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The Evolution of American Political Forms: Application of Plato's Theory of the Rise and Fall of Governments to American Political History Through the Presidency

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Plato and his theory

This is meant to show how Plato's devolution of government theory coincides with American government through its progression of development.

In our country's founding, it began in a noble manner to serve a higher purpose of governance. It was based on the desire of a people to live in a way that had been previously unknown and because of this has been deemed the Great Experiment. As we shall see, even this country founded on great aspirations has through time found itself being susceptible to a man's theory predating it by over two millennia. In the following we will see how it has progressed through the different stages of devolution that are similar to those of Plato and his ideal state.

In the contrasting of American Political order and Plato's devolution theory, first we must outline Plato's theory and how the process comes about.

In the Republic, Socrates gives an account of the devolution of regimes from kingship to tyranny¹; Plato also describes a type of person that corresponds to each regime and the genesis of each of these types. Socrates discusses first the outline of the types of regimes, then that of people, showing how each regime and person comes about.

Imperfect constitutions

Socrates contrasts defective cities and individuals with the perfect city and the just man. The good city is governed by philosophers, a Kingship if there is one outstanding ruler, an Aristocracy if several.²

¹ Allan Bloom, The Republic of Plato, 2nd edition, Basic Books, Harper Collins Publishers, Copyright by Author, 1968, 1991. Books eight and nine passim.

² Allan Bloom, The Republic of Plato, 1968, 1991. 445 d, p. 125.

King or Aristocracy

The four kinds of defective constitutions are Timarchy, Oligarchy, Democracy and Tyranny. Socrates presents these as degenerations of the ideal city, as if that came first in time and the others developed from it.

Socrates outlines the five types of regimes starting with the kingly or aristocracy. The plan used is to first describe the city of which the regime rules and then compare it to the man in the city as they both devolve through each regime and person through generational changes. The kingly is associated with the just city and the just man. He is a just man because philosophy rules and he lives by the wisdom of what justice is and emulates it in his life.

Timocracy

How the Ideal state devolves into the next level in city and human being is a disagreement among the ruling class. As Socrates puts it, if a mistake is made in regards to the breeding or mixing of people and bring together people who are unsuitable for each other the children will not have the natural abilities and aptitudes necessary for ruling. Some of these might end up ruling despite their lack of ability and the decline would begin. It would devolve first into a timocracy and the rulers would strive for riches and property and to lead private lives rather than in common. They would begin to compete with one another, and wisdom or intelligence would no longer be valued as highly amongst them as honor and ambition. The virtue of courage would take the place of wisdom and the auxiliaries would be the rulers.

The devolution in man is depicted in that of a son to a father and his different attitude towards the scheme of things. Rebelling against the principles his father held to be true. The son, influenced by the domestics and his mother, is told to be more of a man and to punish all such men that his father would allow to do injustice to himself, causing the son to love honor. So the son becomes a Timocrat who is out to win as opposed to his father who would rather be just than to win at all costs.

A Timarchy is a military aristocracy, ambitious of Honor. The ideal city might decay into a timocracy by dissension among the Guardians, if some of them sought private property and wanted to reduce the other classes to slavery; they would neglect education and distrust

intelligence. The corresponding 'timarchic' individual is competitive, arrogant, dictatorial, harsh to slaves, respectful to those above him, ambitious for promotion, an 'authoritarian' personality.³

Oligarchy

The Timocratic city would be one in which honor was seen as the most important thing, but when it loses military campaigns it will shift to another tool of power, that of money and the accumulation of wealth. They in accumulating wealth will want it more, accumulating more and more until finally wealth takes the place of honor as the thing that is most highly valued.

The son of the Timocrat will grow up to be frightened and embittered: since his father has been reduced to poverty and disgrace if unsuccessful in war, when he comes home he is exiled or deprived of his rights and property. The son of the Timocratic man would see that with honor that it doesn't always give power, that power really exists in the amount of wealth that is controlled. So, earning a living by slow and painful work he says he will accumulate money so that he will be secure and have power. With wealth comes two things, one is power, the other pleasures. So the son becomes oligarchic.

