

Political strife always begets enmities.

Witness the case of James A. Farley, the present Postmaster General and once the most popular man in New York city. When Jim was boxing commissioner and had an occasional ticket to give away, his friends were legion. Numerically they'd fill Madison Square Garden a hundred times over--if Jim had the tickets! Seriously, though, Jim's excursion into the realm of municipal politics was a misstep which, when the returns came in, he had cause to regret. A Fusion campaign in the metropolis engenders a crusading, holier-than-thou spirit which brooks no outside interference. When both Tammany and Jim's boy friend, Joe McKee (and what has become of Joe, by the way?) went down to defeat, the lady battlers for the cause of Fusion still harbored a bit of resentment against Jim~~xx~~ for what they considered his unwarranted entry ~~into~~ into local New York city politics, and only last week a distinguished ~~New~~ Manhattan matron, who was in the forefront of the Fusion forces, referred slightly to Jim as that "prize-fighting political manager of the national administration!"

\* \* \* \* \*

Drew -  
Here are some  
random thoughts.  
Jay

There is much talk these days regarding Jim Farley's vigorous fight for patronage in the Department of Interior, and the intrigue's between Farley's man, Hurja and the Republican, Burlew with "Honest Hearld" Ickes. However, Mr. Farley does not pay much attention to patronage in his own Postoffice Department. For the competition for "contract" or "Star" routes. Absolutely no political consideration is shown in letting of these bidders, and the lowest bidder always get the job. Not only this apply to the 3rd class routes, but, also, in 1st 2nd class postoffices that employ contract vehicles, (Only about 1/2 of the delivery vehicles are government owned.) are contracts awarded on the same non-political method. There is cut-throat competition in the scramble for the contract delivery jobs. For example, it is common practice for a prospective bidder ascertains that a carrier is getting a certain sum, he cuts the bid, and the carrier must either cut his compensation or loose his job. One official in the Division that awards mail contracts, states: "I don't see how these poor devils even make expenses, let alone a decent living! Efficiency methods have speeded up work in the Department so that we are turning out twice as much work as we did a year ago. We did work until 5:00 P.M. but this week we are back on the 4:30 P.M. basis, and are promised that we will continue this way providing we do the required work, or we will have to again work overtime 1/2 hour without pay. Such is the New Deal treating us! While they preach shorter hours to organized labor!" (This official has been in the Postoffice service for twenty years.)

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Former Montana State Senator Jim Anderson, who is now secretary to Senator Burton Wheeler, has been trying for ten years to get his law-student son a government job, so at last under the New Deal, he got him an appointment as temporary employee on the night shift in the N.R.A. sending out letters to employers advocating shorter hours and higher pay. Anderson said: "But don't you know he went to work at 9:00 P.M. and was supposed to get off at 3:30 A.M. but he had to work until 5:00 and 6:00 A.M. and he would not get any sleep and still go to school. So he had to give up his job! That is wrong - very wrong, when the government itself does not live up to the very spirit in the very N.R.A. that is doing all this propaganda about shorter hours. Something is going to happen if some big changes are not made." (Politician Anderson is the only Senator's secretary that dare to talk back to one of those esteemed gentlemen, for Anderson violently disagrees with Wheeler on many issues. Of course, it is always in strict secrecy.)

**DISTINGUISHED VISITOR HERE**—James A. Farley, one of the nation's top political figures, is shown below with Walter Walker, Daily Sentinel publisher, in the latter's office today. A close personal and political friend of Publisher Walker for many years, this is Mr. Farley's first visit to Grand Junction and the Grand valley.



## James A. Farley Sees Truman, Dewey As Top Men; Visits Walter Walker Here

In Grand Junction today as the personal guest of Walter Walker, Daily Sentinel publisher, James A. Farley, former postmaster general of the United States, Democratic National chairman for many years, and one of the nation's top political and business leaders, commented on the domestic political picture as well as conditions faced by the United States in the world situation.

President Truman undoubtedly will win the Democratic nomination for president by acclamation, Mr. Farley declared. "Also," he said, "there is little doubt but that Governor Dewey of New York is the leading contender for the Republican nomination for president, followed by Senator Robert Taft and Senator Arthur Vandenberg in that order."

Commenting on possibility of Henry A. Wallace leading a third-

party move in the 1948 election, Mr. Farley said, "over-zealous followers of Wallace and Communist followers undoubtedly would like to see a third party movement in an effort to put and keep the nation in a chaotic condition. However, in my opinion, Mr. Wallace will not head a third party movement."

knowing if he did so any chances he might have for any consideration in the future by the Democratic party would be closed to him."

Delay in signing peace treaties with Germany, on the part of the allies, certainly has not been good for this country, or for the world. "Russia undoubtedly wants to keep Europe in a state of unrest, Mr. Farley said, and until a peace is signed and Germany again industrialized the brunt of furnishing food and supplies to her and other European nations will continue to fall on the United States."

Of prime importance in the European situation is the rehabilitation of the Ruhr coal area, Mr. Farley says. Until the U. S. secures more control over this area (now controlled by the British) coal production there will not be as high as it should be for the economy of Europe.

The Republican party did not fulfill its pre-election promises in the session of congress just closed yesterday, Mr. Farley said. "I said just after the election, and I repeat, that the GOP was not happy about gaining control of the senate and thereby having to assume full responsibility for all matters pertaining to the session of congress just past," Mr. Farley declared.

During his visit here today Mr. Farley was guest of Publisher Walker at an informal luncheon at La Court hotel, this afternoon was scheduled to take a drive over the Grand valley, visiting friends here, as well as A. E. Porter, local representative of the Coca Cola bottling works here.

"I am glad to be in Grand Junction," the distinguished visitor said. "I have been trying for a long time to stop here and visit with my good friend of many years, Walter Walker."

The distinguished visitor will leave tonight on the Rio Grande for Denver and Chicago, returning to New York Thursday. He has been on a three-week trip thru Portland, where he attended the National Elks convention, and in San Francisco.



# Farley Says Roosevelt's Postion In History Equals Washington, Lincoln

By WALTER JOHNSON

James Farley, national Democratic chairman and postmaster general during the first two terms of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, told an informal gathering here Monday that President Roosevelt's position in history is alongside of Lincoln and Washington, and he may tower above both.

Mr. Farley broke with the great American president over the third term, and has since written a book on the break with Roosevelt, portions of which have been published in Collier's magazine.

"No American ever lived to enjoy the affection and admiration of the American people or of the peoples of the world as did President Roosevelt," Mr. Farley said. When President Roosevelt died, people in Australia and all over the allied world wept. Many felt that Franklin Roosevelt and not the United States of America had saved them.

Although Mr. Farley broke with President Roosevelt over the third

term which he opposed, he indicated the American people were wise in electing him for third and fourth terms. His statement was in response to a question by Walter Walker, publisher of The Daily Sentinel and host at an informal luncheon for Mr. Farley on Monday.

Mr. Farley was Mr. Walker's personal guest during his stay here Monday.

"President Roosevelt was a better leader than Wendell Wilkie, who ran against him for the third term, and there is no comparison between the ability of President Roosevelt and Gov. Thomas Dewey," he said.

Commenting on his book to be published in February, Mr. Farley said that he has been criticized for writing about a dead man. He said that he wrote his book as a historical record and might well have left unsaid some things if he just wanted to avoid criticism of himself.

He said some criticism of what so

far has been published is heard, but that when the whole book is released he believes that it will give credit where credit is due. Mr. Farley pointed out that he did not release his story until President Roosevelt's own son wrote his story. And there are many books to follow by others close to the president.

Mr. Farley gave an informal talk about his 33,000-mile around-the-world trip to 160 guests of the Sentinel publisher at La Court hotel Monday noon. Mr. Walker said he endeavored to invite a cross section of the business and professional men in Grand Junction and apologized because facilities here are inadequate to take care of more individuals. After his talk Mr. Farley volunteered to answer questions.

In response to a question concerning the possible role of Henry Wallace in the 1948 election, Mr. Farley said he is not in a position to talk for Mr. Wallace, but it is

Turn to Page 2, Col. 3

THE DAILY SENTINEL, GRAND JUNCTION, COLORADO

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 29, 1947.

## ● ● FARLEY SAYS

(Continued from Page 1)

his belief that Mr. Wallace will not head a third party. He can take enough votes to defeat President Truman, Mr. Farley indicated. Mr. Farley described Mr. Wallace as an honest man whom he likes personally although the two may not agree on many questions.

Mr. Farley would not hazard a guess concerning which party will win in 1948, but said that economic and world conditions at the time of the election will determine the winner. If the economic condition of the nation remains good this will aid the Democratic party, he believes. If world conditions remain turbulent and war is feared the American people will vote Democratic to keep men of experience such as Secretary of State George Marshall at the helm.

Mr. Farley feels certain that President Truman will head the Democratic ticket in 1948 and said that Gov. Dewey has the edge in the Republican race at this time. The Republican party can stop Dewey with such a man as Taft and a third individual may win nomination if this happens.

"The world situation may be more serious at this time than the people of the United States know," Mr. Farley said. There have been many secret conferences.

"While neither the United States nor Russia is in position to go to war, this need not prevent war. At the present time Russia could sweep through Europe and win

that battle, although not a war," Mr. Farley believes.

"It is too bad that we are unable to write peace terms for the defeated nations, and we have nobody to blame except Russia," Mr. Farley stated. "Peace treaties must be written before the defeated peoples can aid themselves. We must assist them until peace is achieved, but there is a limit to which we can continue to spend."

"I advocate small industries for Germany so that the people can supply their own needs and those of their neighbors. Some industrialization is not dangerous if properly policed, but the citizens of Germany can not go back to work until the Ruhr problem is settled.

Present chaotic conditions permit communism to grow. Many lean to communism because of their economic plight. Communism which now appears on the surface will disappear when economic conditions are righted.

Mr. Farley fears no communism or fascism here as long as the United States is prosperous. "Despite destruction and loss of life we emerged a stronger nation after World War II. Nations of the world now look to us for leadership. Russia will succeed only if we fail, and we may need to spend many more billions of dollars."

"Peace and prosperity of the world are based on this hemisphere. South America has much undeveloped resources and has room for millions of sick Europeans who want to come. Europe's problem is mainly over-population."

The United States must aid the development of the neighbors on the American continents as a means of solving Europe's problems, Mr. Farley indicated, but it will take years to move the excess population to the new locations.

"Despite dark days the United States can handle its own problems and those of the world," Mr. Farley believes.

The former Democratic chairman said that while he was on his world tour the two outstanding men he met were His Holiness the Pope and Winston Churchill.

Calcutta is depressing and in India it is possible to "virtually see people starve." In Shanghai a dinner costs \$300,000 in inflated Chinese money, only \$75 in American money. Madame Chiang is a very brilliant woman but it is difficult to talk to the Generalissimo because he speaks no English.

Japanese people idolize General Douglas MacArthur who has no guards. Several hundred greet him every time he leaves a building, whether it be home or office. Mr. Farley hopes both he and General George Marshall write their story of the war.

These and many other observations adorned the informal talk

by Mr. Farley, who was introduced by Mr. Walker as a great American in the field of politics, business and cultural activities.

Mr. Farley created much amusement in describing his dislike for flying, which he does anyway. He said on the flight over the hump in China he worked harder than the pilot, and expressed appreciation to Wilson McCarthy, D. & R. G. W. president, for insisting that Mr. Farley use his personal car from Salt Lake City, Utah, to Denver.

While in Grand Junction Mr. Farley inspected the local Coca Cola plant, he being export director for the company. Mr. Walker told his guests that Mr. Farley is a director of the New York Central railroad and that he was born in a small New York town 59 years ago. He has been an active Democrat since a boy, being active in New York before becoming a national and international figure.

Rev. Leon King, Episcopal church here, led the group in singing two patriotic songs and Bishop Fred Ingley, head of the Episcopal diocese in Colorado, gave invocation.

An abundance of fruit which Mr. Walker said was grown in the Grand valley was available on all tables. Apricot branches loaded with fruit were used to adorn the head table.

A few of the guests at the dinner meeting were introduced. Those present included distinguished Grand Junction businessmen, leaders in both political parties here, heads of civic clubs, local city, county and state officials, friends of The Daily Sentinel publisher, and several members of the Sentinel staff. It was a stag affair limited largely to Grand Junction residents.



February 27, 1947

Mon. James A. Farley  
Room 1500  
515 Madison Avenue  
New York 22, New York

Dear Jim:

There is nothing I should like more to attend than the dinner in honor of Sol Bloom. He is a great guy, and I have paid tribute to him many times in print.

However, March 23d falls on a Sunday, and it is simply out of the question for me to be away on any Sunday, due to my broadcast arrangements in Washington. I am terribly sorry. Please give Sol my very best on this great and important occasion.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Drew Pearson

DP:j

Testimonial and 77th Birthday Dinner  
in honor of  
**HON. SOL BLOOM**  
on behalf of  
**FOOD FOR THE JEWS OF EUROPE**

**WALDORF-ASTORIA - SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 23, 1947**

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HON. JOE R. HANLEY  
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HON. MILES F. McDONALD  
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HON. SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN  
HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH  
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HON. ISRAEL WEINSTEIN  
HON. SUMNER WELLES

*Committee Address:*

HON. CHARLES POLETTI, *Chairman*  
450 Seventh Avenue  
New York 1

February 18th, 1947.

*Executive Secretary*  
Arthur H. Konvitz  
Wisconsin 7-1235

Mr. Drew Pearson,  
New York Daily Mirror,  
235 East 45th Street,  
New York, New York

Dear Drew:

Please accept my invitation to be a GUEST SPEAKER at the Waldorf-Astoria at the Sol Bloom Testimonial and 77th Birthday Dinner. This dinner, which was originally scheduled for March 8th, will take place on March 23rd, Sunday, 6:30 P.M. at the Waldorf-Astoria.

The proceeds of the dinner will go towards feeding the displaced persons in various camps throughout Europe.

Both Congressman Sol Bloom and I would deem it a privilege to have you with us that evening.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

*James A. Farley*  
James A. Farley,  
Honorary Chairman

James A. Farley,  
Room 1500,  
515 Madison Avenue,  
New York 22, New York

JAF:hc

*Another Sunday!*

*yes Ack - D. P. ...*



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NEWYORK NY FEB 20 1947

DREW PEARSON NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR

235 EAST 45TH ST NYK

RE: FEBRUARY 18 LETTER FROM JAMES FARLEY, OUR COMMITTEE AND SOL BLOOM  
WILL DEEM IT HONOR IF YOU ACCEPT TO BE GUEST SPEAKER AT THE TESTIMONIAL  
DINNER BEING TENDERED BLOOM ON HIS SEVENTY-SEVENTH BIRTHDAY SUNDAY  
EVENING MARCH 23RD, AT WALDORF-ASTORIA. PROCEEDS OF DINNER DEVOTED  
TO FEEDING JEWISH DISPLACED PERSONS IN EUROPE'S CAMPS

CHARLES POLETTI CHAIRMAN  
598 MADISON AVE NEW YORK CITY

1045P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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Box 188, Route 1, Martinez, Calif.

April 7, 1944

Dear Mr. Pearson-

In your recent article on Jim Farley there is much more that you could have said.

In gathering material for my book on War Contracts I came across the following.

Farley resigned as Postmaster Gen. in the fall of 1940 to go with the Coco Cola Co. as Export Manager. His previous business experience had been as N.Y. City representative for the Gypsum Co., where his political connections were valuable in selling building material, but he had never had any export experience. Why should the Coco Cola Co. want him for this job?

In the spring of 1941 the Coco Cola Co. was awarded the contract for operating a bag loading powder plant for the Govt. which the Duponts or Hercules (a Dupont controlled company) had designed and built for the govt. Fortune magazine in a previous issue had written up the Coco Cola Co. and told that the only chemical experience necessary to make Coco Cola syrup, which was shipped to the bottlers, was mixing with a paddle by an old man. At that time the Govt. had erected four of these bag loading powder plants and concerns like Firestone, etc., were assigned to run them. The newspapers and trade magazines went to great length to explain that what the govt. was looking for in concerns to operate them was executive and managerial ability. This was to cover up the puzzle to the business world as to why a concern like Coco Cola was assigned to run one of these plants. At that time I was a structural designer working for the Hercules Co. in Wilmington, Del., and it was believed that DuPont wanted to manage all four of these plants, to keep outside concerns from horning in on the explosive business, and it was believed there that DuPont, thru stock ownership in Coco Cola, had the contract given to Coco Cola for this reason. In the spring of 41, several months before Pearl Harbor, profiteering was running at full tilt, and anyone getting a war contract would clean up as in the last war.

The Coco Cola Co. carries this Bag Loading Plant on its books as a separate concern. It mentions it in its stock reports, and you can get this dope by writing to any brokerage concern and asking for a report on Coco Cola stock.

Later on Farley and Mac Arthur were mentioned as a team to run against Roosevelt. Then O'Connor, the purged brother of Roosevelt's former law partner who had been defeated as N.Y. City Congressman, was also travelling around campaigning for a Mac Arthur and Farley Democratic ticket. Remember?

Now, altho Farley gets a big salary as Export Manager for Coco Cola, he would hardly be able to put up the money himself. Look up this DuPont angle for yourself. They were the backers of the Liberty League and other hate-Roosevelt organizations.

And why Mac Arthur? If you don't know the answer to that one I can give you a clue to that angle too.

Why does the Coco Cola Co. find it necessary to go so far afield to pick Farley for a job as export manager, and pay him a fancy salary, in view of his complete lack of any export experience, and unfamiliarity with any foreign language or any such previous business experience?

If you will dig into this a little, I believe you will have a good story for your column.

Whitman Greene  
Whitman Greene

April 5, 1941

Mr. James A. Farley  
Hotel Biltmore  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

It was certainly thoughtful of you to send me the autographed picture of yourself during the broadcast, and I shall always cherish it.

Incidentally, let me add that we have received scores of compliments on that particular broadcast and the swell job you did for us.

Again, many many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

DP/b



Farley

# Postal Telegraph-Cable Company

## PRESS TELEGRAM

Jim Mc Gowan warned Farley that he was going to accept a degree at Ark (Methodist college) on a number Day. Big barbecue, Farley couldn't eat meat. If he didn't eat meat, they'd say he was a Catholic. If he did eat meat they'd say he was flouting his religion to play politics. Warned better not go.

Farley got in touch with Bishop, who understood situation perfectly & caught some fine mt. trout which he & Farley & few others ate ~~and~~ with it while.



Office of the Postmaster General  
Washington, D. C.

September 20, 1939.

Mr. Robert S. Allen,  
1525 28th Street, N. W.,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Bob:

I have asked the Solicitor for the Post Office Department to examine your letter of September 19 and its enclosures. If the matter is found to be one on which action might be taken under the postal laws, it will be placed in the hands of a post office inspector for careful attention.

Sincerely yours,

  
Postmaster General.



