speech written by Adolf Berle, “Sovereignty and Integrity,” presented at the World Trade Dinner of the Forty-fourth National Foreign Trade Convention at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on 20 November 1957. For this speech and the “Statement by James A. Farley on 22nd Constitutional Amendment,” 26 February 1951, see Folder: JAF Speeches, 1937–74, box 87, Cuneo Papers, FDRL.

16. Watertown Times, 4 June 1958, 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.


21. Columbus Dispatch, 6 February 1964, reel 48, Farley Papers, FDRL; James A. Farley, speech to the International Benjamin Franklin Society, Biltmore Hotel, 23 January 1965, box 87, Cuneo 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.”


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


30. Book contract for “Roosevelt and Farley,” 28 July 1972; Ernest Cuneo to James A. Farley, 10 July 1975; Tam Mossman (senior editor, Prentice-Hall) to James A. Farley, 16 September 1976; Ernest Cuneo to Stephen V. Ryan, 8 June 1977—all in Folder: JAF Correspondence, Prentice-Hall, Cuneo Papers, box 90, FDRL.

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


34. “James A. Farley, Elder Statesman, Rockland’s Native Son Dies at 88,” Journal News, 10 June 1976. Corcoran died on 6 December 1981, Al Smith on 2 October 1944, Franklin D. Roosevelt on 12 April 1945. Farley recorded his private thoughts on the deaths of both Smith and Roosevelt: see Farley Memoranda, 2 October 1944 (Smith), 12 April 1945 (Roosevelt), reel 5. See also Farley, Jim Farley’s Story, 369, 373–77.