The oligarchic city degenerates into a democracy because the rich will lend money to the poor with high interest rates. They will encourage their debtors to spend it as quickly as possible so that these debtors will have to borrow more and more, making the rich class wealthier. Eventually the debtors will revolt against the rich oppressors and will kill them or imprison them. Afterwards they will give equal rights to the rest of the people giving way to a democratic regime.

Oligarchy is literally government by the few, but always understood to be of the few rich. The accumulation of wealth in private hands converts a timarchy into oligarchy; the poor

³ Allan Bloom, The Republic of Plato, 1968, 1991. 545 d - 549 c, pp. 223 - 227.

are despised, or become clients or followers of the rich. The corresponding individual is a money-maker who represses all his other desires as pointless.⁴

Democracy

The Oligarchic father - since he respects nothing but money, will not be able to educate his son properly. His son as a child will not yet respect money, but his parents will give him nothing else to respect. He will then be easily influenced by anyone who he comes into contact. He will at some time mix with people who give in to their desires and live lives of pleasure. As he grows up he will not be able to distinguish between good and bad pleasures or desires and will treat all of his desires and pleasures equally and democratically. He will do exactly what he wants when he wants and will live for the pleasure of the moment. One day it will be wine, women, and song, the next day, he will decide to have nothing but bread and water. One day he will take to business dealings, the next day he will want to be a politician or philosopher. So he will become a democrat.⁵

Tyranny

Democracy develops because the oligarchs let their sons go into debt, some are reduced to poverty, and to escape debt or poverty some of them seek political power by appealing to the lower classes. Tyranny develops out of democracy.

The Democratic city devolves into a tyranny out of their greed for freedom as the oligarchy devolved into democracy out of its greed for money. The leaders of the democratic state are those who formerly led the rebellion against their oligarchic counterparts, being former poor people or criminals. As democratic leaders they will do their best to satisfy the people, they will spend their time pandering to them, so as to retain their popularity. They will rob the few remaining wealthy citizens, keep most of the money for themselves, and distribute the rest to the masses. Those who were robbed will complain in the popular assembly and they will be accused of plotting against the people. Then a civil war will ensue and the masses will look to one of the democratic leaders for support. This popular leader will have the complete support of the people and the people will do everything he says. He will

⁴ Allan Bloom, The Republic of Plato, 1968, 1991. 550 c - 555 a, pp. 228 - 233.

⁵ Allan Bloom, The Republic of Plato, 1968, 1991. 555 b - 562 a, pp. 233 - 240.

destroy his enemies and will become very powerful. He in the need to protect himself will have to amass an army and raise taxes higher and higher to pay for his private army and will become a tyrant over the people who brought him to power.

The Democratic father lives his life in absolute freedom and requires that it be as free as possible. His son, unlike his father who treated all of his desires equally, allows lust or is not in control of his desires at all, and spends his life in vain trying to satisfy it. The more he tries to satisfy his desires the more impossible it is. He will not any distinction of right or wrong and will use everything including his parents in an attempt to satisfy his desires.

The tyrannic man lives to satisfy his desires and uses whatever or whoever he can to get the most he can. In the Tyrannical state everyone is enslaved except for the tyrant himself. The same is true for the tyrant's soul. His better part is enslaved to the lower parts, wisdom enslaved to spiritedness and desires.

The tyrannical character is one in whom the democratic equality of desires ruling in turn is replaced by one overmastering criminal passion. The just are happiest The wickedest are the unhappiest, the greater a tyranny the unhappier the tyrant. His subjects are slaves. So is the tyrannical individual, his best qualities are enslaved to his worst. If he is ruler of a state he goes in fear of his subjects; he cannot travel, he cannot trust his helpers.⁶

The money-maker does not value honor or knowledge unless they convert to cash; the seeker of honor does not value money or knowledge unless they bring fame; the philosopher neglects money and honors. Who is to judge between them? Philosophers, since they have experience of the other ways of life before they become philosophers.⁷

Ideal City

The basic principle of the ideal city is specialization and coordination of functions. Socrates describes the role of the Guardians and Auxiliaries, and that of the other inhabitants who are specialized laborers in the industrial and agricultural sectors. By instructing the citizens in

⁶ Allan Bloom, The Republic of Plato, 1968, 1991. 562 a - 580 c, pp. 240 - 261.