Notes on presidential possibilities:

DEMOCRATIC PICTURE:

*Hull*  
*file Farley*  
*Sam Rayburn*  
*McNutt*

The recent election profoundly effected Democratic situation. The GOP victory greatly weakend FDR's position in forcing his successor on Demtic party, although the election did not effect his own personal strength. What it did, however, was to strength hand of the anti-New Deal wing of the party, which numbers not only the Garner-Clark-Byrd-Wheeler crowd but now has the support of Farley, Baruch, and that crew. Farley is furious at the liberals and brain-trusters, he considers Hopkins and Jackson their leaders, and he is bent on knifing them and I am convinced on a showdown willing to openly buck Roosevelt on a 1940 choice. That is, anyone but FDR. Jim would not fight him. At least, I don't think Jim has reached that point yet.

Jim unquestionably HAD ambitions himself before November 8; I think that election pretty well scuttled them because it means that in 1940, barring great changes such as a war would bring, the Demts will have a knock-down-and-drag out fight instead of a walkover which it would have been had they come through with minimum losses this year. But with the GOP on the rampage, the Demts couldn't afford to take a guy with Jim's handicaps of religion, etc., so that leaves him out ast No. 1 man anyway. But he will be in on the picking of the candidate in a very big way and possibly decisive way because he has the Demtic Committee machine in his hands and he can do a lot of harpooning if he wants to---and as he demonstrated this year.

Garner is not a real candidate. He is too old for one thing and couldn't swing it himself I am convinced for another. I also don't think he wants it. He is old, not well and has reached the point where he wants his leisure and comfort. Garner intends to have a big hand in the selection, but for someone else, not himself. His first man is Clark, with Tydings somewhere down the line. Garner already is busy trying to line up delegates in the south.

Clark's big handicap is his drinking. Also, he is far from popular in the party and among the boys and further Missouri is not an important state. It's in the border category and doesn't matter a hell of a lot. His biggest asset is his name---which may count for propaganda purposes. He will unquestionably be a big contender provided the situation remains unchanged---which is damned unlikely.

THAT IS A POINT THAT IT SEEMS TO ME SHOULD BE STRESSED AT VERY START---that the whole political picture is practically certain to be completely different a year from now as a result of world affairs. War or the danger of war would wash a lot of these guys who now loom up pretty strongly. That goes for the Demts as well as Republns.

*Lawrence*  
*Davis*  
*and others*

Tydings will be mentioned and puffed, but he can't make the grade. First and foremost, he is too reactionary. He is an out and out black Tory and not even the Garner crew could go for that. Second, this divorced bitch of his would be a godsend to any GOP candidate. Given that kind of a hand-up, Hoover could lick him. Finally, Maryland is even less significant politically than Missouri. Its a dinky little state and don't mean a hoot in a close battle.



Pushing himself strongly with be Wheeler, who in my judgement has a hell of a lot better chance than Clark or Tydings. Wheeler has a liberal background and reputation; was once old LaFollette's running mate. Was a great crusader, investigator and has strong labor record. In other words, all habilaments that Old Guard need to square with Roosevelt record and yet have a guy who is safe. And Wheeler is plenty safe. He has definitely gone over and is ready to make any kind of a deal to grab off the prize. In my opinion he is the BIG THREAT man of the tory crew....and FDR thinks that, too.

Barkley isn't in the picture. He may get the KY delegation, in fact, there is no question he will get it. But he is just another "favorite son" choice who will be lucky if he winds up as the second man on the ticket. If FDR should run again, or he sticks over his own man, someone like Barkley, to appease the south, might be very well hung onto the ticket. Remember that's what Al Smith did in 1928 when Joe Robinson was put up for v.p.

There will be talk of Lehman, Olson of California, and number of other local guys, but it will be all talk. The picture is FDR against Garner and Farley heading the field, and by FDR I mean either himself or a man of his choice.

At present they are---Hopkins and Jackson, with Jackson, in my opinion the most likely because he comes from NY., is not encumbered by a divorce like Harry and also hasn't the WPA stigma on him.

Wallace also will be talked, but he hasn't any chance---chiefly because he is such a weak ninny and political ass. Hull I think is out because of his age---although that might not matter if a deadlock ensued and the Garner-Farley wing took him up as a compromise. Farley always speaks in great awe and reverence of Hull.

REPUBLICANS:

<i>LaFollette</i>	<i>Lodge</i>	<i>Taft</i>	<i>Lindbergh</i>
<i>LaGuardia</i>	<i>Vandenberg</i>	<i>Dewey</i>	<i>Hoover</i>
		<i>Saltonstall</i>	

That picture can be summoned up by saying almost every one of the Governors and senators who emerged November 8 is a possibility. Added to them are Dewey, who I don't think was shelved by his defeat although unquestionably it pushed him in the background, and young Lodge.

The list includes---Lodge, Saltonstall, Dewey, Taft, James of Pa., who will be pushed by Pew and Annenberg money, but against the competition he will be up against will get nowhere. He is too damned reactionary, also a clock head and Annenberg is too much to carry.

What you are apt to see is a set up like Lodge and Taft, or Taft and Dewey, or Dewey and Taft---that is east and middlewest one way or the other. With their money and names I look for Lodge and Taft to be the chief contenders. One thing is certain: The GOP guy will be a new and young and psuedo liberal figure. Vandenberg and the other old hacks are all washed up. The Republicans are going in for a new personality, young, with a line of liberal baloney and money. Both Lodge and Taft, especially latter, has plenty of it---plus the name.

# WESTERN UNION PRESS MESSAGE

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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Wicks

Roo -

Hopkins  
Johnson  
hunting  
in the  
conference  
Friday  
Barkley  
Hill  
Rayburn

Keep your eyes on  
Lodge & Rayburn  
Leland, but  
converting  
Rayburn  
Rayburn  
concur, but  
Rayburn with  
Rayburn

## Postal Telegraph-Cable Company

## PRESS TELEGRAM

file  
JL. LewisConfid

John L. Lewis says: "I've always had most friendly relations with H. Hopkins. He comes to see me whenever Roos wants \$5 or 20 grand."

"That Tom Cooney did that."

"Yes & also Harry & the others. When one picks blunders, he tries the other."

JL. L. got <sup>high</sup> info that Wagner <sup>summed</sup> came down to see Roos. Told must modify Wagner Act. Witherto Wagner had stood pat. During his campaign, Wags sec had called up JLL & suggested 2 amendments which JLL described as amendments to (1.) permit employers to call elections before organizers ~~got in to~~ began work; (2) to emasculate the Wagner act for the benefit of the A F of L.

Wagner led ticket in N.Y. which vindicated his stand on Act. Ready to stand by guns.



Translation from PARIS SOIR , May 13, 1938.

*Rus family*

Article headed: JOHN ROOSEVELT WHO HAS GIVEN UP HIS  
EXCESSES OF SPEED, MARRIES MISS ANN CLARK

-----Furthermore, the reputation of Mr. John Roosevelt has extended even to France. Monsieur Nouveau, mayor of Cannes, has not forgotten the souvenir of this charming young man who, on the occasion of the battle of flowers, threw him a bouquet soaked in champagne. And the "gag" was only a "gag" in the life of the seductive John Roosevelt. The photographers whose cameras he smashed, the police with whom he came so often into conflict for his excesses of speed and to whom he was obliged to swear that he would henceforth be a model chauffeur, could tell some pretty stories. ....

haps, in the interior of China. But the magician worked by and for himself, and so did Leonardo. He sometimes thought of publishing the results of his experiments, and he even completed one manuscript, a "Treatise on Speech," which was lost by the Pope's privy chamberlain. But his impulse toward imparting his knowledge was canceled by another impulse toward keeping it secret, toward making it perfect and utterly his own. At heart he was Faustian rather than Promethean. When he tried to snatch the secret of the gods, his aim was not to benefit humanity—which could perish for all he cared—but rather to make himself godlike. It was as if he had listened throughout his life to the voice of Dr. Faustus' Evil Angel, with his praise of knowledge as individual power:

Go forward, Faustus, in that famous art  
Wherein all Nature's treasure is contained:  
Be thou on earth as Jove is in the sky,  
Lord and commander of these elements.

MALCOLM COWLEY

## Jim Farley: Soldier and Artist

*Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician,* by James A. Farley. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 392 pages. \$3.

OURS is a relatively literate administration. Several of the Cabinet, including Mr. Ickes, Mr. Wallace and Mr. Cummings, have turned authors; and of the Little Cabinet, Thurman Arnold and Jerome Frank and Harry Hopkins, in addition to throwing minor frights into dowers every morning at breakfast, write books that give the whole family a major scare periodically. And, of course, there are the writing Roosevelts, husband and wife. But Jim Farley as author is something novel—and delectable. Jim has been, on and off, the biggest breakfast bogey of them all. He has been damned by the radicals and intellectuals for a hand-shaking Babbitt. He has been scorched by the reactionaries as a grafter and a tyrant. And the liberals have pointed their finger at him as the Sinister Side of the New Deal. Now Jim has dared write a book, and has placed his life in our hands.

It is an engaging book and an engaging life. It is the sort of book that would have delighted Lincoln Steffens. For whatever else may be said of Jim Farley, he has not a tithe of the hypocrisy of the Republicans who attack him, and he lacks the smugness and cant of the reformers. He is proud to be a politician. He delights in recounting his methods and his rewards. He knows he has come far in the world. A poor Irish boy, of a line of peasants and day-laborers—a boy who worked in the brickyards and tended bar in his mother's saloon and later got eight dollars a week as a bookkeeper, is now a dispenser of jobs and patronage to hundreds of thousands. The political heeler who started by ringing doorbells at Grassy Point, New York, and who trembled when he reached the heights of an audience with Al Smith or Boss Murphy, is now a political mover and shaker, creator and confidant of Governors, Senators, Presi-

It is the pre-convention campaign of 1932 that looms largest in his mind and book. In 1930, when the Roosevelt forces began preparing the presidential build-up, Farley was New York State Housing Commissioner, and a second-string politician. In 1932, after the convention, he was the acknowledged field-marshal of the national Democratic forces, hailed as an organizing genius by veteran politicians. The credit for the 1932 victory, both at the convention and at the polls, must go to one of the greatest trio of generals in the history of campaigning—Roosevelt, Farley and Louis Howe. There never was a stranger assortment than these three made—the smiling and confident patrician who knew how to reach the common man, certain of his star even when he was hazy as to what he would hitch to it; the tall, massive, Irish building-supply salesman who could talk to the run of political heelers and "leaders" because his mentality was theirs, only raised to the nth power of shrewdness and drive; the gnome-like little newspaper reporter, his hundred pounds of body racked by asthma, devious, cunning, a lilliputian Warwick dominated by the single idea of making his "Franklin" President. In a sense, of this trio, one was the front-man, one the leg-man, one the behind-the-scenes man.

The most important story in the book is the account of the way in which the Garner delegations in Texas and California, which held the key to the 1932 nomination, were won over to Roosevelt. Farley says everything was aboveboard: that there were no "deals," that Hearst had nothing to do with it, that Garner feared to jeopardize the Democratic chances by continuing a bitter-end deadlock in the convention, and released his delegates through Sam Rayburn without any promise having been made about the vice-presidency. The ingenuousness of this is retrieved somewhat by Farley's admission that there was a tacit "understanding" about the vice-presidency between Rayburn and himself, although no words passed to confirm it. Logicians interested in intuition and the transcendental would do well to make a study of convention politics.

There is a good deal more "inside stuff" in the book. I suspect that for every decision to tell all, Farley made five more to keep his peace and to convert the book (in Mr. Dooley's phrase) into "a hitching-post for his silences." But what there is makes a rich enough harvest: that Al Smith, for example, never said "Hello, you old potato" to Roosevelt in the 1932 reconciliation scene, but that the phrase was contributed gratis by a reporter; that Roosevelt and Martin Conboy, his counsel, had not reached any conclusions about Jimmy Walker's guilt or innocence when Walker resigned; that Paul McNutt fought Roosevelt bitterly at the 1932 convention and was not scrupulous in his methods; that Huey Long was the *enfant terrible* of the Roosevelt forces at the convention, almost wrecking them by his exuberance; that his plan for his own role in the campaign was to be given a special train, equipped with loud speakers, and swing around the forty-eight states promising immediate payment of the soldiers' bonus. The best story in the book is the one about Huey Long's hat. Huey was chafing at the delay in getting his share of the spoils in the form of federal appointments for his men. He determined



hat on in the President's presence. The President was cool, smiling, perfectly aware of what was going on, and quietly firm. Finally Huey took his hat off and kept it off. At the end of the interview he said to Farley, "What the hell is the use of coming down to see this fellow? I can't win any decision over him." Yet before Long's death Roosevelt was worried enough about him. Farley conducted a secret poll indicating that Long would get between three and four million votes running as an independent, fairly well distributed over the country and enough to hold the balance of power in 1936 and elect a Republican. And he learned also that there were "Hate Roosevelt" financial moguls who were ready to put up the money for Long's campaign.

There are other items as interesting, if less momentous: that when the "philatelic scandal" broke and Farley was accused of handing out special stamp issues to friends he could have shown from Post Office records that Republican bigwigs had always gotten valuable stamp handouts, but decided it was more generous and also better politics at the time to keep quiet; that Roosevelt draws sketches for many of the stamp designs himself; that the Mother's Day stamp was drawn by him, with Whistler's picture as a model, but that in the process of revision at the Bureau of Engravings a vase of flowers had to be added and the mother's feet subtracted, bringing irate letters from Whistlerites on both scores; that Emil Hurja, the wizard ballot-sampler of the Democrats, was way off in 1936, predicting only 376 electoral votes, while Farley guessed dead right; that Roosevelt asked Farley to assure Senator Robinson in the midst of the Supreme Court fight that the Van Devanter vacancy was his but that the appointment could not be made immediately; that the President has not made up his mind about a third term, and is too smart to talk about it now.

Farley loves politics, and is almost a pure artist at it. I call him a pure artist because his art is unobscured and unhindered by considerations of substance. It was sheer and ironic accident that made him the political generalissimo of the New Deal. Had the cards fallen differently, he might with greater comfort have devoted his talents to a Republican or a conservative Democrat. For there is scarcely a breath in the book of the substance of politics—of program and social forces, of revolution and reaction, of labor and capital and the middle class—what the younger group around Mr. Roosevelt calls the "politics of principle." Farley is sometimes likened to Mark Hanna, but in one respect the similarity falls down. It is true that Farley, like Hanna in his day, modernized the political campaign and applied business methods to it—the build-up, the "deals," the salesman treks across the continent, the systematic coverage of minor "leaders," the large-scale "personal touch," the sample polls, the network of reports and communiqués, the elaborate espionage system. Yet in Hanna the capitalist outweighed the politician. His politics was in his own sense a politics of principle—capitalist principle. Farley's is much more a devotion to forms and traditions of the political game.

It is all mimic warfare for him, like the battles of the Norse gods in Valhalla: after the day's fighting their wounds were healed and they all sat down amiably to supper. Farley's politics has the same sporting spirit—like football or boxing. His words indicate that he is not a politician in the

politics is in the sporting tradition; it is chessboard politics, requiring concentration and finesse, but the counters that are moved about have only the symbolic value that attaches to victory or defeat (I am not forgetting the patronage system, which Farley is frank in defending—but he is not venal), and none of the substantive values upon which in the social struggle victory and defeat themselves depend for meaning. Set his account, for example, beside the account of a Democratic convention in Matthew Josephson's "Politics" or Herbert Agar's "Pursuit of Happiness": being moralists, they see the formal hollowness and the hidden social meanings; being a political technician, Farley sees the formal beauties and does not look beyond.

It is from this angle that we may approach two present facts, otherwise paradoxical, about Farley's relation to Roosevelt and his loyalty to the President and his increasing coldness for the New Deal. Farley has been a good soldier persistently. He has followed orders, and often taken the rap. Bryan had no Farley, nor had Woodrow Wilson, and the measure of their lack was in part the measure of their failure. A Farley is an essential transition figure. No party can move toward the democratic collectivism which is America's manifest destiny without keeping its rear protected and its lines of communication with the past well open. Farley, with his middle-class mentality added to his craftsman's sense of the job has filled that function.

But that same middle-class mentality and that same craftsman's sense are now elements of danger to the New Deal. Farley, for all his discretion in the book, is plainly anguished by the President's drastic persistence in his reform aims. Surely Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers are too much in earnest to play the game well, are taking risks disproportionate to the political rewards, are even endangering Farley's big sacred cow—Party Unity. The story of the last few years is tossed off with a casualness, a discontinuity, a studied aversion to saying much, that show clearly Jim's heart is not in it. The mood of the last pages betrays a sense of almost tragic conflict—between the demands of the good soldier which tell him to remain loyal, and the demands of the craftsman in politics which tell him that Roosevelt and his advisers are allowing considerations of social policy to intrude themselves into the domain of pure politics.

If Farley should follow "Jack" Garner, whom he fervently admires, and break with the administration, what would be the consequence? In one sense, he is already part of the past. The New Deal has also a new politics, which every future administration will have to copy. It is the politics of the deed. In place of Farley's classical allegiance to the patronage system as he has always understood it, there is the politics of relief and the WPA and social security and labor legislation, and grants-in-aid to the states, and farm subsidies and public works. There is little in the book about this politics, for Jim Farley was not brought up to it. Events move fast. Six years ago he was an innovator. Today there are new men for new methods—a Hopkins, an Ickes, a Wallace, a Lilienthal, above all a Corcoran. What Jim Farley must think of these *novi homines*, and how eloquent are his silences about them! His place in history will be most clearly understood when an attempt is made to find

October 31, 1938

Dear Jim:

Following up our telephone conversation the other day, the Marylander who wants to be Special Ambassador to Chile for the inauguration of the new president is Charles Delmar, a banker in Frederick, Annapolis, Washington, and Baltimore. He is a Republican but has been definitely friendly to the New Deal and aided us somewhat during the Tydings primary.

I understand he has a desire to make some contribution to the Democratic National Committee, possibly around \$2,000. I understand from you that the possibility of his going to Lima as a delegate to the Pan-American Conference is out.

This is the same gentleman whom I mentioned over the telephone last summer who would be willing to contribute substantially in case a diplomatic appointment were available.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Mr. James A. Farley,  
Democratic National Headquarters,  
Biltmore Hotel,  
New York City.

DP:EH



April 13, 1938

Mr. James A. Farley,  
Postmaster General,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim:

I have been wanting to tell you for some time how much Bob Allen and I appreciate the very painstaking service we have been getting from Mr. Burke, the postmaster of Washington, in regard to the mailing of our column to New York every night. He has been most helpful.

Incidentally, our column is distributed by mail throughout the country and we have had an amazingly efficient service. Once in a while during the winter the air mails break down, but aside from that it operates with clocklike regularity.

Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

DP:EH



*Farley*



## DOUBLECROSSED

Due entirely to the Roosevelt DOUBLE-CROSSING of U. S. Senator Huey P. Long (Democrat, Louisiana), it was absolutely necessary for Governor O. K. Allen of Louisiana to call a special session of the State legislature. It became necessary for laws to be passed making it a criminal offense for the Roosevelt Administration to use Federal funds for Political purposes within the State of Louisiana. Roosevelt's usurping States' rights made other legislative acts necessary.