⁷ Allan Bloom, The Republic of Plato, 1968, 1991. 580 d - 582 d, pp. 261 - 264.

their assigned roles, the educational system preserves the city's way of life. In particular, Socrates argues that the Rulers themselves must become philosophers. The Allegory of the Cave⁸ sums up Plato's theory of the Rulers and their philosophical training. The knowledge of the eternal forms is necessary in ruling justly for the good of the whole community.

Regimes in American Government

In order to see this progression we must devise a system of determining the political regimes of American Government as it has proceeded through changes during the course of its existence.

President as representation of government

The method that will be employed here is that of using the top elected official representative of the people to symbolize the state of the Republic. This official will be the President and his administration. First we must categorize the Presidents into groupings that are discernible for our purposes. They will be ranked in accordance to the group they most represent in the culture or society that elected them.

⁸ Allan Bloom, The Republic of Plato, 1968, 1991. Book VII passim.

The men are facing a wall and are in chains to restrict their movement so they can only see the wall in front of them. Behind these men is a wall between them and a road in which people travel. On the far side are torches that cast shadows on the wall in front of them of the artifacts, people, animals, and misc. other things that go by. The men in chains see these shadows and believe them to be the things that are real because not only are these the only things they see but that the sounds they hear coincide with them as well.

The education comes about when one of these men is unchained and forced to turn around to see the torch and people and things. At first it is hard for him to make out what he sees and is painful to his eyes. But after his eyes become acclimated he thinks these are the things that are real.

Then he is dragged up and out of the cave and is forced into the daylight - the moon and stars is the first things he can make out - then shadows of things and reflections in the water - then after these trees and mountains - then light and the sun., After seeing these he knows that all he sees is what is truly real and knows that everything before was or emanated from this - then after all this he is forced back to his place in front of the wall - unable to for awhile as before - called a fool by the others next to him, and the others despising the guards for doing this to him, but he after adjusting can see 10,000 times better and can help the others see better. The people walking back and forth are the rulers who holding the artifacts control what we see and hear. That unless we can loosen the chains we put on ourselves we will continue to live a life in the shadows of those who we allow to control us.

Criteria

segment of society president represented

the policies that president and administration supported

family background of president

wealth

education

the openness of the election process within which president was elected

status or occupation before entering office

political party affiliation and the party's platform

percentage of the vote - either general popular vote, electoral or both

percentage of vote received by second party

percentage of vote gained by third parties and number of third parties

whether when an office is gained through death, resignation or impeachment of president in office - whether the replacement president is elected to serve and if so, how close his policy reflects that of the previous administration and how his policy affects the country.

We are going to systematically go through each President to determine his place within the framework, taking into account what segment of society they represented, the policies that they supported, their family background, wealth, education, the openness of the election process within which they were elected, status or occupation before entering office, political party affiliation and the party's platform, percentage of the vote - either general popular vote, electoral or both, percentage of vote received by second party, percentage of vote gained by third parties and number of third parties. One last consideration will be in cases when it applies as to whether when an office is gained through death, resignation or impeachment of president in office - whether the replacement president is elected to serve and if so, how close his policy reflects that of the previous administration and how his policy affects the country in the same manner as stated above.⁹

⁹ In these I am trying to establish linkages between them and the type of person they would represent in the city of Plato. Whether the city or government they represent has a tendency to one type of regime rather

Aristocracy

"Well, I said, and you would agree (would you not?) that what has been said about the State and the government is not a mere dream, and although difficult, not impossible, but only possible in the way which has been supposed; that is to say, when the true philosopher-kings are born in a State, one or more of them, despising the honors of this present world which they deem mean and worthless, esteeming above all things right and the honor that springs from right, and regarding justice as the greatest and most necessary of all things, whose ministers they are, and whose principles will be exalted by them when they set in order their own city?"

"After this manner: A city which is thus constituted can hardly be shaken; but, seeing that everything which has a beginning has also an end, even a constitution such as yours will not last forever, but will in time be dissolved. Clearly, all political changes originate in divisions of the actual governing power; a government which is united, however small, cannot be moved."

George Washington

Washington was an aristocrat in many ways. As commander in chief of the American forces in the American Revolution, chairman of the convention that wrote the United States Constitution, and first president. He led the men who turned America from an English colony into a self-governing nation. His ideals of liberty and democracy set a standard for future presidents and for the whole country. These ideals of liberty and democracy though did not apply to all. In his and those of peers, these did not include those people who did not own land, were not merchants or manufacturers, women, blacks, or other such people. The concepts that they held were that the few educated, male wealthy landowners should be the only ones to have a voice, and even that voice controlled through an Electoral College picked by caucuses of Senators and Congressmen, state legislatures indirectly choosing the President by appointing electors to the Electoral College, and a Senate that had no popular vote as well. Democracy in early America as people like to commonly think of it did not grow or expand to cover all people until some time later through the slow development of our nation. Not until Andrew Jackson could the electors be chosen by those few who could

than another and how this influences the public policy that comes from it. The intertwining of the period they are in and the policy of the day are so tied to one another that except for the periods of change from one regime to another, transition periods, the general consensus of the electorate flows with the policy of their elected official. So I am using these to show their background to give a rounded aspect of what the electorate desires to represent their will and attitude toward government. I am using the third parties and the percentage of their vote because of the relationship between their rise and the transition from one period or transition to another. The more stable the two-party system the less the likelihood of a transition, the volatile or the higher the number of other parties as well as the higher the vote for and eventually the shift from one party to another in dominance shifts the direction to lean towards a transition. These two, gaining of power of a second party and increase of third parties, lead to the transition.

vote. The government conceived by Washington and those shortly to follow was an aristocracy elected or actually chosen by the few.

As we go through Washington's career and life the criteria selected will be brought out to show the aristocratic ties or tendencies of Washington's life and his regime.

His father was Augustine Washington, who had gone to school in England, had tasted seafaring life, and was then managing his growing Virginia estates. His mother was Mary Ball, whom Augustine, a widower, had married. The paternal lineage had some distinction; an early forebear was described as "gentleman," Henry VIII later gave the family lands, and its members held various offices. But family fortunes fell with the Puritan revolution in England, and John Washington, grandfather of Augustine, migrated in 1657 to Virginia, at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire. Augustine acquired much land, built mills, took an interest in opening iron mines, and sent his two oldest sons to England for schooling.¹⁰

At his father's death, the 11-year-old boy became the ward of his eldest half brother, Lawrence, a man of fine character who gave him wise and affectionate care. Lawrence inherited the beautiful estate of Little Hunting Creek, which had been granted to the original settler, John Washington, and which Augustine had done much since 1738 to develop. Lawrence married Anne Fairfax, daughter of Col. William Fairfax, cousin and agent of Lord Fairfax, one of the chief proprietors of the region. Lawrence also built a house and named the 2,500-acre holding Mount Vernon, in honor of the admiral under whom he had served in the siege of Cartagena. George lived there chiefly with Lawrence, though he spent some time with his other half brother, Augustine, near Fredericksburg, George entered a more spacious and polite world. Anne Fairfax Washington was a woman of charm, grace, and culture; Lawrence had brought from his English school and his naval service much knowledge and experience. A valued neighbor and relative, George William Fairfax, whose large estate, Belvoir, was about four miles distant, and other relatives by marriage, helped form George's mind and manners.¹¹

¹⁰ Rupert Hughes, George Washington: The Human Being and The Hero 1732 - 1762, Published and Copyrighted by William Morrow and Company, Vol. 1, pp. 6 - 13.

¹¹ Rupert Hughes (1926). George Washington: The Human Being and The Hero 1732 - 1762, Vol. 1, pp. 33, 39 - 40.