In their desperate fight to stop Senator Long the Roosevelt-Farley Administration was spending Federal funds lavishly for political purposes. This was Roosevelt's reward to Senator Long for his support before and after his (Roosevelt's) nomination. The nature of the legislation made it necessary for Senator Long to be present. The Roosevelt Administration knew that he would have to be present at a definite place and time. Just as these laws were passed and the legislature was closing, Senator Long was shot down. If Roosevelt had not doublecrossed the American people and Senator Long, this great and faithful statesman would be alive today vigorously carrying on to victory the fight for Economic Liberty of the American People.

### HARK TO THE SILENCED VOICES PLEADING TO YOU FROM THE GRAVE!

Bear well in mind the above facts when you go to the polls to vote. These two great statesmen are silenced forever, but their ideals and noble work cry out to you to carry on and on to Victory.

Did they die in vain? Was their sacrifice for naught? YOUR vote shall tell.

#### FLOOD YOUR DISTRICT—ADDITIONAL COPIES

\$1.00 buys postpaid ..... 300  
\$2.50 buys postpaid ..... 1000

## DOUBLECROSSED

Due to the doublecrossing by Roosevelt, U. S. Senator Bronson Cutting (Republican New Mexico), it was absolutely necessary for him to use planes to fly between his home state and Washington. The treacherous political sniping by the Roosevelt-Farley Administration was for the specific purpose of preventing his presence in the Congress as much as possible, and particularly when the Veterans' legislation was before Congress.

Cutting was a staunch supporter of the Veterans' legislation. In one of these great rushes Senator Cutting found it unavoidable to take a plane; the plane crashed and Senator Cutting surrendered his noble life. This is the way that Roosevelt paid him for his vigorous and effective support in 1932.

Like Senator Long, he died trying to HOLD Roosevelt to his Campaign Promises to the American People. Promises that brought Senators Cutting and Long under his banner; promises that won the election; promises that would have restored our country—IF—they had been kept. For one reason only, does Senator Cutting lie cold and dead in his grave—The Roosevelt Double-cross.

**BEAR THIS INDISPUTABLE FACT IN MIND WHEN YOU GO TO CAST YOUR VOTE.**

J. E. WELCH

1319 N Street N.W.

Washington, D. C.

figured when about they would bridge  
 dismantled 2 ships bridge  
 after his death  
 his fight over fueling  
 the bridge  
 or  
 used to change into bridge  
 merchandise.

# Postal Telegraph-Cable Company

## PRESS TELEGRAM

Mrs. Huey Long

estranged from Huey son yrs

Huey didn't run around with women to any  
 real extent. Too busy. Busy

with consuming ambition to run U.S.

Mrs. Long - began life with Huey in 1 room & smoking  
 oil lamp.

when he shot, aides notified Mrs. Long,  
 some of them wondering whether she would come.  
~~She~~ He did, 3 hrs later. Didn't stay until  
 he died. When aides looked around she  
 had gone back

Now she voting for all things Huey fought - AAAA etc.

- Explanations - 1. never did sympathize with him
2. divorce tax
  3. Regime has decided to make  
 peace. Play along get  
 patronage - why worry.

Bob Brothers - who stood for  
 Huey Long's ideals - forced out  
 by 15 + medals in Latin quarter

by  
 Huey Long

Mrs. Huey Long  
 has sent back



Harold Smith  
& Brother want to  
take loss against  
Ross.



## THE BATTLE HOUSE

A.C. JACKSON, MANAGER

**MOBILE, ALABAMA**



574/36



MODERN  
FIREPROOF-EUROPEAN

Dear Drew: There may be nothing you do not know but here are some points picked up in New Orleans today.

2. The Lory machine <sup>to get this</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>dropped</sup> tires, and broken, and has a loose steering wheel.

3. The whole talk I heard in New O,  
is beautifully hopeful. They count  
much on the new Gov.



- 4 The Legislature will do what the new Gov. asks.
- 5 Iches has just returned from a week in Washington, where he saw the President for half an hour. Saw Iches and Hopkins. All went well. He promised full cooperation to the Administration. He will repeal the odious Long Law, and several new ones which the Better Government League (a research organization) recommends.
- 6 The state bar - Bob Maestri gives his consent. He is cultivating New O. best people. Commodore Johnson says that Maestri wants to be Mayor of N. O., and that he will make it next election.
- 7 A. Miles Pratt, one of the City Commissioners has just returned from Wash. : tells me Murgenthau promises

him part, Collector of Port of N. O.  
He was with Gov. Elect on this trip.

8 Mayor ~~W. W. W. W.~~ W. W. W. W. will  
have a place made for him  
and Robt. S. Maestri will become  
Mayor.

The air of N. O. is electric with  
things about to happen. People in  
the swank Boston Club (named for  
an old game like Darinnes, not  
for the New England city) are thrilled  
as players in spring.

See enclosed clipping

News from Jahncke.

He declined to go as an alternate  
to Cleveland

He says Hoover has many <sup>more</sup> votes  
in National Comm. than outsiders  
know. But Taft will be  
nominated - and defeated

Walter Braun is not a great  
 general! When I said that Hoover  
 was elected in spite of Walter Braun  
 he quite agreed.

I believe he would like an  
 appointment from Roosevelt.

He said: "If I were the father  
 of a first son like Drew Pearson I  
 would advise him to go easy on  
 the present administration."



## Plan Aid for New Orleans



The "uncrowned heads" of the state and city governments conferred Monday on plans to refinance the city of New Orleans. At the left is Judge Richard W. Leche, who on next Tuesday will become governor of Louisiana when he takes the oath of office at Baton Rouge. At the right is Commissioner of Conservation Robert S.

Maestri, who will become mayor of New Orleans, if and when Mayor T. Semmes Walmsley resigns following the enactment of helpful legislation to the city. The picture was taken this morning in Commissioner Maestri's office, where the conference was held.—(Photograph by the New Orleans States).



Washington, D.C.  
May 5th. 1936

I, James E. Welch residing at 1319 N Street N.W. Washington, District of Columbia, certify to the following facts:

On the morning of March 24th. 1936, at about 8:30 in the morning, two men arrived at my place of residence and asked for me. They were admitted to the hallway by Mrs. Scudder, a resident of that address, who called me.

As I came to the door of which the men asked me "Are you Mr. Welch?" I replied "Yes". The larger of the two men who appeared to be the spokesman said; "Get your coat and hat?" I asked, "WHAT FOR" Pulling back the lapel of his coat and exhibiting a badge which on close inspection, I recognized as the badge of the Department of Justice he answered, "We are ~~going~~ taking you to headquarters".

I asked, "What for?" He replied, in a menacing and threatening tone, "We want to talk to you". I replied, "Come into this room and tell me what is eating on you?" pointing to room on the right of the hallway in which we were standing. "No", he replied, "What we have to say to you may be very embarrassing if any one hears it". I answered, "Well ~~what I have to say~~ what I have to reply to you may be more so for you, so shoot your stuff, big boy".

He insisted on my going to headquarters and I asked, "Am I under arrest?" stating before he answered, "I will call my senators and lawyers before I go anywhere, even if I am arrested and furthermore, what you have to say you had better write it in a letter to my Senator or Lawyer." He replied, "You are going to hear what we have to say." I demanded, "By what authority are you acting? Have you a warrant? I refuse to discuss any matter with you until you show me something besides a badge. You can buy these things almost anywhere." He drew a card case from his pocket and showed me a card there in stating he ~~was~~ ~~Mr. E. H. Nichols~~ was Ivor E. Nichols of the United States Department of Justice. I then said, "I will have you called to account by my Senator and the press of the country I will give them the full story." He answered, "Well, you might get my job." I replied, "I am not interested in such small fish as you. What I am after is the big boys who are responsible for you coming here like this." He then stated, "Hoover is my boss and you can call the D.J., to see who we are. Room 5252 is my office."

He then barred my way from the room and said, "Well, you're going to hear what I have to say. IF YOU PUT ONE MORE OF THOSE CARDS IN CIRCULATION, WE'RE GOING TO PUT YOUR LITTLE FANNIE IN JAIL." I replied, "It is just such damnable Cossack tactics as this that I am fighting. You may be able to get by with such tactics if Roosevelt is re-elected, but not yet, big boy." I then reached for a package of cards, opened it and said, "Here are the cards and I want you two to be the first of the next hundred thousand that read this card." After considerable conversation about Huey P. Long and his politics, they left, but only after I said, "If you fellows will listen to me or read Huey's speeches, you will be just as much against Roosevelt and his policies as I am".

---

James E. Welch

Washington, D.C., May 5th. 1936: Signed and sworn to before me this 5th day of May 1936.

(signed) Mary P. Stone  
Notary Public, D.C.





THE WOMEN'S CITY CLUB OF SAN FRANCISCO

The National League for Woman's Service

465 Post Street

San Francisco, May 16, 1937.

Messrs. Pearson & Allen  
Washington Merry-Go-Round  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Naturally you are concerned about the financial future of the Hon. James A. Farley and since it would appear that you are the unofficial, or maybe it is the official spokesman for the New Deal, may I suggest the molasses business. It seems to be the logical step and has already been taken by important members of the official family and I am told it has decided financial possibilities.

Yours very truly,

*Eleanor Roosevelt*



# WESTERN UNION PRESS MESSAGE

1395

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENTNEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARDJ. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENTJim Farley

Mrs Farley says: Jim would rather be out  
beating his breast and making speeches for  
hours than earning a living for his wife &  
children. If I have to take a taxi.  
we cant afford a car, but as long as  
Jim is Postmaster General that's all  
right with him.

Jim called in Mr Gardner re Huey Long charges  
"guessed in for 4 hrs.

looked up his income tax.  
said: "Now if I'm going to defend you, I've  
got to know the truth." Farley  
balked at nothing. Eager to take stand.  
Huey Long would consent only if not in  
press & photographers

Sen. O'Mahoney & Frank Walker listened to catechism.

## Twenty Women Seized in Poker Game Raid; Police Say Housewives' Stakes Were High

Twenty well-dressed women, most of whom said they were housewives, and one man were arrested in a raid on alleged poker games in an apartment on the sixteenth floor of 175 West Seventy-ninth Street at 5 o'clock last evening. Police attached to the staff of Inspector Louis Rosenfeld charged that there were two games for high stakes.

Among those taken into custody was Ethel Lyons, 28 years old, of 260 West End Avenue, who said she was a niece of William C. Lyons, former State Senator in Colorado, and now an assistant to Postmaster General Farley. He was present at the West Sixty-eighth Street station house where the women were held and after a brief conversation with his niece left.

The man arrested gave his name as Samuel Katz, 31. He told the police he lived in the apartment in which the raid was made. He was charged with maintaining a gambling place. The women were charged with disorderly conduct.

The police said that in each of two rooms of the five-room apartment there was a large, oval-shaped poker table. Sergeant Patrick

Dunne, in charge of the raiding squad, said police had received complaints about the game.

Those arrested were: Rose Berg, 21, of 1,100 East 170th Street, the Bronx; Lois Walker, 21, of 210 West Ninety-second Street; Dora Bloom, 45, 911 Southern Boulevard, the Bronx; Sarah Rosen, 45, 41 West Seventy-second Street; Jane Gordon, 21, 277 West End Avenue; Rae Glass, 21, 949 West End Avenue; Lillian Wolff, 31, 1,059 Tiffany Street, the Bronx; Marie Gold, 30, 261 West Eighty-first Street; Mary Green, 30, 15 Fort Washington Avenue; Sylvia Miller, 38, 687 Crotona Parkway North, the Bronx; Clara Schwartz, 40, 310 West Ninety-eighth Street; Rose Lubin, 35, 15 West Eleventh Street; Belle Divine, 48, 40 Monroe Street; Rose Green, 21, 642 West 172d Street; Beatrice Beraz, 40, 520 West 181st Street; Anna Levine, 35, 1,614 Walton Avenue, the Bronx; Jennie Lang, 40, 133 West Ninety-eighth Street; Mary Kaplan, 40, 200 West Ninetieth Street; and Lilly Fine, 40, of 195 West Ninety-fifth Street.

In Night Court all pleaded not guilty and were paroled for a hearing tomorrow. Katz was released in \$500 bail.

# Jim Farley Bids Adieu to His Elegant Cabinet Office

By FREDRICK C. OTHMAN

United Press Staff Correspondent

Genial Jim Farley walked thru his secret door, to his secret corridor and down his secret elevator at the Post Office Department for the last time today—at least until after the election.

He deposited in the bank the last United States pay check he will receive for a time and headed for New York to spend all his time as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, fathering the re-election campaign of his affectionate friend, President Roosevelt.

He left behind him a magnificent,

glass-enclosed shower bath which he never used, because the Government doesn't furnish towels, and a lot of friends. Even the Capital's Republicans can't help liking him personally.

Jim celebrated his departure from the office of Postmaster General by holding a final press conference in his oak-lined sanctum, where Benjamin Franklin smiles down from a portrait on the wall and a bronze donkey hee-haws defiance to the Republicans from the green marble mantel.

While 100 correspondents dropped cigarette ashes on Farley's red plush

carpets, he expounded at length on Roosevelt's chances.

These look exceedingly good, Farley said, leaning back in his red leather chair, unbuttoning his blue double-breasted coat and smoothing back what few hairs remain on his pinkly polished head.

He placed his watch, with cracked crystal, on his desk, next to his four telephones and his baseball, autographed by Babe Ruth and Nick Altrock, and told some surprisingly intimate political secrets concerning the great and the near great.

"Of course," said Jim, "all this is strictly off the record. Don't quote

me, for goodness sakes!"

One of the reporters wondered whether Farley would dominate the appointments to the new maritime commission.

"A report like that is assinine," snapped the Postmaster General, gazing at a sepia portrait of President Roosevelt, autographed "Affectionately yours."

He told then about how one prominent man was too old to be appointed Comptroller General.

"Does that apply to Pat Harrison?" he was asked.

"I don't know how old Pat is," replied the old master of press conference repartee.

Then he took one last look around his vast office, where green venetian blinds and red drapes filter in the sunlight and where a portrait of his mother and a horn from a Texas steer are important decorations.

His grip was packed and the political wars were waiting. So Farley upped and disappeared—thru his celebrated maze of doors and passageways to his private entrance. There his limousine waited for a quick dash to the train for New York, where Farley will work—and work—and work for the re-election of the man he calls "The Boss."



Emil Hurja and  
James A. Farley  
With a Weather  
Eye Trained on  
November Third



# "PROF." HURJA, THE NEW DEAL'S POLITICAL DOCTOR By ALVA

ONE of the first reforms of the New Deal was that of setting up a political Life Extension Institute to give itself a regular weekly overhauling. The professor in charge is Emil Hurja, a great political diagnostician, who has developed a scientific technique for testing the Administration's knee jerks, measuring its blood pressure and making a check-up for danger signals.

The professor has some remarkable political stethoscopes, popularity meters and mass-mind indicators. The political news and editorials of nearly every newspaper in the country are clipped daily for him. The clippings are analyzed in the professor's laboratory and made into an X-ray picture of the national brain. Tons of newspaper sentiment are reduced to charts and graphs every month. Local elections held at irregular intervals aid Doctor Hurja's system of political hygiene. Every time a constable or township justice is elected, the result is studied and compared with past performances in the same district. Straw votes are of great importance at the Hurja clinic. Hurja has a master poll. All the straw statistics of the country, including tests of sentiment at barbecues, picture houses and hog-calling contests, are "broken down"—to use the new phrase for "analyze"—and translated by the professor into colored cubes, pyramids, cylinders, curves and zigzag lines.

Professor Hurja's health maps show not only how the vital organs of the New Deal are doing but how each muscle, nerve and cell is getting along. If a morbid condition develops in any area that was formerly healthy Roosevelt territory, the spot is looked into at once. This careful scientist keeps posted on all the projects, works, relief, dams, dog pounds and sparrow sanctuaries that have been bestowed on every locality, and has the local Democratic politicians informed to aid them in fomenting gratitude to the Administration.

The professor and his political-health institute enjoyed high favor in Washington for more than two years. All his diagnosing machines showed that the New Deal was getting healthier and healthier. His forecasting devices worked almost perfectly in the congressional election of 1934. All his vote meters indicated accurately the Democratic landslide.

Even better, they indicated districts where defeat was sure and districts where victory was sure, so that the party could concentrate its energy and funds on the doubtful districts. During the 1934 campaign, Professor Hurja wrote a letter to every Democratic candidate, saying, "The attached bulletin shows Federal appropriations segregated by departments for your state." The scientist added, "You can use this any way you like—in speeches, radio talks or newspaper interviews, embellishing the facts as set forth with your views or opinions." In short, the New Deal expects every dollar to do its duty.

## Translating a Political Slogan

REPUBLICANS have charged that the studies of Hurja are used for the purpose of distributing dams, dog pounds, wading pools and canals where they produce the most votes for the New Deal. They have not yet succeeded in proving this. Hurja's letter merely appealed to the voter's sense of gratitude. The only clear-cut case of the use of public funds on a giant scale to influence an election was Roosevelt's dangling of the \$47,000,000 Passamaquoddy Dam before the voters of Maine during the congressional campaign of 1934. Although this project had been generally condemned by engineers as an absurdity, President Roosevelt wrote, early in the 1934 campaign, to the Democratic candidate for governor of Maine that he was "in full accord with your conviction that this is the proper time to take up in a serious way the possibility of developing the enormous latent energy of the Bay of Fundy" and that "here is for the first time a considerable amount of funds available for public works." This was literally translated by Democratic orators in Maine as, "If Maine does the right thing by the New Deal, the New Deal will do the right thing by Maine to the extent of \$47,000,000."

Maine elects its state officials and congressmen on the second Monday of September, and the superstition is that the vote influences the rest of the country, in accordance with the slogan, "As goes Maine, so goes the nation." Both parties always strive to carry this bellwether state in September,

for its propaganda effect on November. It was important in 1934 for the New Deal to win the congressional election. The situation seemed to warrant a deviation from the New Deal's general rule against any obvious attempt to use Federal appropriations to purchase the electorate. Maine partly made good for the New Deal, and the New Deal partly made good for Maine. In 1934, Maine elected two Democratic and one Republican congressman, a Democratic governor and a Republican United States senator. The New Deal threw \$7,000,000 into the project and then paused. A duel between slogans developed. The cry of "As goes Maine, so goes the nation" started the millions rolling into Passamaquoddy, and the cry of "Roosevelt's Folly" stopped it.

There is no real basis for the Republican charge that relief and project money are distributed in accordance with Hurja's political map of the country. The figures show that Government expenditures have little relation to Hurja's campaign maxim of "Forget the states that are surely Republican; forget the states that are surely Democratic; concentrate on winning the states that are doubtful." The fact is that the Southern States and other states counted as "sure" fare better than the average in the matter of Federal appropriations. The only moral that can be drawn from the figures is that the need of relief and projects is greatest where the Democratic organizations are strongest. This may be remotely in accord with Hurja's doctrine. A strong Democratic organization, if it feels that it is not treated right, can sometimes turn a sure state into a doubtful state.

Very shortly after the congressional election of 1934, the professor began to worry a little. A sharp falling off in the popularity of the New Deal was registered late in 1934 by all of his barometers and seismographs of public opinion. A puzzling condition developed early in January of 1935. Hurja could not test public opinion; public opinion did not exist. All his analyses of the national mind showed a negative result. The national brain, as far as the professor could determine, had ceased to function. The Hurja laboratory checks not only on the New Deal's political health but on the progress of each important issue; it measures the quality and quantity of the public reaction to the processing taxes,



to the increasing cost of living, to the war on utilities, to relief, to the attack on the Supreme Court, and so on. During the first six weeks of 1935 there was no important reaction on any issue. The professor finally discovered the cause. The trial of Bruno Hauptmann started on January 2, 1935. It ended on February 15, 1935. It had benumbed the public mind. Political news and editorials had been reduced to a mere trickle. For a month and a half the average man had no time to worry whether the country was going to the dogs or not.

When the country came out of its Hauptmann-case stupor, all the lines on the Hurjascope and Hurjagraphs indicated dissatisfaction with the New Deal.

In the middle of February, America seemingly woke up in a peevish mood, exclaiming, "Where is that prosperity they promised us? What's the matter with Congress? What's the matter with Roosevelt? What's the Brain Trust up to?" At first, this was merely regarded as a healthy reaction after Roosevelt's abnormal popularity. But sinking spell followed sinking spell. The patient kept on wasting away for almost a whole year. All the curves moved downward at a confoundingly lugubrious slant, and for a while it looked as if the New Deal would fall through the bottom of the charts. The thing nearly ruined Hurja. He was a Newton or an Aristotle when his curves were soaring; he was just a crank when they were taking a dive. The New Deal behaved like other frightened patients; it abandoned the scientific practitioner and went in for horse pills, black drafts and vermifuges; for faith healers, Indian medicine men and herb doctors.

## JOHNSTON



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AP/WIDE WORLD

The Democratic Spearheads of 1928, Smith, Raskob and Cox. At Right—The Ford Peace Ship on Which Hurja (Above) Sailed.

Beginning last February, his charts showed that the patient had taken a turn for the better, but that did not restore him to favor with his fellow politicians. Another grievance had arisen. Washington is a seething mass of headline hunters, and the professor was accused of hogging publicity. His colleagues had begun to view him as the old family doctor of any town look on an aggressive newcomer who steals their practice with his shining new medical apparatus and his up-to-date line of scientific jargon. Nevertheless, they have to admit that the professor has been pretty accurate in his reports on the New Deal in health and disease, and the Hurja laboratory will probably play a considerable part in this campaign.

In spite of his letter in 1934, which seemed to get the United States Treasury and the Democratic campaign fund mixed up, Hurja is not a politician of the sordid type. His friends say that he is performing service for his party at a great personal sacrifice and that he could earn three or four times as much money if he quit his present position and took his statistical science back to Wall Street, where he came from. But politics is a glorious science to him, and Democracy a holy religion. He is a fanatic. He can't stand even Republicans who have been dead seventy years. Read Hurja's book, Presidential Inaugurations, and see how he cracks down on that old Tory, Abraham Lincoln. Hurja is still broken up about the elections of 1860 and 1864, especially about 1864. Lincoln's election that year was a steal. "Analysts today agree," says Hurja, "that he could not have been re-elected unless the Republicans had received the tremendous votes of thousands of illegally naturalized foreigners in the Northern States." Lincoln's first election is a warning to Democrats against factional strife. "Douglas lost," says Hurja, "through a split." Hurja also has early recollections of Republican steals of elections in the Northwest.

### The Odyssey of a Rolling Stone

THE son of a Finnish miner, Hurja was born forty-four years ago at Crystal Falls, Michigan. He left home at the age of sixteen and, after a period of wandering, settled down to work as a reporter in Fairbanks, Alaska, a town which was seething with politics. Hurja's deep inward conversion to Democracy came in 1912, when he read Woodrow Wilson's speech accepting the Democratic nomination for the presidency. At that time Hurja was working his way through the University of Washington. He is a born junketer, and in 1915 managed to attach himself to Henry Ford's peace expedition to Europe, just as he attached himself last year to Vice President Garner's globe-trotting junket. After graduating from the university and serving in the flying corps during the war, Hurja began roaming again, following oil strikes and mining booms. He was running a

newspaper at Breckenridge, Texas, when his mastery of statistics in oil and minerals began to win him recognition. In 1927 he moved to New York and became a financial counselor in Wall Street. He had the privilege of working with Sell'em Ben Smith, one of the smartest of New York Stock Exchange traders, whose rhythmical battle cry of "Sell 'em all; they aren't worth anything" helped the panic along so cheerily in 1929.

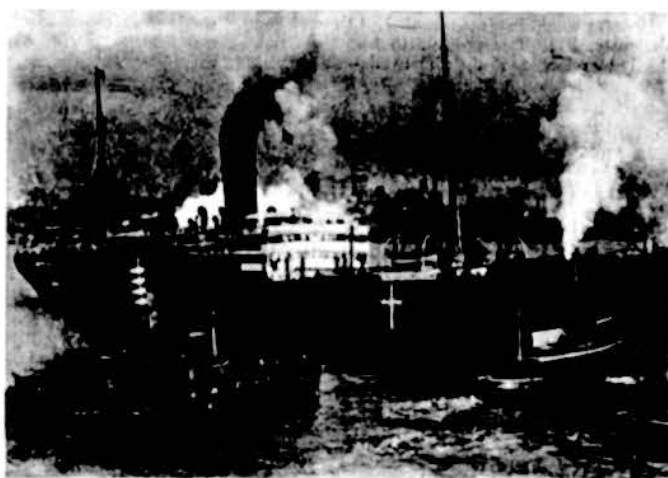
### The Rise of a Soothsayer

HURJA, long before he came to New York, had been perfecting his theory that elections could be won by the early diagnosis and heroic treatment of public opinion in doubtful states. He based his system on mining practice. If you can prove that the gold in a hill averages one dollar a ton, and that it can be mined and milled at a cost of fifty cents a ton, go ahead and work that hill. If the gold only averages fifty cents a ton, and the cost of working is a dollar a ton, let that hill alone. On the same principle, sample political sentiment in a given state, analyze it and see if it is worth while trying to work it for votes. The practical politician has always had the same idea. Hurja's improvement was a more refined method.

Hurja had his system developed early in 1928 and tried to explain it to John J. Raskob, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, but he could not get past Raskob's office staff. A curious notion prevailed at the Raskob headquarters that big men and little men were cranks, and that only middle-sized men were quite sane. Hurja, six feet two inches tall and assembled on a huge scale, was sized up as a big crank. After being kept waiting three hours, 220 pounds of quivering indignation ebbed out of the Raskob headquarters and never flowed back. It was Raskob's loss. Hurja could not have elected Al Smith, but he probably could have increased the Democratic electoral vote. Raskob was the rankest amateur who ever tried to direct a national campaign. He was, for example, tricked into believing that Pennsylvania was a doubtful state, and he made a tremendous effort to carry it. Pennsylvania actually gave Hoover a plurality of almost exactly 1,000,000 votes over Smith. Any intelligent method of forecasting could have saved Raskob from this blunder, and the treasure and eloquence that were wasted on Pennsylvania could have been diverted to states where Smith did have a chance.

Four years later, Frank C. Walker, a big Montana Democrat, became interested in Hurja's gyroscopes and range finders, and introduced him to Big Jim Farley. Big Jim was impressed because the things which he sensed in the marrow of his bones were almost exactly paralleled by Hurja's statistical contrivances. When a scientist's conclusions agreed with his own, Farley thought there must be something in science after all. Hurja

(Continued on Page 72)



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May 13/38

DERNIÈRES

# John Roosevelt qui a renoncé aux excès de vitesse épouse miss Ann CLARK

Celle-ci faillit devenir  
la belle-fille  
de Richard Whitney,  
l'ex-roi de Wall Street  
actuellement détenu  
à Sing-Sing

(D'un de nos envoyés spéciaux  
permanents.)

New-York, 12 mai.  
(Par câble, via P. Q.)

John Roosevelt se marie.  
Ce pourrait être le titre d'un  
film à la manière de New-York  
Miami. De fait, c'est presque un  
film puisque, comme son frère —  
qui convola l'an dernier avec une  
héritière du Pont de Nemours —  
John épousera, le 18 juin, une de-  
moiselle Clark qui, elle aussi, ap-  
partient aux « soixante familles »  
américaines, ces « soixante fa-  
milles » contre lesquelles le pré-  
sident Franklin Roosevelt ne cesse  
de se battre depuis son arrivée au  
pouvoir.

John Roosevelt devient sage

Il y a là la donnée d'un scé-  
nario. Quant aux acteurs, ils ne le  
cèdent en rien comme fantaisie  
aux vedettes d'Hollywood. Mieux,  
ils méritent l'attention que lesdites  
vedettes se contentent de ne vi-  
vre qu'à l'écran. Au surplus, la  
renommée de John Roosevelt est  
venue jusqu'en France. M. Nou-  
veau ministre de l'Intérieur n'a point  
perdu le souvenir de ce charmant  
jeune homme qui lors d'une ba-  
taille de France lui lança un bou-  
quet rempli de champagne. Et ce  
sage a bien voulu se marier dans  
sa ville natale, John Roose-  
velt. Les fiançailles ont eu lieu  
à Nahant, dans la maison de son  
père, où les parents, les policiers  
avec lesquels il est en contact de fait  
même à partir pour excès de vi-  
tesse et auxquels il dut jurer qu'il  
serait désormais un conducteur  
prudent, j'aurais aimé conter de bel-  
les histoires. Mais quoi ? John  
Roosevelt est jeune, sportif, bouil-  
lant, généreux, et a le cœur bien  
placé. Il travaille à l'Université,  
joue au polo, fait du rowing et  
danse comme un jeune dieu.

Une jeune fille exemplaire

Tel est le benjamin du prési-  
dent, lequel, on le sait, a égale-  
ment trois autres fils et une fille.  
Quant à la fiancée, le portrait que  
l'on trace d'elle est plus que flat-  
teur. Miss Anne Clark, qui appar-  
tient par sa famille à la haute  
société de Boston, est une jeune  
femme ravissante que rien ne distingue  
à première vue des jeunes million-  
naires du cinéma. Comme elles,  
elle étudie à l'Université — en  
l'occurrence celle de Harvard.

Des fiançailles  
heureusement rompues

La destinée de cette jolie per-  
sonne n'a point été toute simple.  
Quel que soit son rang social, elle  
faillit être l'héroïne d'une mé-  
aventure invraisemblable. L'an der-  
nier, en effet, elle se fiançait à  
Samuel Sands, fils d'un certain  
M. Sands, mais dont la mère s'é-  
tait remariée au célèbre financier  
Richard Whitney, lequel étant le  
beau-père de Samuel serait égale-  
ment devenu celui de sa jeune  
femme. Or, depuis, changement à  
vue. Inculpé d'escroquerie, Richard  
Whitney, roi de Wall Street, a été  
condamné à dix ans de prison et  
purge sa peine à Sing-Sing. Par  
bonheur, miss Clark avait rompu  
avec Samuel Sands et noué avec  
John Roosevelt. Ainsi, au lieu de  
devenir la bru d'un bagnard, miss  
Anne sera celle du premier ma-  
gistrat du pays.

Idylle

Elle a connu John en dansant  
et les deux jeunes gens se sentant  
attirés l'un vers l'autre ont, tout  
de suite, décidé de se marier. Ce  
sera, bien entendu, un beau ma-  
riage. Il aura lieu le 18 juin, à  
Nahant, une petite ville du Mas-  
sachusetts, dont la municipalité,  
pour recevoir le président Roose-  
velt, a voté un crédit de 2.000 dol-  
lars, somme légère mais suffi-  
sante puisqu'il ne s'agit pas d'un  
voyage officiel.

## John A. Roosevelt fils du président se marie aujourd'hui

Toute l'Amérique se pas-  
sionne pour cet événement  
qui sera célébré dans le petit  
village de Nahant où est ac-  
courue une foule immense



JOHN ROOSEVELT ET SA FIANCÉE

NAHANT (Massachusetts), 17 juin. — C'est de-  
main que le dernier des Roosevelt se marie. Le  
dernier par l'âge, bien sûr ; John A. Roosevelt,  
benjamin de la famille, ex-champion de rowing  
de Harvard et enfant gâté de la Maison Blanche.  
John A. Roosevelt, vous vous en souvenez, est  
cet aimable jeune homme qui, doté de College  
Humor, aime à taquiner les magistrats muni-  
cipaux lorsqu'il se balade comme un potache en va-  
cances sur la Riviera.

A son retour, l'enfant terrible fut grondé par  
son père et toute la presse. Assagi maintenant,  
il épouse une des plus jolies filles de la société  
bostonienne : Anne Lindsay Clark. Entre autres  
qualités l'aimable fiancée avoue ingénument  
deux choses : vingt-deux printemps et une  
ignorance totale du New Deal. C'est là, pour  
beaucoup, deux conditions essentielles du  
bonheur. Quant à John, si ses notions de la po-  
litique paternelle sont moins vagues, il ne  
compte que deux mois de plus que la jeune  
fille.

Toute l'Amérique en parle et le village de  
Nahant, où se trouve la somptueuse propriété  
des Clark, refuse du monde. On accourt déjà  
des quatre coins de la Fédération. La munici-  
palité, débordée, fait tracer des parcs de sta-  
tionnement et distribue comme des petits pains  
les autorisations de camping. Deux cent mille  
demandes lui sont déjà parvenues.

On avait pourtant fait les choses fort simple-  
ment, sans rien qui pût particulièrement piquer

la curiosité. Il n'y aura par exemple que... treize  
garçons d'honneur, pour la bonne raison que  
le chiffre treize porte bonheur à John Aspin-  
wall Roosevelt. Cette décision cependant suffit  
à passionner l'Amérique et à déclencher des  
polémiques sans fin entre les partisans et dé-  
tracteurs superstitieux. Elle n'est pas pour peu  
de chose dans l'immense succès de curiosité  
populaire qui remplit les cars, les trains, et  
embouteille les routes.

Le président est attendu d'un moment à l'au-  
tre. Il voulait venir directement de Washington  
en bateau, mais une prolongation du Congrès  
qui s'y tient l'a retenu plus longtemps qu'il ne  
pensait. Ce n'est donc qu'à New-London, dans  
le Connecticut — rejoint par la route — qu'il  
montera à bord du Potomac, yacht présidentiel  
impatiemment attendu à Nahant. — (Journal.)

Le Journal  
June 18, 1938

A score of men waited sitting and standing outside an open door on the fourth floor of the Biltmore Hotel in New York. A small sign on the door read, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN.

Suddenly down the wide, carpeted corridor came striding briskly a tall, husky, well-groomed figure. The waiters galvanized into alertness, swarmed around the new-comer with urgent cries of recognition. His round Irish face beaming benignly, he greeted them like long-lost brothers:

"How'you boys," "Hello, Joe," "Tony, how are things coming out your way?" "John, how's the family?"

Big Jim Farley was in his element.

Franklin D. Roosevelt may be a super-artist when it comes to emoting over the air, but for man-to-man glad-handing Jim Farley is in a class by himself.

With a smile as beneficent as a harvest moon and a glad-hand mounted on ball-bearings, Big Jim bowls them over in his sphere just as smoothly as the President does in his. There are plenty of people who severely disapprove of Jim, (and that includes numerous ardent New Dealers) but in his field he is an artist of the first water.

Of the score of men who had patiently waited for an hour or more to see him, not one got beyond the door-sill.

Jim pumped their hands, patted their backs, helloed and jollied them---but the boys did not get into his private office. When he stepped across the doorway, he stepped alone and yet, left them all smiling.

That is real artistry----and what it takes Jim's got in abundance.

He has had to have to take the gaff that has been his lot the last four years. Farley is a machine politician---and he would be the



last one to deny it or apologize for it. But certain rancid deeds credited to him were not his doing.

Jim took the rap and kept his mouth shut. In machine politics, like the army, you take orders and like it----or else.....?

But, (and believe it or not) despite his outer rhinoceros hide, Jim has a tender under-cuticle and the dead-cats and brick-bats hurled at his bald dome for boomers and strong-arm stuff that he was not responsible for hurt him grievously.

There was the episode of the rump candidacy of "Holy Joe" McKee against the liberal, New Deal-supporting Mayor LaGuardia.

That odiferous job of political meat-axing was the work of one Ed Flynn, Democratic boss of the Bronx, plus the secret approval of one Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States. There is no question that Farley did not throw a charley-horse trying to stop the deal.

But he did not originate it; nor did he privately approve of it.

Yet, in many quarters he was charged with doing both and the howls against him were loud and sulphurous.

But however aggrieved he may be privately over what he considers unwarranted attacks and criticism against him, Jim is too astute an operator to display his feelings openly.

No newsman has ever been berated by Jim Farley for anything he wrote about him.

Jim may remark pleasantly, "That was a low-ball you pitched me, fella", but his attitude, on the surface, is summed up in a favorite saying of his; "Just so you mention me, boys, and spell the name right."

It is this shrewd friendliness that accounts for the fact that Jim's press conferences, next to those of the President, have been the most heavily attended in Washington. Also, why he is on better personal

with more newsmen than any other Administrationite.

The reporters have no illusions about Jim, but he deals with them absolutely on the square----which is a great deal more than can be said for a lot of other big shot politicians, Democratic and Republican.

This year's campaign has been a great personal triumph for Farley.

The whipping boy of the New Deal, bombarded as hotly from the left as from the right, Jim, despite this constant cross-fire of attacks, emerged the undisputed ruler of the National Committee and the campaign.

That is, of course, as much as anyone can be a boss under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Jim continues, as he always has done, never to make a move without the approval of the "Chief". But the President now is the only one he does consult or take orders from.

In 1932 it was different. Jim had the title of National Chairman, but he was only one of a large board of strategy. This year he is the general staff.

This is no mean accomplishment considering the fact that only a year ago Jim was under heavy congressional fire and for a time it looked like his numerous political foes would do for him.

Because of his expansive geniality and absence of truculence and temper, many under-rate Farley.

They put him down as a big pat-and-how'dye man; much sing-song but little gray matter. Jim is a glad-hander, but he is more than that. He is no brain-truster---but he has plenty of savvy and integrity.

His administration of the Postoffice Department has been clean and efficient---more so than it has been in many years.

He has been devotedly and unswervingly loyal to his "Chief"---which is more than can be said for certain erudite and socialite New Dealers. And he has built up a powerful and closely knit campaign

*for  
L. H. Hammer*

In recent months there has been <sup>much</sup> outcry and <sup>splashing</sup> shedding of ink, charging Jim with harboring secret pillaging designs on the civil service. He has been flayed and arraigned, and the hue and cry raised: "Farley must go." The uproar is as realistic as condemning a hungry man for wanting food.

There is nothing secret about Farley's voracious patronage prowling. That is the reason he is in the President's official menage. It is up to him to produce the payroll pork necessary to satisfy the demands of the hordes of "deserving" Democrats, congressmen, senators, state and local leaders. It is Jim's job to see that the President's political fences are maintained in a good state of repair, and that is the way it is done.