The youth turned first to surveying as a profession. Lord Fairfax, a middle-aged bachelor who owned more than 5 million acres in northern Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley, came to America in 1746 to live with his cousin George William at Belvoir and to look after his properties. Two years later he sent to the Shenandoah Valley a party to survey and plot his lands to make regular tenants of the squatters moving in from Pennsylvania. With the official surveyor of Prince William County in charge, Washington went along as assistant.¹²

In 1749, aided by Lord Fairfax, Washington received an appointment as official surveyor of Culpeper county, and for more than two years he was kept almost constantly busy. Surveying not only in Culpeper but also in Frederick and Augusta counties, he made journeys far beyond the tidewater region into the western wilderness. The experience taught him resourcefulness and endurance and toughened both body and mind. Coupled with his half brother Lawrence's ventures in land, it also gave him an interest in western development that endured throughout his life.¹³ He was always disposed to speculate in western holdings and to view favorably projects for colonizing the West, and he greatly resented the limitations that the crown in time laid on the westward movement.¹⁴ In 1752 Lord Fairfax determined to take up his final residence in the Shenandoah Valley and settled there in a log hunting lodge, which he called Greenway Court. There Washington was sometimes entertained and had access to a small library that Fairfax had begun accumulating at Oxford helping to expand his education.¹⁵

The years 1751-52 marked a turning point in Washington's life, for they placed him in control of Mount Vernon. His half brother Lawrence, stricken by tuberculosis, went to Barbados in 1751 for his health, taking George along. From this sole journey beyond the present borders of the United States. In July of the next year, Lawrence died, making George executor and residuary heir of his estate in the event of the decease of his daughter, Sarah,¹⁶ without issue. As she died within two months, Washington at the age of 20 became

¹² Rupert Hughes (1926). George Washington: The Human Being and The Hero 1732 - 1762, Vol. 1, p. 43.

¹³ Rupert Hughes (1926). George Washington: The Human Being and The Hero 1732 - 1762, Vol. 1, p. 43.

¹⁴ Rupert Hughes (1926). George Washington: The Human Being and The Hero 1732 - 1762, Vol. 1, pp. 70 - 73.

¹⁵ Rupert Hughes (1926). George Washington: The Human Being and The Hero 1732 - 1762, Vol. 1, p. 44.

¹⁶ There is a discrepancy on her name with two versions, one of Sarah and another Jenny. Whichever, her death and his gaining of the estate made him one of the wealthiest in the state of Virginia, and later with his

head of one of the best Virginia estates.¹⁷ This estate would be the largest in Virginia and one of the largest in the nation, making Washington one of the wealthiest people in the country.

For the next 20 years the main background of Washington's life was the work and society of Mount Vernon and gradually increased the estate until it exceeded 8,000 acres. He enlarged the house in 1760 and made further enlargements and improvements on the house and its landscaping in 1784-86.¹⁸ He had to manage the 18 slaves that came with the estate and others he bought later; by 1760 he paid tithes on 49 slaves,¹⁹ though he strongly disapproved of the institution and hoped for some mode of abolishing it.²⁰ He soon became prominent in community affairs, was an active member and later vestryman of the Episcopal Church, and as early as 1755 expressed a desire to stand for the Virginia House of Burgesses²¹ and later was elected in 1757.²²

Washington's contented life was interrupted by the rising storm in imperial affairs. The British ministry, facing a heavy postwar debt, high home taxes, and continued military costs in America, decided in 1764 to obtain revenue from the colonies.²³ The Proclamation of 1763 interdicting settlement beyond the Alleghenies irked him, for he was interested in the Ohio Company, the Mississippi Company, and other speculative western ventures. He nevertheless played a silent part in the House of Burgesses and was a thoroughly loyal subject. But he was present when Patrick Henry introduced his resolutions against the Stamp Act in May 1765 and shortly thereafter gave token of his adherence to the cause of

marriage, he would become one of the wealthiest men in the United States in his time. Benson J. Lossing (1870). Home of Washington, New York: Virtue and Yorston, p. 51.

¹⁷ Rupert Hughes (1926). George Washington: The Human Being and The Hero 1732 - 1762, Vol. 1, pp. 58 - 64. He had to pay his brother's widow's husband whom she married shortly afterward an annual rent of 15,000 pounds of tobacco, the equivalent of 80 pounds in Virginian money. He did not get a clear title until 9 years later when both she and her husband died within a few months of each other.

¹⁸ Benson J. Lossing (1870). Home of Washington, p. 190.

¹⁹ Paul Leicester Ford (1896). The True George Washington, p. 139.

²⁰ Rupert Hughes (1926). George Washington: The Human Being and The Hero. 1732 - 1762, Vol. 1, pp. 158 - 160.

²¹ Paul Leicester Ford (1896). The True George Washington, p. 294.

²² Edward Everett (1860). The Life of George Washington, Sheldon and Company, New York, Stereotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton, Riverside, Cambridge, p. 87.

²³ Benson J. Lossing (1870). Home of Washington, pp. 84 - 85.

the colonial Whigs against the Tory ministries of England.²⁴ When, the following May, the royal governor dissolved the House of Burgesses, he shared in the gathering at the Raleigh tavern that drew up non-importation resolutions, and he went further than most of his neighbors in adhering to them.²⁵ The next spring, April 4, 1769, he sent Mason the Philadelphia non-importation resolutions with a letter that courteous remonstrances to Parliament having failed, he wholly endorsed the resort to commercial warfare.

His letters of the period show that while still utterly opposed to the idea of independence, he was determined never to submit "to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges, which are essential to the happiness of every free State, and without which life, liberty, and property are rendered totally insecure."²⁶ If the ministry pushed matters to an extremity, he wrote, "more blood will be spilled on this occasion than ever before in American history."²⁷ Though he served on none of the committees, he was a useful member, his advice being sought on military matters and weight being attached to his advocacy of a non-exportation as well as non-importation agreement. He also helped to secure approval of the "Suffolk Resolves."²⁸

The Virginia provincial convention promptly elected Washington one of the seven delegates to the first Continental Congress. He was by this time known as a radical rather than a moderate, and when the congress met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, his participation in its councils marks the beginning of his national career.²⁹

Washington remained during the winter of 1781-82 with the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, exhorting it to maintain its exertions for liberty and to settle the army's claims for pay. He continued these exhortations after he joined his command at Newburgh on the

²⁴ Edward Everett (1860). The Life of George Washington, pp. 93 - 94, 96 - 97.

²⁵ John C. Fitzpatrick L.H.D. Litt. D. (1933). George Washington Himself, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Indiana, pp. 157 - 158.

²⁶ Edward Everett (1860). The Life of George Washington, p. 98.

²⁷ Benson J. Lossing (1870). Home of Washington, p. 159.

²⁸ Which looked toward armed resistance as a last resort. John C. Fitzpatrick (1933). George Washington Himself, p. 159 - 160.

²⁹ Benson J. Lossing (1870). Home of Washington, pp. 104 - 105.

Hudson in April 1782.³⁰ He was astounded and angered when some loose camp suggestions found expression in a letter from Col. Lewis Nicola offering a plan by which he should use the army to make himself king.³¹ He blasted the proposal with fierce condemnation. When the discontent of his unpaid men came to a head in the circulation of the "Newburgh Address" early in 1783,³² he issued a general order censuring the paper and at a meeting of officers on March 15 read a speech admonishing the army to obey Congress and promising his best efforts for a redress of grievances. Traveling south, on December 23, he resigned his commission to the Continental Congress in the state senate chamber of Maryland in Annapolis and received the thanks of the nation. Washington left Annapolis at sunrise of December 24 and before nightfall was at home in Mount Vernon.³³

Viewing the chaotic political condition of the United States after 1783 with frank pessimism and declaring on May 18, 1786 that "something must be done, or the fabric must fall, for it is certainly tottering," Washington repeatedly wrote his friends urging steps toward "an indissoluble union."³⁴ At first he believed that the Articles of Confederation might be amended. Later, especially after the shock of Shays rebellion, he took the view that a more radical reform was necessary but doubted as late as the end of 1786 that the time was ripe.³⁵ Though John Jay assured him in March 1786 that breakup of the nation seemed near and opinion for the convention was crystallizing, Washington remained noncommittal. But despite long hesitations, he earnestly supported the proposal for a federal impost, and his numerous letters to the leading men of the country assisted greatly to form a sentiment favorable to a more perfect union. Some understanding being necessary between Virginia and Maryland regarding the navigation of the Potomac, commissioners from the two states met at Mount Vernon in the spring of 1785; from this seed sprang the federal convention.