Jim's methods while more systematic and efficient, are no cruder nor more piratical than those of the preceding Republican regime.

*do without to his  
presumption Jim is  
about all right  
This must be  
done with  
full power.*

In 1921, when Harding took office, the vicious thieving Ohio gang ravaged departments, bureaus and commissions with a ruthlessness that came near wrecking the entire governmental machinery. Coolidge and Hoover by executive order "covered" into the civil service thousands of their political henchmen. One of the last things Hoover did before stepping out of office was to give civil service rating to 150 Department of Justice officials, who had been brought in by the Ohio gang a decade before.

Jim, also, has yet to address a convention of postmasters, as did Walter F. Brown, the dour, secretive "hatchet man" of the Hoover administration, and threateningly order them to get busy and get out the vote for the <sup>Republican</sup> President if they wanted to keep their jobs.

*Jim is not as flake as  
his predecessor. on  
L. H. Hammer as his party.*



It is possible he may get around to this in time, but he has not done so as yet.

Furthermore, one of the worst offenders in the past two years in patronage grabbing and covert civil service sniping has been Congress.

It is in this quarter that the scheme has been hatching for more than a year to raid the trained personnel of the Library of Congress---a piece of brazen pilfering about which more may be heard before the close of the current session. The Library is directly under the control of Congress. Job-hungry Democratic members, particularly from the South, have been eyeing its large payroll with increasingly ravenous impatience.

It was a Senate resolution, sponsored by that untiring advocate of grab, Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, that directed the Civil Service Commission to make a "federal patronage census" early in 1933, so that McKellar and his colleagues might have a list in handy form of available plums.

It was the same McKellar also, who over the determined, but futile, protests of Secretary Henry Morgenthau, incorporated a provision in the 1934 Treasury appropriation bill opening the way for a job putsch on the revenue law enforcement staff.

And it was the House of Representatives that adamantly refused to approve the Senate-passed amendment of George Norris placing the tens of thousands of new government jobs created by New Deal recovery measures under civil service jurisdiction.

Jim's hands are gory with plunder---some of it smelling to high heaven---but they are not the only ones in Washington.

Also, be it said in his favor, unlike his Democratic and Republican comrades in sin, Jim is no hypocrite about his attitude. He believes in the spoils system and says so frankly.

In a magazine article published in the Spring of 1933 he aired his views with straight-forward candor. He was interested chiefly, he declared, in strengthening and fortifying the President's political position, and to that end he was out to place as many loyal supporters in government jobs as possible. He has no grievance with the merit system. But--

"Loyalty is an important aspect of merit," he added. "One of my chief duties is to pass on the loyalty of applicants. Politics, the editorial writers hint, enters into my consideration. Of course it does."

Last fall, during the hot New York gubernatorial campaign, Robert Moses, the Republican nominee, made public an exchange of letters between him and Farley several years previous, in which Jim had urged the appointment of Democrats to jobs in the State park service over which Moses presided. Moses unctuously paraded the correspondence as damning evidence of the unfitness of Farley's political leadership.

Jim was amusedly unperturbed. Asked for comment, he replied pleasantly:

"Sure, I was trying to get Democrats jobs. It was Democratic workers who helped elect the Democratic governor that appointed Bob Moses Park Commissioner. And what is more, the views I held in 1931, I hold today. I am no hypocrite."

*Jim is symbolic of a system*  
The basic weakness of the anti-Farley crusaders is that they are concentrating their fire on the man and not the system.

Getting rid of Jim would solve nothing and change nothing. He is no phenomenon in American national politics---except, perhaps, in his track of unabashed frankness and the efficiency expert methods he uses in his spoils foraging. He is merely the current example of a line of predecessors that reaches back to the

*President in dual role*  
1. *the overman has put Farley in his place*  
2. *used Farley vigorously on major political operations.*  
*Typical of the new*  
*air mail*

founding of the Republic.

Practically every President has had a political trigger man. Some had a whole gang of them.

To cite only recent instances: Hoover had his Walter Brown, as coldly calculating and ruthless a machine boss as ever appeared on the national scene; Coolidge had his William S. Butler, a pudgy Gloomy Gus and sorry bungler; Harding, ~~the~~ the notorious Harry Daugherty and his mob of gorillas.

The Farleys, Browns, Butlers, and others of their ilk, are merely personifications of the deep-rooted spoils system. Until that is wiped out, they will always be on hand, because there will be call for them and their peculiar talents.

Mr. Roosevelt has given abundant indication that he is aware of that fact.

The decisive manner in which he forced a number of high Democratic National Committee officials to choose between their party posts and their lobbying connections is an instance. Another was his widely fanfared announcement that he would ask Congress to enact legislation taking all postmasters out of politics and putting their jobs on a "strictly civil service basis". Still a third is the laudable way with which on the whole he has backed liberal members of his cabinet who have resisted Farley's patronage encroachments.

Yet, even in these meritorious acts, the President has displayed a distinct under-current of wary temporizing.

Although a half dozen party leaders---whose bald and unrestrained lobbying operations were on the verge of proving extremely embarrassing to the Administration---were compelled to relinquish their political titles, his handyman, Jim Farley, is still by his side as Postmaster General and Democratic National Chairman.



*Farley*

The postmaster civil service bill, promised a year ago, has yet to see the light of day. And while the President did, when asked his position on the matter at a press conference, declare himself in favor of Senator Norris' amendment, he never raised a finger in its behalf. There is absolutely no question that had he thrown his weight behind the proposal, it would be law today.

Even his support of the cabinet members who have insisted upon picking their own executive and technical assistants without regard to Farley's political desires has been chary.

*For Perkins to get action*

When Secretary Harold Ickes after extended search for the best man available picked Dr. John W. Finch, dean of the School of Mines of the University of Idaho and a geologist of international repute and experience, to be director of the United States Bureau of Mines, it was suddenly discovered, as the oath of office was about to be administered to Finch, that his commission was mysteriously missing. Hasty inquiry revealed that ~~it~~ reposed, unsigned, on the President's desk with a pencilled notation that Farley had questioned the scientist's political qualifications.

*more delay*

In the end the scrappy Secretary of the Interior had his way on the appointment, as he has on all others he has demanded. The commission was finally signed, and Dr. Finch is today the able administrator of the important bureau.

But it is a significant commentary upon the Administration's patronage policies, and an illuminating insight into the behind-the-scenes relations between the President and Farley, that the latter was able to hold up for weeks so important an appointment by a cabinet member of the stature and high standing in the President's regard as Ickes.

Secretaries Wallace, Perkins and Morgenthau also, more than once have crossed swords with Farley over patronage matters.

And in the past year Attorney General Homer Cummings, although considerably more politically minded and complaisant than his colleagues, has been quietly ~~working~~ rehabilitating and strengthening the personnel of his department.

In the early months of the regime the Treasury and Justice Department were happy hunting grounds for Farley.

Cummings, whose appointment as Governor General of the Philippines had been announced, was abruptly made head of the legal branch of the government at the last moment, following the sudden death of Senator Tom Walsh. Uncertain as to his tenure in the cabinet post and overwhelmed with the deluge of legal problems that those first hectic days thrust upon him, Cummings allowed Farley a free hand in unloading job hunters on him. When Ickes curtly rejected the late Pat Malloy, whom Farley attempted to foist on him, Jim had no trouble in placing the Oklahoman on Cummings' staff as an Assistant Attorney General. Later, when his own appointment was made permanent and he began to exert a firmer grip in the selection of his personnel, Cummings quietly dropped Malloy.

In the Treasury, Jim had even easier sledding. The late William H. Woodin was a charming, lovable person. But he knew little about finance, and nothing at all about politics. The result was that Farley had practically free run of the department, and he studded its executive rungs with politicians who, while high on the F.R.B.C. (For Roosevelt Before Chicago) roll, have been among the sourest New Deal selections.

When Morgenthau took command of the Treasury this situation was reversed overnight. He immediately began a vigorous house-cleaning. He is still at it, as some of the Farleyites are so strongly entrenched politically that their dislodgement is no easy matter.

Assistant Treasury Secretary "Chip" Robert, although Young Henry has shorn him of all his duties except supervision of the insignificant Bureau of Engraving and Printing, is still clinging tenaciously to his title and pay check. Pompous, publicity-seeking "Jafty" O'Connor *has resisted all efforts to get rid of him as Comptroller of the Currency, including the tempting offer of a \$24,000 a year job as Federal Reserve agent in San Francisco.* And Guy T. Helvering, whose appointment as Internal Revenue Commission head aroused a storm of bitter Senate protest even in the honeymoon days of the Administration, continues to hold on to his choice plum.

Mediocrity and inferiority have ~~been~~ marked characteristics of a large proportion of Farley's appointees. Yet, despite this fact, and the unquestioned great evils of an unrestrained spoils system, civil service is not without its grave failings and weaknesses.

*Long & Henry* It is ~~is~~ damning commentary upon the civil service system that the State Department, where career ~~tradition~~ *tradition* is most strongly entrenched, is the most ~~red-ridden~~ *red-ridden* bureaucracy-ridden and reactionary civil branch of the government.

The low state of the federal judiciary, where appointment is for life, is ~~is~~ notorious. And has been for decades.

Anti-spoils reformers are fond of citing the civil servant systems of England and Germany as models worthy of emulation in the United States. Yet, as every student of the history of these two countries knows, their career bureaucrats are among the worst foes of democracy, and the bulwarks of reaction and war-mongering imperialism.

There is much that can be said about the inadequacies and short-comings of the civil service. An occasional house-cleaning



or threat of it is just as desirable and wholesome in the realm of non-elective officials as it is for those who must face the ballot box.

Jim Farley is richly endowed by nature for the <sup>exalted of southern</sup> role <sup>bloody</sup> of machine politician. <sup>which he now occupies</sup>

He has an iron constitution, imperturbable good nature, a genius for making friends, and a highly mobile sense of consistency.

*Jim Farley*  
In physique Jim has the build and stamina of a stevedore. In the past four years he has been practically continuously enroute, barnstorming about the country by train, auto and even airplane---which he does not like. Although a gusty trencherman and not overly fond of sport, Jim keeps a close guard on his figure. His father was a saloon keeper, but Jim neither drinks nor smokes. He chews gum, ~~and~~

Jim's taste in dress is equally restrained. He wears no jewelry or adornment of any kind---not even an Elk's tooth. His attire, while of expensive make and always a perfect color scheme, is discreetly modish and subdued. Society bores him, as <sup>it</sup> does his wife. They have no residence in Washington, his wife preferring her home in New York with occasional visits to the Capital. Jim is as exemplary a family man as Al Smith.

In personality Jim combines the bombastic qualities of the back-slapping politician with the shrewd utilitarianism of the go-getting salesman.

Although a Roman Catholic, Jim is not clannish. He is a great joiner. <sup>naturally</sup> He is a Knight of Columbus, of course. But he is also a Redman, an Eagle, etc. His real love is the B.P.O.E. It is as an Elk that Jim really shines in all his ebullient expansiveness.

Jim is today the greatest layer-on-of-hands in American politics.

In pervasive geniality and ingratiating friendliness he rivals the President.

No one in the Administration, including the President, has as many personal friends among the Washington correspondents as Jim. His press conferences, always largely attended, are the most jolly, informal and frank in the Capital. Jim talks the news men's language and has the intelligence to affect no pose and be on the square with them---a lesson some of his high-ranking colleagues have yet to learn.

Jim is no scholar in politics, and makes no pretence of being one.

He went to work at the age of eleven to help support his widowed mother and his brothers and sisters. He had some high schooling and several terms at a business college. But even if his educational opportunities had been greater, Jim would never have been a Brain Truster. He is not built that way. Erudition is not his line.

Book learning, the intricacies of economics, finance, statecraft, he leaves to others. When he has to make a speech there is always a ghost writer available to do the authoring. Jim's reading is confined to newspapers---although last year when he went abroad for a short vacation he took along some books, one of them an excellent economic history of the United States.

Politics is Jim's forte, and he has been playing it with single-minded devotion and zeal since the days when as a 21-year-old star first baseman on the Grassy Point, Rockland County, New York, ball team he used his popularity to capture the town

Franklin D. Roosevelt

People have been trying to find out what he read there

small town  
boy in  
to town

clerkship from a veteran politician who had held the office so long that for years he had ~~no~~ no opposition. For a Democrat, and an untried youngster at that, to stage such a coup in a rock-ribbed Republican stronghold was no mean feat. That the victory was no mere flash-in-the-pan was demonstrated by Jim's keeping a tight grip on the job until he was elected county supervisor eight years later.

There was nothing new in Jim's political methods. He *uses the tried and trusted methods of politics* is a hard worker but no innovator.

He knew every voter by his first name, and if he didn't Jim made him think he did. No christening, wedding, funeral or public function was without Jim's presence. And when it came to doing favors, no man called on Jim in vain. His district being strongly Republican, he cannily drew no party lines. A vote is a vote to Jim, regardless of who casts ~~it~~ *it* as long as it is for him.

The methods he used in those early days are the same he uses today.

As town clerk and as Postmaster General of the United States Jim's underlying political philosophy has remained the same.

"You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," is the credo on which he has won his way to high public place and fortune.

It is wholly characteristic of Jim that his rise to the higher rungs of political bossdom is founded upon his chairmanship of the boxing commission. He served one term in the New York legislature, and while he had the courage to vote for a state wet law, an act which cost him his seat at the next election, it was not in the sphere of statescraft that he made his mark.

Jim literally rose to eminence on a flood of free passes.



The boxing commission post carried no salary. And no one ever charged Jim with making a cent out of his job. But when it came to free passes for his friends---and everybody is Jim's friend---he was the anguish of the fight promoter's existence.

For one big fight he passed out \$30,000 worth of free tickets. The late Tex Rickard, who was promoting the affair, is reported to have gone to him and said:

"Jim, you give me back the 'Annie Oakleys' and I'll give you the fight."

Getting free passes for "the boys" is a major passion with Jim.

At the Chicago convention, when the fate of the Roosevelt candidacy was hanging by a thread, a friend encountered Jim restlessly pacing a corridor in the rear of the hall. Jim appeared worried.

"Things look kind of tough," the friend said consolingly.

"Yes," Jim replied, "I'm in a bad spot. You see, the boys from out in the states have flocked to town to see the show. They want tickets, and these just aren't any. But I can't tell them that. I can't disappoint the boys. I don't know what to do."

Farley takes his spectacular rise in politics in his stride. What he is really proud of is his equally meteoric---and little known---business success. The greatest compliment that can be paid him is to speak flatteringly of his business ability.

PO. Jim secretly considers himself a gifted business executive.

He is not without substantial grounds for this belief. The ingratiating talents he has used with such marked success in politics have been no less productive in trade. The glad-hand that

has been so facile in winning votes and handing out free tickets has been equally adept in selling gypsum.

Gypsum is an essential ingredient in the mixing of plaster, which in turn is absolutely necessary in building construction. And the building business, as is well known, has long had an irresistible and profitable attraction for American politicians.

Jim was an ace salesman for the U.S. Gypsum Company for fifteen years. He left the concern to become sales manager of the Universal Gypsum Company. A few years later he stepped out on his own, organizing the James A. Farley & Company, dealing in all varieties of building supplies. This modest little concern quickly displayed remarkable business-winning qualities.

So signal was its success <sup>that</sup> in 1929, only two years after its launching, ~~it~~ it ~~was~~ absorbed seven other concerns and ~~it~~ changed its name to the imposing General Builders Supply Corporation, James A. Farley president and chief owner.

This metamorphosis occurred at a singularly fortuitous moment. Jim, by practically the same wily maneuvers that he had used to make himself No. 1 man on the boxing commission, had staged another coup. From the innocuous post of secretary of the State Democratic Committee he had jumped himself to chairman and boss of the Committee.

Whether the unvarying good fortune of General Builders Supply Corporation has any relation to Jim's subsequent rapid rise in the political domain is any man's guess. But it may not be without interest and significance that the company has done a comfortable business through <sup>out</sup> the depression---despite the fact that the construction industry was one of the severest effected by the economic collapse.

While politics, patronage and speech-making have been his chief preoccupations since March 4, 1933, and while he has spent far more time away from his cabinet desk than at it, Jim takes his role as Postmaster General very seriously.

He will jest good humoredly about his political traffick-ing, but he is sensitive about his administration of the postal service.

From the day he took office his controlling objective has been to leave a record as an economical business executive. The oath of office was still warm on his lips when he began proclaiming his intention of taking the department "out of the red".

That his branch of the government is a highly complex institution consisting of services which are entirely self-supporting, such as first-class mail and parcel post, and of others which by law are not and can't be, such as franked official mail, less-than-cost service to newspapers and publications, and ocean and airmail subsidies, seemed entirely lost on Jim. His eyes were glued only on the balance sheets, and the fact that in the more than a century and a half existence of the department profit-showing years had been reported only on a few occasions.

Jim was bent on marking up one of them on his record, and he devoted himself to doing this with hard-boiled ruthlessness.

The fiscal year 1933-34 saw a marked retrogression in the quality of mail service. Personnel was cut to the bone and worked to the limit. Deliveries were reduced. It was not unusual, as a result of Farley's frenzied economy policy, for a letter to take two days to go from New York to Washington. Public service, consideration of the welfare of the tens of thousands of postal workers, was subordinated to paring expenditures so that Jim could make good his ambition to establish a record.

*not like  
Rohrer's  
motto*

11



*In his annual report he*

Postal bookkeeping being the hermaphroditic affair that it is, the exact amount of the economies is uncertain. ~~██████████~~

~~██████████~~ Jim modestly claims <sup>that</sup> he pruned expenditures by \$100,000,000. Unquestionably they were considerable ~~██████████~~ bombastically announced the glad tidings that the year had closed with a "surplus" of \$12,161,415.03.

The news failed to make the hoped-for front pages. But a partisan backfire did.

Poring over his figures, Republican snipers "discovered" a grave discrepancy. Instead of a surplus of \$12,000,000, they excitedly jabbered, there was actually a deficit of \$52,000,000.

The cry was taken up by the Tory Democratic Baltimore Sun's Frank R. Kent. A pompous reactionary much given to glib pontification, Kent is known among working reporters as a "thumb sucker". He covers Washington in his daily column by long-range from Baltimore, visiting the Capital only occasionally. Kent has never recovered from the shell-shock he sustained as a result of the sordid flop of his adored hero, Herbert Hoover. It is his secret *bluf* ~~██████████~~ that the Great Engineer was the victim of a conspiracy engineered by ~~██████████~~ envious, "breast beating"---a favorite expression---

~~██████████~~ Senate liberals.

Without stopping to examine the basis of the Republican charge, Kent high-balled to the attack.

"In a normal administration," he bellowed, "no department head would have dared present such a report. He would have known it would be analyzed at once, the joker discovered, and the pretense punctured....."

The analysis about which Kent so violently beat his breast---but carefully avoided making---was made by the Sunpapers in

*five*  
both their news and editorial columns. ~~It~~ revealed the fact that Farley, while less than frank and juggling figures, had not only made his computations entirely within the law but had also followed a precedent established by Kent's idolized Hoover administration.

What Farley had done was this: He excluded from the deficit side of the postal ledger the tens of millions of dollars that are expended annually for ocean and air mail subsidies and for carrying the vast volume of franked mail.

*Legerdormain*  
Hoover's Walter Brown had performed this ~~was~~ in 1929---without legal authority. Only later did he get Congress to sanction the practice.

Kent, of course, had said nothing about this at the time. Nor was there a word about it in the three indignation-filled columns he devoted to castigating Farley. The pudgy little Baltimorean had much to say about deception on the part of the New Deal Postmaster General, but not a breath of reproach for the latter's equally guilty predecessor.

Farley was open to severe condemnation, but not for the reason that Kent and the Republican guerrillas attacked him.

*No fundamental New Deal*  
One of the principal items of cost of the postal service is labor, and it was in this field that Farley effected his largest economies. The black figures on his ledger that he paraded so proudly were squeezed out of the sweated toil of the army of lowly, underpaid clerks, carriers and substitutes. The latter were literally forced to exist and to support their families on incomes of a few dollars a week, and when Congress passed an act giving them a fixed minimum of \$12 a week, Roosevelt, on Farley's insistence, vetoed the bill.

Farley's inhuman treatment of postal labor is one of

the blackest acts of the Roosevelt regime. There was nothing that he, or any New Deal apologist, could say in its defense. Farley and the President left themselves wide open. A fair, informed, enlightened commentator could have riddled them on the issue with devastating righteousness.

But defending underpaid, sweated workers, whether in the government's service or in industry, is not in Kent's line.

On ~~the labor question~~ <sup>the labor question</sup> he sees eye to eye with reactionary New Deal Democrats as well as with Tory Republicans. The only time Kent has anything to say about labor is when opportunity permits taking a cuff at some stupid or crooked professional union official.

It has always been characteristic of Jim that he has not rested content on his laurels.

Each goal he has attained, he has used ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> as a stepping stone to further clambering. Today, two immediate objectives occupy his thoughts, energies and talents:

1. The renomination and re-election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1936.
2. The nomination and election of James Farley as Governor of New York in 1936.

*Bush*  
Jim has been quietly hard at work on both of these enterprises for months.

The renomination of the President will be a cinch. Under our convention system of naming presidential candidates, with its easy secret control of delegates through patronage and on occasion even more "direct" means, an incumbent President seeking a second term can't be stopped. Hoover, despite widespread antipathy and antagonism among Republican leaders, was able to renominate himself without the suggestion of a serious challenge.

Jim has secretly had his eye on the New York governor-



ship since 1929, when with Roosevelt's private acquiescence he seized the chairmanship of the State Democratic Committee. Every move he has made since then in the New York political arena has been with the thought of helping his gubernatorial ambitions.

The powerful upstate Democratic machine that Jim has developed, the first of its kind in the history of the state, he built up largely around the figure of Roosevelt, and as Governor and President it has served the latter well.

But the "boys" know, and Jim is counting strongly on the belief that they will not forget when he calls on them to "go down the line" for him, that it was he who gave them free passes, saw they they were taken care of at the pie counter, and did them many favors.

Tammany, once so bitterly anti-Roosevelt and anti-Farley, has been thoroughly house-cleaned and cowed. The inept, bungling Curry was unceremoniously tossed out and a friendly leader installed.

When Jim talks privately about Tammany these days, the sly smile on his big, round face bears strong resemblance to that of the cat which had just swallowed the canary.

Last year, although he personally strongly dislikes Senator Royal S. Copeland, as do Roosevelt and practically all the New York Democratic leaders, Jim nevertheless supported the blatant, glad-handing meddler and radio speiler when he came up for re-election. Copeland is a facile wangler, and Jim took no chances in antagonizing him.

Likewise, while he and Governor Lehman privately parted company within a few months after the latter's election in 1932, Jim had himself re-elected State Chairman in 1934. His explanation was that he did it as a favor to Lehman, so that the cry could not be

*seat in NY  
legislature*

raised that he did not favor his re-election.

This consideration unquestionably was a factor in the situation. Roosevelt could not afford to take any chances on losing the Empire State in the middle of his first term. But the gubernatorial contest two years later also played a very large role in Jim's reasoning.

As State Chairman he is in a powerful position to build up his fences and line up support for his candidacy.

Jim is a good bet for the New York governorship in 1936.

The Democratic nomination is as good as his now. Only the President and strategical exigencies that might arise in his second campaign, can keep Jim from it.

Some who know him well whisper that Jim's ambitions do not stop at the governor's chair. They say that already his eye is fixed on the White House or the Senate in 1940.

Which it will be, it would appear, Jim has not yet decided. He is keeping an open mind, so as to be in a position to try for the prize where his chances appear most promising.

Is Jim going places?

*only so long as he has a star  
to back him*

There are plenty of worried Democratic leaders who secretly fear that he is.

The "big palooka", as certain roiled Democratic senators---privately, of course---now refer to him, has repeatedly demonstrated in his brief but meteoric career that he has the habit of getting what he goes after.

Jim has that ineffable IT that does so well and goes so far in politics.

The day he returned from the Chicago convention he made directly for Tammany Hall. It was the Fourth of July, and the

braves were staging their customary ceremonials.

"Better not go in, Jim," a friendly warrior warned.

"The boys ain't feeling any too friendly toward you."

Jim made directly for the platform, strode up to Al Smith, and before the startled brown derby champion knew what was happening, was warmly shaking his hand.

For a moment the assembled mob, as astonished as Smith, was silent. Then bedlam broke loose. Boos, cat-calls, imprecations filled the air. Jim was unperturbed. Beaming, he waved his hand, took an empty chair near Smith.

Later, after the uproar had quieted and the program was again in progress, a district leader sitting next to him remarked:

"You sure had your nerve, Jim, coming here after what happened in Chicago."

"Nerve! What do you mean, nerve?" Jim replied.

"Aren't we all Democrats?"

*The Gop*  
~~You~~ just can't help but like Jim.

\* \* \* \* \*

No picture of Farley would be complete without inclusion of the two men who are his chief assistants in filling the role of Democratic National Chairman.

They present strange contrasts. <sup>I</sup>In calibre, character and reputation ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> differ as day does from night.

Charles Michelson is the answer to a politician's prayer.

Erudite, a brilliant writer and an astute strategist, who keeps in the background and his mouth shut, Charley is the kind of "brains" that politicians cry for but few are lucky enough to find.



$\frac{600}{2} = 300$

The Democratic National Committee pays him a cabinet member's salary, and he is a bargain at the price.

Outwardly, Charley is very deceiving.

He is gentle, calm tempered, quiet spoken. With his slightly stooped shoulders, careless attire, tousled graying hair and preoccupied look, he resembles nothing so much ~~as~~ <sup>J</sup>as an absent-minded Merk-water pedagog.

No one, to look at him, would take him for the ace newspaperman and peerless political publicity manipulator that he is.

As a reporter and editor he had a national reputation. Born in Virginia City, Nevada, he got his first training as a newsman in the glamorous days of San Francisco when that city and its dailies rivalled Manhattan for lusty blood and thunder. When the Spanish-American war broke, the New York Journal sent him to the scene of action as a war correspondent. Following this assignment he was successively editorial writer on the New York American, managing editor of the San Francisco Examiner, the Chicago ~~American~~ <sup>the Chicago Examiner,</sup> and Washington correspondent from 1917 to 1929.

As chief of the Washington news bureau of the New York World, Charley wielded one of the most caustic typewriters in the Capital. In news articles and in an editorialized column, which he wrote when the spirit moved him, he peeled large areas of epidermis from the hides of politicians with a rapier or meat axe, as he deemed the situation warranted.

Securing the services of Michelson was one of the best things Jouett Shouse did as field marshal of the Smith-Raskob drive to prepare the ground for the 1932 campaign. As it worked out, their plan while highly successful for the Democratic party, brought them no personal gains.

That, however, is another story. Charley's job was to turn the heavy guns on the incumbent Republican regime, and he did it with eclat and ~~with~~ withering execution.

Charley had publicly stated that all the trump cards were in his hands. Certainly no sharpshooter had a more vulnerable target than the stupid, bungling, ~~incompetent~~ Hoover regime. It was a marksman's paradise almost from the day ~~it~~ took office.

The special session that Hoover convened in April, 1929, for the purpose of enacting agricultural tariff legislation, was only a few days old when the reactionary party leaders seized control of Congress. Hoover never regained it. The Tories put through the scandal-smearred Smoot-Hawley outrage and not only forced Hoover to swallow it but to become its chief defender---an antic he is still engaged in performing.

To Charley the tariff machinations of the Republicans were an inexhaustable source of poisonous ammunition.

There were plenty of Democrats in both chambers who were as guilty as their Republican brethren of pork-grabbing. In fact, it was a log-rolling deal between shoe-lumber-oil-favoring Democrats and the Republicans that was responsible for the passage of the vicious bill in the Senate.

Charley, of course, had nothing to say about this. His job was to publicize the crimes of the Republicans, and there was no lack of them.

In innumerable statements, speeches, and articles prepared by him and put out under the names of Democratic leaders the foe was raked with ~~murderous~~ fire. The gunning finally became so galling that ~~demanded that~~ ~~defensive~~ measures be taken.



It was characteristic of Hoover that when he acted to counter the mounting tide of criticism he attempted to cope with the effect and not its cause---his own ~~Mal-adroit administration~~

To Hoover every word of dissent uttered against him was inspired by spite or malice. In his opinion the way to deal with such attacks was to lay down a smoke screen of panegyrics.

For this purpose he employed James West, White House correspondent of the Associated Press and a rabid Hooverite. As publicity director of the Republican National Committee it was West's job to match blows and strategem with Michelson.

It was a one-sided battle.

At his best West was a set-up for Charley. He didn't begin to approach him in ability, and among the correspondents he was as disliked as Charley was popular. On top of all this, the job of making a hero out of Hoover was beyond any mortal's doing.

West's desperate labors only furnished Charley with new ammunition.

When the Republican National Committee issued a pamphlet entitled "Smeat Hoover, Raskob's Order to His Subsidized Propagandist", Charley seized the opportunity to put over one of his most successful and effective blasts.

From the Congressional Record and old campaign speeches he assembled a number of statements by such eminent Republican leaders as Vice President Charles Curtis, Senator Borah, Senator Simeon D. Fess, Senator Guy Goff, Senator James Watson, Republican Congressional Committee Chairman Will R. Wood and Senator George Moses, in which they described Hoover in such ~~Malicious~~ terms as "the most expensive luxury that was ever fasted upon this country," "an alien", and "unfit for a responsible position of trust".

The "Smear Hoover" document dropped out of sight after this rejoinder.

Charley was not a B.C. Rooseveltian. His personal preference was Smith, with Owen D. Young as second choice. But he kept out of the bitter nomination battle, and when it was over Louis Howe had the wisdom to retain him.

In the past two years his activities have been less spectacular than before, but no less valuable.

During the first hectic months of the New Deal he was the Administration's press trouble-shooter. He back-stopped Woodin in his early days at the Treasury. When General Johnson was getting the NRA underway and found his press department bogging down, he sent out an SOS for Charley.

Since leaving the NRA Charley has been occupied chiefly with directing the Democratic Committee's propaganda and ghosting speeches and statements for Farley and other party leaders.

His opportunities for offensive attack are not as frequent as they once were. But when some unwary Republican does lay himself open, Charley's aim is as sure and blighting as in the Hoover days.

Emil Hurja began his career in Washington as the "Mystery Man".

Today, the so-called mystery has been dissipated, and he is known as the "Fumbling Finn".

Hurja is Farley's own choice. He is Jim's personal handyman, and his activities have ranged from job scouting and snatching to campaign strong-arming.

Of the many strange spectres that have emerged from the deep onto the Capital scene in the past two years, Hurja is one of the strangest. Gargoylish in appearance, his burly, six-foot

figure set off by meaty jowls and a heavy, bulging stomach, Hurja is just what he looks to be---a machine politician. He is no more a New Dealer than Barney Baruch, and the other Wall Street operators whom he served before Farley took him under his wing.

Born in Crystal Falls, Michigan, one of eleven children, Hurja has adventured far and wide and in many waters.

He left home as a youth, heading west. He spent some time in Butte, Montana, from there went to Yakima, Washington, and then on to Alaska as a gold seeker. He never got around to prospecting. A newspaper job offered itself, and he turned reporter. During the next ten years he alternated journalism with a period as a student at the University of Washington, dabbling in Alaskan politics, and ~~an~~ army enlistment when the United States entered the World War.

From the military he went to the booming Southwestern oil fields. But not to seek oil. He promoted a newspaper and became a publisher. Southern California and another newspaper venture was his next lighting point. In 1927, with the great stock fantasia in swing, Hurja decided that newspapering was too tepid for a man of his wide experience and talents. He made for New York, where he established himself in an office on the edge of Wall Street as a mining stock "specialist".

In this ~~field~~ he met and did work for Baruch and Frank Walker. In the 1928 campaign he sought to attach himself to the inexperienced but moneyed Raskob. The latter, however, failed to be impressed, and Hurja went his way. In 1932 he had better luck. His old friend Walker, who ~~won~~ won his spurs as a ~~New Dealer~~ <sup>New Dealer</sup> by a \$10,000 pre-convention contribution, secured him a desk in the Roosevelt headquarters as an election trend analyst---Hurja's great aspiration.



Whether Farley was impressed with Hurja's calculations and prognostications is unknown. The work he put him to doing when he brought him to Washington was job snooping.

Hurja's first assignment in this line was the toughest that could have been given him. Farley sent him over to the Interior Department with orders to ride herd on Secretary Ickes' appointments. Hurja lasted just long enough for Ickes to become aware of his presence. Then he departed—in a hurry. Eventually, Farley was able to pacify the square-jawed Interior ruler, and Hurja returned. But again only for a short time.

Hurja continued flitting mysteriously about in the shadows until the 1934 Congressional campaign. Then he emerged <sup>to</sup> in the light of day as a self-acclaimed full-fledged soothsayer and trigger man.

On the basis of his accomplishments in these spheres it would have been much better for his reputation if he had remained in the dark.

Hurja's major scenes of activity as a would-be axe man were in his home state Michigan and adjoining Minnesota. In both he scored a 100 per cent flop. Michigan went Republican, one of the few states to do so. Minnesota remained steadfast in the Farmer-Laborite column.

It was in Minnesota that Hurja won his sobriquet "The Fumbling Finn".

Passing through the state on his way back from Hawaii, Roosevelt had made it clear that Senator Henrik Shipstead and Governor Floyd Olson were his friends. Minnesota Democrats, most of them of pronounced reactionary bent, were bitterly miffed. Later, when Farley visited the state they sold him the idea that in the three-cornered fight in which Minnesota was embroiled, the Democratic slate had a real chance. Farley issued a bombastic statement endorsing the ticket.

Farley's action apparently did not displease the President for he issued no denial or rebuke. White House spokesmen explained this strange attitude by claiming that Farley had done what he did in the role as Democratic National Chairman and not as an agent of the Administration.

When Hurja followed Farley into the state he did not [REDACTED]

bother to trouble himself with any such delicate distinctions.

He boisterously announced himself a spokesman and representative of "the Administration," and loosened a tirade of charges and demunciation at Olson. In speeches and in press statements he called for the election of the Democratic candidates, and forecast their certain election.

Hurja was particularly confident of the outcome in the 8th Minnesota district, which includes Duluth.

This city has a large Finnish population, and in a speech there he concluded with a peoration in the native language. Afterwards he told reporters that there was no doubt of a sweeping Democratic victory in the district.

Olson apprized of the prognostication laughed.

"Don't pay any attention to the 'Fumbling Finn'", he advised.

The White House received word of Hurja's antics with icy disapproval.

Farley's guarded machinations as Democratic National Chairman was one thing. Hurja's strong arm methods as an Administration spokesman was something different. Jim was hastily summoned by the President, following which the press was informed that the beefy Finnlander ~~had not spoken~~ for the President, that the latter had made no change in his "fixed policy" of remaining aloof from local politics.

Whether it was this rebuff, the electorate's confusion as a result of the ~~mag~~ *mag* ~~of contradictory~~ representations, or some other reason, Minnesota turned thumbs down on the Democratic runners.

In the 8th District, where Hurja was so certain of victory, the Democratic slate ran last.

Hurja's great pride is the "system" he claims to have developed to ~~foretell~~ *ascertain* election outcomes. He sets great store by his calculations, citing this instance and that where his prognostications came within a few votes of his forecasts. Actually his soundings are no mysterious or accurate than any of the other many methods of making test polls.

The only difference is that he has much to say about his successful predictions ~~carefully~~ *while* ~~avoiding mention of~~ his equally numerous ~~misses~~ *misses*.

But if he is so discreetly modest others are not.

Encountering Clifford Prevost, ace Washington correspondent of the Detroit Free Press, at a Farley press conference following the 1934 elections, Hurja shot at him:

"That paper of yours is just as dirty as those <sup>two</sup> Chicago rags".

"But much more effective", Prevost replied quietly.

3/5/36

Our gum-chewing Postmaster General  
Big Jim Farley ~~knows~~ keeps

Over in the Post Office Department, ~~a little~~ card index. ~~there~~ In it are the names of the contributors--  
both in cash and in time--  
to the election of Franklin Roosevelt as President of the United States.

The cards in this ~~case~~ <sup>index</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> soiled and worn.  
They have been thumbed over many times. ~~For the purpose of~~  
sorting out the jobs and the candidates and ~~getting them matched~~  
for office  
matching them with some degree of appropriateness for office  
is ~~maxafzthazxx~~ at one and the same time the most criticised ~~but~~ and  
powerful ~~assignments in the organization of any Administration.~~

Big Jim has sorted them over this way and checked them over that.  
For the task of matching jobs against candidates, and contributions against  
appropriateness for office is ~~maxafzthazxx~~  
~~maxafzthazxx~~ more impregnated with dynamite than any other <sup>single thing</sup> facing  
a new administration.

<sup>As he thumbs his cards</sup>  
Big Jim has ~~his~~ his eyes on one goal. Before him ~~are~~  
~~are~~ are those dazzling and elusive numerals 1936. And every appointment  
he recommends is made with those numerals flickering in Jim's  
politically avaricious eyes.

Over in the other ~~unmarked~~ parts of the Capital,  
however, are three Cabinet colleagues of Big Jim's who ~~have~~ at various  
times have come to see red when his name is mentioned. They are  
the Secretaries of Agriculture, Labor and the Interior; and they have  
their eyes so riveted on the numerals 1933 and 1934 and the work  
immediately to be accomplished ~~that~~ that probably they will  
be the biggest assets Mr. Farley has in 1936.

But Mr. Farley, ~~probably not without some realization of~~  
devotion  
the ~~unmarked~~ of his colleagues, but with a ~~positive~~ army of



hungry

~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ job-seekers always milling just outside his office

The result has been a clash, not uncommon in any new administration, <sup>infinitely</sup> ~~(between politics and efficiency)~~ but ~~this clash was~~ more pronounced in the present, ~~circumstances~~ due to the ~~directly opposed~~ ~~headlong clash of~~ an army of ~~job-seekers~~ <sup>furnished</sup> ~~years away from the last trough and the~~ of twelve-year ~~hungry~~ <sup>with</sup> job-seekers against the ~~pragmatic~~ <sup>pronounced</sup> idealism of certain members of the Cabinet.

The result also has been a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ clear-cut <sup>definite</sup> ~~division~~ between the departments of the government. Some have become definite dumping grounds for paid-off party hacks. Others, ~~however~~ due to the belligerent defiance of their chiefs, have collected <sup>dazzling</sup> a conglomeration of devoted ~~and noble~~ public servants.

~~Here~~ Here is an illustration of how it works <sup>out</sup>.

Pat Malloy of Tulsa Oklahoma was on the bandwagon for F.D.R. He ~~was~~ <sup>got</sup> on the bandwagon early and he worked hard. He ~~materialized~~ ~~materially~~ whipped into shape the organization which ~~combined~~ put Oklahoma in the Roosevelt columns. Big Jim Farley was grateful.

Shortly after March 4,

So Pat Malloy arrived in Washington in quest of reward <sup>and</sup> Big Jim sent him around to ~~Assistant~~ Secretary Ickes. A Westerner/~~like~~ of Pat's calibre, he reasoned, should be assistant secretary of the Interior.

Harold Ickes, ~~who~~ ~~has managed Hiram Johnson's Bull Moose Campaign in 1924,~~ looked over the ~~new~~ candidate quizzically. He was not partial to an oil man, but he asked Malloy to tell his story. In the course of this, Malloy said:

"For many years I have been associated with John McGraw in his Tulsa law firm."

Ickes scowled. Back in 1924, he, Ickes, had been campaign manager for Hiram Johnson's presidential effort and he remembered all too well one John McGraw as his chief political stumbling block



laws, curbing our monopolies and protecting our domain <sup>to</sup> should be the dumping ground for political spoilsmen. Attorney General Cummings is a ~~maxx~~ charming gentleman who has spent a life-time pouring oil on troubled waters. He has become so adept at this that he even smoothed out the row over the Ku Klux & Klan at ~~Madison Square Garden~~ during the Madison Square Garden convention in 1924. And because ~~his~~ his outstanding characteristics ~~is~~ is amiability ~~maxx~~ he has been <sup>slide through</sup> content to coast along on ~~promises of prosecuting gold hoarders~~ <sup>the first six months of the Roosevelt Admin</sup> ~~no~~ <sup>with</sup> no other accomplishment save gradiose promises of prosecuting gold hoarders.

When, for instance, J. Crawford Biggs, a North Carolina lawyer ~~with a spot~~ once associated with <sup>Judge Parker</sup> A. Mitchell Palmer and the oil scandals, was proposed ~~to him for~~ <sup>for</sup> the key post of Solicitor

General, Mr. Cummings complacently accepted. When George C. Sweeney, a 35-year old mayor of Gardner, Massachusetts, <sup>with only eight years law practice</sup> was proposed as assistant attorney general <sup>of legal experience</sup> only because <sup>of</sup> was a buddy of Young Jimmy Roosevelt, Cummings

~~maxx~~ was equally complacent. ~~Atkinson~~ Nor did he change his mood when ~~Senator McAdoo~~ Jim Farley sent over the name of

William Stanley to be his watchdog as another assistant attorney general; or when Senator McAdoo requested the appointment of

the grossly-inefficient and garrulous A.V. Dalrymple as Director of

Prohibition. <sup>with a smile,</sup> Not only did Cummings swallow all of these but ~~maxx~~ he himself <sup>outdid them all by making</sup> ~~maxx~~ one of the most inexplicable ~~maxx~~ appointments

of the entire Roosevelt Administration. For some twelve years the ~~maxx~~ <sup>Democratic</sup> chief target in the Department of Justice ~~for liberals and Democrats~~ ~~maxx~~ has been one J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation.

He it was who framed the charges against Senator Wheeler during the latter's expose of Harry Dougherty. He it was who ~~maxx~~ searched the files of Senator McKellar when the Tennessean was criticising Postmaster Brown's mail contracts. He it was who raised the cry of "Red Menace" during the post war period, and who

of the fortune fact this

anyone

St.

agroup of

*Communists*

~~radicals~~ and criminals.

And yet the complacent Mr. Cummings ~~unwisely~~ reappointed him.

The Attorney General stands at one extreme of the patronage pole— with the possible exception of the Postmaster himself, whose power to reward politicians in his own department <sup>gratuitously</sup> goes unchallenged. (Secretary Ickes ~~the Department of the Interior~~). At the opposite pole is ~~Secretary Ickes~~. In between, and showing varying degrees of rebellion are ~~Secretaries Wallace and Perkins~~.

Secretaries Wallace and Perkins, who rival Ickes in flouting the patronage Czar; Secretaries Dern and Swanson whose admirals and generals permit very little patronage to be dispensed; Secretary Hull, whose career diplomats ~~unwisely~~ fight fanatically against the award of even the smallest legation to an outsider; Secretary Roper ~~who being a good politician~~ who, being a good politician, has not been averse to letting politics enter his Commerce Department but who has maintained a high degree of efficiency nevertheless; and ~~the~~ Secretary Woodin who had let his Treasury ~~get swamped with~~ fill up with a none too savory swarm of politicians.

Secretary Ickes' appointments have been the most outstanding in ~~Washington~~ the new Administration. Hardly a vestige of the old do-nothing days under Hubert Work, Roy O. West and Ray Lyman Wilbur remain. A new type of executive has taken over the Interior Department, and in contrast with the sleepy carefree days of the past twelve years its corridors ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> hum with activity. As solicitor of his Department, replacing Edward C. Finney of Teapot Dome fame, ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> Ickes has appointed Nathan Margold a young liberal who had been dropped from the Harvard Law School because of his ~~supposed~~ enthusiasm for the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti. As his <sup>own</sup> personal assistant, Ickes appointed Harry Slattery, the first man to expose the oil scandals and an adviser of Gifford Pinchot in the conservation days. As Director of Investigators, Ickes brought back Louis R. Glavis the man who ~~finally~~ exposed Ballinger. As ~~Commissioner of Education~~



He revitalized ~~that department~~ the Bureau of Education by bringing in ~~as Commissioner~~  
~~the~~ a forthright modernist, George F. Zook, President  
 of Akron University ~~as Commissioner~~. But ~~perhaps the~~ <sup>debes has made is</sup> perhaps the  
 most important appointment of ~~all~~ that of Colonel Henry Matson  
 Waite, ~~as Deputy Administrator of Public Works,~~  
~~as in charge of the Federal Bureau of Public Works.~~  
~~Colonel Waite~~ With a long background as a ~~railroad engineer~~ <sup>bridge</sup> bridge  
 builder, chief engineer of Cincinnati and city manager of Dayton, Ohio,  
 Colonel Waite has handled the stupendous \$3,300,000,000 public works  
 program ~~and~~ with ~~unprecedented capacity~~ capacity for detail, dispatch  
 and organization.

~~He has~~ <sup>with</sup> more money to spend and more jobs to distribute <sup>over</sup>

than any other agency of the Government. ~~Secretary Ickes has been~~

under greater fire than any other ~~member~~ <sup>broadsides</sup> member of the cabinet. The

~~fire~~ <sup>against him</sup> comes from two directions. One fusillade is directed from a  
 and hungry <sup>appeal their appeals</sup> corps of disgruntled contractors unable to get the jobs.

~~contracts they are entitled to~~. The other ~~broadsides~~ comes from  
 an even greater <sup>army</sup> army of senators and congressmen who see no reason why  
 Public Works should not assist them both <sup>through</sup> through jobs and through  
 pork in <sup>keeping</sup> keeping intact their political fences.

Regarding both of these, ~~things~~ "Honest Harold" ~~has~~

~~has~~ <sup>has</sup> very definite ideas. He has put his foot down

on ~~points of~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~much~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~Herbert Hoover~~ and on his major  
 appointments he has fought strenuously for the men he wants.

On one definite front however, he has yielded to <sup>compromised</sup> ~~Big Jim Farley~~.

He has finally ~~given~~ taken in ~~Farley's~~ Man Friday, a Finnish  
 gentleman named Emil Hurja and given him the imposing title of

"Administrative Assistant of Public Works." This is nothing more  
 than a camouflage for ~~the~~ Hurja's actual job of <sup>as</sup> patronage  
 dispenser

<sup>Small time</sup> ~~of~~ Public Works ~~division~~ <sup>jobs</sup>

<sup>gets</sup> In other words, Farley and Ickes ~~have~~ <sup>to make</sup> ~~compromised~~.  
 Ickes ~~is to have~~ a free rein <sup>with</sup> his major appointments, ~~which~~ Farley

# WESTERN UNION PRESS MESSAGE

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

"Honored" Harold Leves, despite <sup>(the quality of)</sup> his appointments, has  
been under greater fire than any other member of the  
cabinet. And for a very good reason. →

gets the ~~multi-million~~ chicken feed.

The same compromise has been worked out in the Department of Agriculture. ~~and But~~ There, however, a somewhat difficult problem exists. Ickes ~~on the other hand~~ The rather naive Henry Wallace dominated his major appointments, ~~and~~ started out on his new job with no ideas at all on the subject of patronage, ~~and let~~ <sup>As a result</sup> the President put over at least two extremely important appointments which ~~have created a sort of dual monarchy~~ have created a sort of dual monarchy in the Department of Agriculture. ~~which some~~ Most people refer to ~~as~~ <sup>this</sup> ~~generally as~~ "Across the Street."

Just behind the ~~office~~ main building and across B Street is the office of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. ~~Here~~ Here are carried out the ~~all important~~ revolutionary policies of limiting wheat, <sup>the production of</sup> cotton, tobacco and little pigs. <sup>And</sup> Here two men reign supreme. They are George N. Peek, former manufacturer of Moline Plows, old ~~friend~~ associate of Bernard M. Baruch, and Charles S. Brand, former lobbyist for the National Fertilizer Association, <sup>also an</sup> old associate of Bernard M. Baruch.

~~They exert more power than any other two men in the Administration.~~ They exert more power ~~than any other two men in the Administration.~~ Peek is an extremely capable operator. He has the interests of the farmer at heart, but leans instinctively toward the side of ~~the~~ big business from whence he came. Brand <sup>is less able</sup> has not forgotten his long years of lobbying and <sup>once committed the</sup> ~~signed~~ <sup>unpardonable error of signing</sup> a letter describing himself at one and the same time as "Co-Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration" and "Secretary of the National Fertilizer Association."

But whatever their faults, the two men together exert more influence over the future of the farmer ~~as~~ <sup>individuals</sup> than any other two in the Administration. And that is why <sup>anyone</sup> the ~~man~~ who wants to get things done at the Department of Agriculture first goes through the formality of calling at the Secretary's Office and then goes "Across the Street."

Now that Cordell Hull has <sup>weaned</sup> ~~won~~ the world--including F.D.R.--<sup>away from the idea</sup> that

Professor Moley was running his State Department, he is really having to something to say about who <sup>works for him</sup> ~~assists him~~. Before that and

time, however, ambassadors, ministers, <sup>and</sup> assistant secretaries were placed

under Hull's <sup>more</sup> whether he liked it or not and frequently without ~~any~~ <sup>even the formality of</sup>

<sup>advance notice</sup> ~~any advance consultation~~. Even <sup>his</sup> ~~his~~ Special Assistant, William

~~William Christian Bullitt~~ was not of Hull's own choosing and the first he knew

about that fact that William Christian Bullitt was to ~~occupy~~ <sup>first</sup> that

post was when it was announced to him by newspapermen.

During <sup>the</sup> this period of ~~the State~~ naive amiability some of

the wierdest appointments in recent diplomatic history were put over

on <sup>Cordell Hull</sup> ~~him~~. They included both career men and politicians. There was, for

instance, the appointment of Alexander W. Weddell, who as consulgeneral

to Mexico, once broadcasted the idea that Carleton Beals and Ernest Gruening

were dangerous radicals, and who after marrying a wealthy widow in Calcutta,

has now been sent to that country <sup>chiefly covert</sup> ~~in~~ whose goodwill we most ~~desire~~

Argentina. There was also Charles S. Wilson one of the ~~most~~ stodgiest

members of the career service, who after having been retired as Minister

to Roumania, was suddenly dragged back from oblivion by Undersecretary

Phillips and made Minister to Jugoslavia. He and Phillips were in Harvard

together.

Between Phillips and Farley there <sup>has</sup> developed the same row that Farley had with Ickes, Wallace and Perkins. ~~Only~~ In the case of

the State Department, there <sup>however</sup> ~~was~~ little ~~in~~ choice between Phillips'

career men and Farley's politicians-- with, of course, certain

definite exceptions. One of these exceptions is Hal Savier of

Corpus Christi, Texas, appointed Ambassador to Chile after a knockdown

and dragout battle between the two champions of patronage and career

diplomacy. M Ambassador Savier's name does not appear in Who's Who.

The name of his wife, however does. She is President of the Daughters

of the Republic of ~~the~~ Texas, "Custodian of the Alamo," director of the



Austen Pan American Round Table, author of "Mexicana" a comic opera, and last but not least, ~~member of the~~ <sup>woman</sup> Democratic National Committee from Texas. She counted heavily with Jim Farley.

As a matter of fact, Texas ~~counted~~ <sup>scored</sup> heavily ~~among~~ <sup>in the ranks of</sup> diplomatic ~~appointments~~ <sup>although</sup> with this administration, ~~but~~ not because of Jim Farley. The chief promoter of Texas diplomatic ~~appointments~~ <sup>by</sup> was Senator Morris Sheppard, father of the Eighteenth Amendment and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs.

One day ~~Senator~~ <sup>last May</sup> Sheppard ~~was~~ <sup>ed</sup> complaining bitterly to a friend ~~of his~~ <sup>for days</sup>.

"I have been trying to get a constituent of mine named to a diplomatic post, ~~but~~ but the White House won't budge. The man has money, used to be head of the American Legion, and would make a real diplomat."

A few days later fate smiled upon the Senator from Texas. It happened that Roosevelt's old law partner, Basil O'Connor, ~~member~~ ~~and~~ Roosevelt's chief secretary, Louis M. Howe, were instrumental in negotiating the sale of <sup>a quarter million</sup> toilet kit bags for Conservation Camps <sup>resulted</sup> at a price considerably higher than that paid by the army. There ~~was~~ a furore in Congress. The "kit bag <sup>incident looked into the first scandal of the Roosevelt</sup> ~~was~~ referred to Senator Sheppard's Military Affairs Committee.

A day or two later, the Senator from Texas saw his friend again.

"You know," he said, "I think I'm not only going to get that diplomatic appointment I told you about, but I think I'm going to get two."

The next day the White House announced the appointment of Alvin Owsley ~~as Minister to Rumania~~ and Robert G. Caldwell as Ministers <sup>Roumania and</sup> to Portugal. Both were from Texas.

The Treasury Department under ~~the~~ pressure from Big Jim. Farley has got its share of ~~the good and~~ <sup>but also some of the good.</sup> the bad. Its most outstanding addition is Dean Acheson, a young lawyer of no <sup>financial</sup> experience whom



~~State~~ The above diagnosis, of course, covers only  
major patronage. It is important- extremely important. But necessarily  
it is limited. ~~There are only a few ambassadorships~~  
legations to be allotted. There are even fewer ambassadorships to  
be filled. But ~~the important factor is the man who~~

the man who wrote the instructions for the ambassador ~~is~~

~~is~~ is the \$5,000 office man at home. This is not so true

of other jobs as it is of ambassadorships. ~~And it is axiomatic that~~  
~~it is of a nature to be considered as a~~ ~~fact~~ a now

the manner in which ~~the~~ administration fills the ~~positions~~  
great spread of jobs ~~that change hands~~

with party ~~turnovers~~  
the postmasterships, the customs collectors, the marshalls, the  
internal revenue collectors, the public works and home loan administrators--  
may make or break it. These are the jobs for which the great rank and file  
of party workers clamor. ~~There are about 100,000 of these jobs~~

30,000 ~~created by the Recovery Program~~ These are the jobs ~~upon~~ which  
Big  
Jim Farley ~~has fixed his eyes upon~~ considers his rightful spoils. And

the  
within proper safeguards of merit they are. ~~The only thing is that~~

But, says Big Jim, "loyalty is an aspect of merit. One of  
my chief duties is to pass on the loyalty of applicants. Politics,  
the editorial writers hint, enters into my consideration. Of course,  
it does."

11/19/41



34  
59  
7/4

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a little card index. ~~file~~ In it are the names of the contributors--  
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Over in the other ~~and~~ ~~other~~ parts of the Capital,  
however, are three Cabinet colleagues of Big Jim's who ~~have~~ at various  
times have come to see red when his name is mentioned. They are  
the Secretaries of Agriculture, Labor and the Interior; and they have  
their eyes so riveted on the numerals 1933 and 1934 and the work  
immediately to be accomplished ~~therein~~ that probably they will  
be the biggest assets Mr. Farley has in 1936.

But Mr. Farley, ~~probably~~ not without ~~some~~ realization of  
devotion  
the ~~realization~~ of his colleagues, but with a restless army of



hungry

~~several hundred~~ job-seekers always milling just outside his office

The result has been a clash, not <sup>U</sup>ncommon in any new administration, between politics and efficiency, but ~~which has been~~ infinitely ~~dramatically opposed~~ more pronounced in the present, ~~circumstances~~ due to the ~~directly opposite~~ ~~feature of the~~ headlong clash of ~~several thousand~~ an army of job-seekers ~~many years away from the lean trough and the~~ ~~famished~~ <sup>with</sup> pronounced of twelve-year ~~hungry~~ job-seekers against the ~~institutions~~ idealism of certain members of the Cabinet.

The result also has been a ~~manifestation of~~ ~~clear-cut~~ <sup>friction</sup> ~~definite division between~~ the departments of the government. Some have become definite dumping grounds for paid-off party hacks. Others, ~~due~~ due to the belligerent defiance of their chiefs, have collected <sup>dazzling</sup> a <sup>conglomeration</sup> of devoted ~~and able~~ public servants.

~~See~~ Here is an illustration of how it works <sup>out</sup>.

Pat Malloy of Tulsa Oklahoma was on the bandwagon for F.D.R. He <sup>got</sup> on the bandwagon early and he worked hard. He ~~distributed~~ ~~materially~~ whipped into shape the organization which ~~carried~~ put Oklahoma in the Roosevelt columns. Big Jim Farley was grateful.

Shortly after March 4

So Pat Malloy arrived in Washington in quest of reward <sup>and</sup> Big Jim sent him around to ~~President~~ Secretary Ickes. A Westerner, ~~like~~ of Pat's calibre, he reasoned, should be assistant secretary of the Interior.

Harold Ickes, ~~who once managed Hiram Johnson's Bull Moose Campaign in 1924~~, looked over the ~~new~~ candidate quizzically. He was not partial to an oil man, but he asked Malloy to tell his story. In the course of this, Malloy said:

"For many years I have been associated with John McGraw in his Tulsa law firm."

Ickes scowled. Back in 1924, he, Ickes, had been campaign manager for Hiram Johnson's presidential effort and he remembered all too well one John McGraw as his chief political stumbling block



in Oklahoma.

~~blithesome~~

But Pat Malloy did not notice the scowl. He continued:

"Yes, I thought a lot of John McGraw. I thought so much of him that I even named my son after him."

That finished the interview. Malloy was not made assistant and liberal secretary of the Interior. Instead Ickes appointed a dynamic ~~and liberal~~ youngster from Colorado named Oscar Chapman ~~raised~~ <sup>juvenile</sup> in the ~~liberal~~ shadow of Judge Ben B. Lindsay's court and later campaign ~~equally dynamic and liberal~~ manager for Senator ~~Edward P. Costigan~~ <sup>however</sup> Edward P. Costigan.

~~Big Jim Farley~~ <sup>The very next day</sup> does not forget a friend. ~~He came~~ to Malloy's rescue ~~immediately with an offer~~ the job of Assistant Secretary of War. ~~Pat, suffering from a severe case of hurt pride, told Farley that it was~~ <sup>of War. Pat, however, was in the</sup> the Interior Department or nothing he told Farley, and proceeded to ~~pack his bags for Tulsa~~ <sup>Before he</sup> could get underway, however, he changed his mind. Once again Big Jim proved himself a friend. He had started at the top <sup>of the justice but</sup> and gone down the line. The next Department was that of Justice. Farley sent Malloy over to Homer Cummings <sup>to become his</sup> assistant attorney general. Homer Cummings has spent a lifetime in politics. He knows how to give and take. He cherishes go ~~great~~ vaulting ambition to make a record for himself as a great prosecutor. So he accepted Pat Malloy. He accepted him despite Pat's own admission that it had been a long time since he brushed the dust off his law books, and despite the fact that ~~he was taking over an~~ <sup>Mallow was to be in charge of</sup> ~~taxes and~~ <sup>amalgamation of the two business divisions in the Department of Justice</sup> the Criminal Division ~~which supervised the work of all district attorneys in touch with district attorneys all over the country, and~~ <sup>United States</sup>

The Malloy appointment is typical of Jim Farley, and it is also typical of the Department of Justice. When the hand of fate settled upon the Havana Special and took the life of Senator Tom Walsh <sup>en route</sup> returning from his honeymoon to become attorney general, <sup>caused</sup> it ~~decreed that~~ the Department ~~was~~ charged with enforcing our



laws, curbing our monopolies and protecting our domain ~~should~~<sup>to</sup> be the dumping ground for political spoilsmen. Attorney General Cummings is a ~~manxman~~ charming gentleman who has spent a life-time pouring oil on troubled waters. He has become so adept at this that he even smoothed out the row over the Ku Klux & Klan at ~~the Madison Square Garden~~ during the Madison Square Garden convention in 1924. And because ~~his~~ his outstanding characteristics ~~is~~ his amiability ~~has~~ he has been ~~slide through~~ <sup>slide through</sup> ~~gratified~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~content to coast along on promises of prosecuting gold hoarders~~ <sup>just six months of the Roosevelt Administration</sup>

~~with no~~ <sup>with no</sup> other accomplishment save gaudy promises of prosecuting gold hoarders.

When, for instance, J. Crawford Biggs, a North Carolina lawyer ~~with a past~~ <sup>Judge Parker</sup> once associated with A. Mitchell Palmer and the oil scandals, was proposed ~~to him~~ <sup>for</sup> to fill the key post of Solicitor General, Mr. Cummings complacently accepted. When George C. Sweeney, ~~35-year old mayor of Gardner, Massachusetts,~~ <sup>35-year old mayor of Gardner, Massachusetts,</sup> with only eight years ~~law practice~~ <sup>legal experience</sup> was proposed as assistant attorney general ~~only~~ because ~~of~~ <sup>he</sup> was a buddy of Young Jimmy Roosevelt, Cummings ~~was~~ was equally complacent. ~~He did not change his~~ Nor did he change his mood when ~~Senator McAdoo~~ <sup>Senator McAdoo</sup> Jim Farley sent over the name of William Stanley to be his watchdog as another assistant attorney general; or when Senator McAdoo requested the appointment of the grossly-inefficient and garrulous A.V. Dalrymple as Director of Prohibition. <sup>with a smile,</sup> Not only did Cummings swallow all of these, but ~~he himself~~ he himself ~~could~~ <sup>could</sup> ~~do~~ <sup>do</sup> ~~them~~ <sup>them</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> ~~by~~ <sup>by</sup> ~~making~~ <sup>making</sup> ~~one of the most inexplicable~~ <sup>one of the most inexplicable</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~appointments~~ <sup>appointments</sup>

of the entire Roosevelt Administration. For some twelve years the ~~man~~ <sup>Demagogue</sup> chief target in the Department of Justice ~~for liberals and Democrats~~ <sup>for liberals and Democrats</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> has been one J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation. He it was who framed the charges against Senator Wheeler during the latter's expose of Harry Dougherty. He it was who ~~investigated~~ <sup>investigated</sup> searched the files of Senator McKellar when the Tennessean was criticising Postmaster Brown's mail contracts. He it was who raised the cry of "Red Menace" during the post war period and who prepared Hoover's report denouncing the Bonus Army as ~~a group of~~ <sup>a group of</sup>



~~Communists~~  
radicals and criminals.

And yet the complacent Mr. Cummings ~~reappointed~~ reappointed him.

The Attorney General stands at one extreme of the patronage pole with the possible exception of the Postmaster himself, whose power to reward politicians in his own department ~~of~~ <sup>gratuitously</sup> goes unchallenged. ~~Secretary Ickes the Department of the Interior.~~  
At the opposite pole is ~~Secretary Ickes~~. In between, and showing varying degrees of rebellion are ~~Secretaries Wallace and Perkins~~ Secretaries Wallace and Perkins, who rival Ickes in flouting the patronage czar; Secretaries Dern and Swanson whose admirals and generals permit very little patronage to be dispensed; Secretary Hull, whose career diplomats ~~fight fanatically against~~ fight fanatically against the award of even the smallest legation to an outsider; Secretary Roper ~~who being a good politician, has not been~~ <sup>who being a good politician, has not been</sup> averse to letting politics enter his Commerce Department but who has maintained a high degree of efficiency nevertheless; and ~~the~~ Secretary Woodin who had let his Treasury ~~fill up with~~ fill up with a none too savory swarm of politicians.

Secretary Ickes' appointments have been the most outstanding in ~~Washington~~ the new Administration. Hardly a vestige of the old do-nothing days under Hubert Work, Roy O. West and Ray Lyman Wilbur remain. A new type of executive has taken over the Interior Department, and in contrast with the sleepy carefree days of the past twelve years its corridors ~~are~~ <sup>now</sup> hum with activity. As solicitor of his Department, replacing Edward C. Finney of Teapot Dome fame, ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> Ickes has appointed Nathan Margold a young liberal who had been dropped from the Harvard Law School because of his ~~support~~ <sup>enthusiasm</sup> for the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti. As his <sup>own</sup> personal assistant, Ickes appointed Harry Slattery, the first man to expose the oil scandals and an adviser of Gifford Pinchot in the conservation days. As Director of Investigators, Ickes brought back Louis R. Glavis the man who ~~finally~~ exposed Ballinger. As Commissioner of Education



He revitalized ~~that department~~ the Bureau of Education by bringing in ~~as Commissioner~~  
~~the~~ ~~excellent~~ a forthright modernist, George F. Zook, President  
 of Akron University as ~~Commissioner~~. But ~~perhaps the~~ <sup>debes has made is</sup>  
 most important appointment of ~~all~~ was that of Colonel Henry Watson  
 Waite, ~~an in charge, under Secretary Ickes, of Public Works.~~ <sup>Deputy Administrator of Public Works,</sup>  
~~Colonel Waite~~ With a long background as a ~~railroad engineer,~~ <sup>bridge</sup>  
 builder, chief engineer of Cincinnati and city manager of Dayton, Ohio,  
 Colonel Waite has handled ~~the details of~~ the stupendous \$3,300,000,000 public works  
 program ~~and~~ with ~~unprecedented capacity~~ capacity for detail, dispatch  
 and organization.

<sup>not</sup> <sup>He has</sup> With more money to spend and more jobs to distribute  
 than any other agency of the Government, ~~Secretary Ickes~~ has been  
 under greater fire than any other ~~member~~ <sup>broadside</sup> of the cabinet. The  
<sup>against him</sup> ~~fire~~ comes from two directions. One fusillade is directed from a  
 and hungry corps of disgruntled contractors unable to <sup>appease their appetite</sup> get the ~~government~~  
~~contracts they consider their due.~~ The other ~~broadside~~ comes from  
 an even greater ~~army~~ <sup>army</sup> of senators and congressmen who see no reason why  
 Public Works should not assist them both ~~in~~ through jobs and through  
 pork in ~~keeping intact~~ their political fences.

Regarding both of these ~~things~~ "Honest Harold" ~~has~~  
~~expressed~~ has very definite ideas. He has put his foot down  
 on pork ~~with as much firmness as Herbert Hoover and on his major~~  
 appointments he has fought strenuously for the men he wants.  
 On one definite front however, he has <sup>compromised</sup> yielded to Big Jim Farley.  
 He has finally ~~given~~ taken in ~~Farley's~~ Man Friday, a Finnish  
 gentleman named Emil Hurja and given him the imposing title of  
 "Administrative Assistant of Public Works." This is nothing more  
 than a camouflage for ~~Hurja's~~ Hurja's actual job <sup>as</sup> patronage dispenser  
 of Public Works ~~chicken feed~~ <sup>jobs</sup>.

<sup>Small time</sup> In other words, Farley and Ickes ~~have~~ <sup>gets</sup> <sup>to make</sup> Ickes is to have a free rein with his major appointments, ~~with~~ Farley



# WESTERN UNION PRESS MESSAGE

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

"Honest" Arnold likes, despite <sup>(the quality of)</sup> the appointments, has  
been under greater fire than any other member of the  
cabinet. And for a very good reason. →



gets the ~~malnutrition~~ chicken feed.

The same compromise has been worked out in the Department of ~~and~~ ~~But~~ There, however, a somewhat difficult problem exists. ~~Ickee~~ ~~dominated~~ ~~his major~~ ~~appointments, but~~ ~~on the other hand~~ ~~started out on his new job with no ideas at all on the subject of~~ ~~patronage, and let~~ ~~the President put over at least two~~ ~~appointments which~~ ~~have created a sort of dual monarchy~~ ~~in the Department of Agriculture.~~ ~~which~~ ~~most people refer to as~~ ~~monarchy as~~ ~~"Across the Street."~~ ~~As a result~~ ~~extremely important~~

Just behind the ~~main~~ main building and across B Street is the office of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. ~~Here~~ Here are carried out the ~~important~~ ~~revolutionary~~ policies of limiting wheat, cotton, tobacco and little pigs. ~~Here two men reign~~ ~~supreme.~~ They are George N. Peek, former manufacturer of Moline Plows, old ~~friend~~ associate of Bernard M. Baruch; and Charles S. Brand, former lobbyist for the National Fertilizer Association, ~~old~~ ~~associate of~~ ~~Bernard M. Baruch.~~ ~~also an~~

They exert more power ~~influence~~ over the ~~farm~~ future of the farmers than any other two men in the Administration. Peek is an extremely capable operator. He has the interests of the farmer at heart, but leans instinctively toward the side of ~~the~~ big business from whence he came. Brand ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~forgotten~~ his long years of lobbying and ~~signed~~ ~~a letter~~ describing himself at one and the same time as "Co-Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration" and "Secretary of the National Fertilizer Association." ~~unpardonable error of signing~~ ~~once committed the~~

But whatever their faults, the two men together exert more influence over the future of the farmer ~~as~~ than any other two ~~in the~~ ~~Administration.~~ ~~And that is why~~ ~~the~~ ~~man~~ ~~who~~ ~~wants~~ ~~to~~ ~~get~~ ~~things~~ ~~done~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~Department~~ ~~of~~ ~~Agriculture~~ ~~first~~ ~~goes~~ ~~through~~ ~~the~~ ~~formality~~ ~~of~~ ~~calling~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~Secretary's~~ ~~Office~~ ~~and~~ ~~then~~ ~~goes~~ ~~"Across~~ ~~the~~ ~~Street."~~ ~~anyone~~ ~~individuals~~



Now that Cordell Hull <sup>weaned</sup> has ~~won~~ the world--including F.D.R.--<sup>away from the idea</sup> that Professor Moley was running his State Department, he is really having to something to say about who <sup>works for him</sup> ~~assistants are~~. ~~Before~~ Before that and time, however, ambassadors, ministers, assistant secretaries were placed under Hull's <sup>more</sup> whether he liked it or not and frequently without ~~his~~ <sup>even the formality of</sup> any ~~advance~~ <sup>advance notice</sup> consultation. Even his Special Assistant, ~~William~~ <sup>William Christian Bullitt</sup> was not of Hull's own choosing and the first he knew about that fact that William Christian Bullitt was to ~~occupy~~ <sup>first</sup> that post was when it was announced to him by newspapermen.

During <sup>this</sup> period of ~~Hull's~~ naive amiability some of the wierdest appointments in recent diplomatic history were put over on ~~him~~ <sup>Cordell Hull</sup>. They included both career men and politicians. There was, for instance, the appointment of Alexander W. Weddell, who as consul general to Mexico, once broadcasted the idea that Carleton Beals and Ernest Grauning were dangerous radicals, and who after marrying a wealthy widow in Calcutta, has now been sent to that country <sup>chiefly covert</sup> ~~in~~ whose goodwill we ~~most desire~~. Argentina. There was also Charles S. Wilson one of the ~~most~~ stodgiest members of the career service, who after having been retired as Minister to Roumania, was suddenly dragged back from oblivion by Undersecretary Phillips and made Minister to Jugoslavia. He and Phillips were in Harvard together.

Between Phillips and Farley there <sup>has</sup> developed the same row that Farley had with Ickes, Wallace and Perkins. ~~only~~ <sup>however</sup> In the case of the State Department there ~~was~~ <sup>has been</sup> little ~~in~~ choice between Phillips' career men and Farley's politicians--with, of course, certain definite exceptions. One of these exceptions is Hal Savier of Corpus Christi, Texas, appointed Ambassador to Chile after a knockdown and dragout battle between the two champions of patronage and career diplomacy. ~~M~~ Ambassador Sevier's name does not appear in Who's Who. The name of his wife, however, does. She is President of the Daughters of the Republic of ~~the~~ Texas, "Custodian of the Alamo," director of the



Austen Pan American Round Table, author of "Mexicana" a comic opera, and last but not least, ~~member of the~~ <sup>woman</sup> Democratic National Committee from Texas. She counted heavily with Jim Farley.

As a matter of fact, Texas <sup>scored</sup> ~~counted~~ heavily <sup>among the ranks of</sup> ~~in the~~ diplomatic <sup>although</sup> ~~appointments~~ <sup>by</sup> with this administration, ~~but~~ not because of Jim Farley. The chief promoter of Texas diplomatic appointments was Senator Morris Sheppard, father of the Eighteenth Amendment and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs.

One day <sup>last May</sup> Senator Sheppard ~~was~~ <sup>ad</sup> complaining bitterly to a friend ~~of his~~.

"I have been trying <sup>for days</sup> to get a constituent of mine named to a diplomatic post, ~~the man~~, but the White House won't budge. The man has money, used to be head of the American Legion, and would make a real diplomat."

A few days later fate smiled upon the Senator from Texas. It happened that Roosevelt's old law partner, Basil O'Connor, ~~secretary~~ ~~and~~ Roosevelt's chief secretary, Louis M. Howe, were instrumental <sup>a quarter million</sup> in negotiating the sale of ~~toilette kit~~ <sup>bags</sup> for Conservation Camps <sup>resulted</sup> at a price considerably higher than that paid by the army. There ~~was~~ a furore in Congress. The "kit bag <sup>incident looked like the first scandal of the Roosevelt</sup> ~~scandal~~ was referred to Senator Sheppard's Military Affairs Committee.

A day or two later, the Senator from Texas saw his friend again.

"You know," he said, "I think I'm not only going to get that diplomatic appointment I told you about, but I think I'm going to get two."

The next day the White House announced the appointment of Alvin Owsley ~~and Minister to Romania~~ and Robert G. Caldwell as Ministers <sup>Romania and</sup> to Portugal. Both were from Texas.

The Treasury Department under ~~the~~ pressure from Big Jim. Farley has got its share of ~~the good~~ <sup>but also some of the good</sup> and the bad. Its most outstanding addition is Dean Acheson, a young lawyer of no <sup>financial</sup> ~~financial~~ experience whom



~~But~~ The above diagnosis, of course, covers only  
major patronage. It is important- extremely important. But necessarily  
it is limited. ~~There are only a few~~ There are only a few ~~ambassadorships~~  
legations to be allotted. There are even fewer ambassadorships to  
be filled. But ~~the important factor to be remembered is that~~

the man who wrote the instructions for the ambassador ~~is~~

~~follow~~ is the \$5,000 office man at home. This is not so true

of other jobs as it is of ambassadors. But to a considerable extent it

is true that the manner in which ~~an~~ Administration fills the ~~positions~~

~~jobs which the administration creates~~ great spread of jobs ~~that change hands~~

with party turnover the postmasterships, the customs collectors, the marshalls, the

internal revenue collectors, the public works and home loan administrators--

may make or break it. These are the jobs for which the great rank and file

of party workers clamor. ~~There are about 100,000 of these plus an additional~~

30,000 created by the Recovery Program. These are the jobs ~~upon~~ which

Big

Jim Farley ~~has fixed his eagle~~ considers his rightful spoils. And

political accident catapulted into the office of Under Secretary and who has been a brilliant success. Ranking in the same category is Lewis Douglas, Director of the Budget, <sup>whose veterans' cuts</sup> ~~whose cuts in the~~ ~~caused more~~ ~~political & resentment~~ ~~among the~~ ~~than any other~~ act of the administration, but who has shown rare courage and ability in balancing the budget.

In balancing the budget. ~~affected them~~ ~~and it is a~~  
Balanced ~~as~~ against them, however ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~  
Farley  
Mr. is considerable ~~deadweight~~, which they must carry and which includes  
the half sister of Senator Glass, Mrs. Marion Bannister who ~~ex~~  
attempts to ~~claim~~ <sup>hold</sup> the chair of ~~the~~ Assistant Secretary of the Treasury;  
Mrs. Nellie Teyloe Rose, ex-Governor of Wyoming and now Director of  
the Mint; as Comptroller of the Currency,  
R J. F. T. O'Connors, ex-law partner of McAdoo and now faced with  
the ~~highly~~ highly dynamic question of opening closed banks; and Guy  
T. Helvering, who swung the state of Kansas for F.D.R. and now  
occupies a precarious position as Commissioner of Internal Revenue.



the  
within proper safeguards of merit they are. ~~The only thing is that~~

But, says Big Jim, "loyalty is an aspect of merit. One of  
my chief duties is to pass on the loyalty of applicants. Politics,  
the editorial writers hint, enters into my consideration. Of course/  
it does."

11/9/41