³⁰ Thomas Frothingham, Washington: Commander in Chief, Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge Mass., Copyright by author, 1930, pp. 375 - 376.

³¹ Benson J. Lossing (1870). Home of Washington, pp. 417 - 418.

³² Thomas Frothingham (1930). Washington: Commander in Chief, pp. 376 - 79.

³³ Benson J. Lossing (1870). Home of Washington, pp. 131 - 133.

³⁴ John C. Fitzpatrick (1933). George Washington Himself, p. 432.

³⁵ Benson J. Lossing (1870). Home of Washington, pp. 192 - 194. Led by Captain Daniel Shays, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, an uprising over unfair taxes and hardships because of the local government's abuse of power - Leaders such as Washington understood being themselves fresh from their recent experience of rebellion ensured laws were passed to remedy their complaints.

Washington approved in advance the call for a gathering of all the states to meet in Philadelphia in May 1787 to "render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." Although he hoped to the last to be excused, he was chosen one of Virginia's five delegates.

Washington arrived in Philadelphia on May 13, the day before the opening of the Convention, and as soon as a quorum was obtained he was unanimously chosen its president. For four months he presided over the Constitutional Convention, breaking his silence only once upon a minor question of congressional apportionment. Though he said little in debate, no one did more outside the hall to insist on stern measures. His weight of character did more than any other single force to bring the convention to an agreement and obtain ratification of the instrument afterward. He did not believe it perfect, though his precise criticisms of it are unknown. But his support gave it victory in Virginia, where he sent copies to Patrick Henry and other leaders with a hint that the alternative to adoption was anarchy. He received and personally circulated copies of *The Federalist Papers*. When once ratification was obtained, he wrote leaders in the various states urging that men staunchly favorable to it be elected to Congress. For a time he sincerely believed that, the new framework completed, he would be allowed to retire again to privacy. But all eyes immediately turned to him for the first president. He alone commanded the respect of both the parties engendered by the struggle over ratification, and he alone would be able to give prestige to the republic throughout Europe. In no state was any other name considered. The electors chosen in the first days of 1789 cast a unanimous vote for him, and reluctantly—for his love of peace, his distrust of his own abilities, and his fear that his motives in advocating the new government might be misconstrued all made him unwilling, he accepted.³⁶

George Washington, the first President, received the office in 1789 without opposition. He received all 69 of the electoral votes carrying 10 states with 2 having not ratified the Constitution yet and one having not sent electors in time. Albeit that it should be remembered that these electors did not reflect the will of the people but that of the Congressmen of their respective states. In his second term he carried all 15 states that at

³⁶Edward Everett (1860). *The Life of George Washington*, pp. 162 - 167, 170 - 171.

that point had been admitted, and received 132 electoral votes. He had no opposition with only one other party being the anti-federalist who would later come to be known as Democratic Republicans. They received none of the vote but did have representation in Congress. His vice-president John Adams received 34 electoral votes.

There had never before been a government like the one Washington was called upon to organize in 1789. The states had once been wards of England, and they wanted no more of it. They had been in fact 13 independent republics, and they wanted no more of that either. No one knew how the new Constitution would work or how it would limit the freedom of the states. Washington was determined to build a real federal government for the United States.

The new government was launched April 30, 1789, when Washington took his oath as president in New York City, the first national capital.

On April 16, after receiving congressional notification of the honor, he set out from Mount Vernon, reaching New York in time to be inaugurated and the new government was launched April 30, when Washington took his oath as president in New York City, the first national capital. The ceremony was performed in Wall Street, near the spot now marked by Ward's statue of Washington; and a great crowd broke into cheers as, standing on the balcony of Federal Hall, he took the oath administered by Chancellor Robert Livingston and retired indoors to read Congress his inaugural address.³⁷

Washington organized his Cabinet into an executive council, in much the same form as it is today. With the Cabinet and with Congress he moved slowly at first, feeling his way. Relationships were new and not especially happy. Each group, executive or legislative, was testing its own power.

Washington's administration of the government in the next eight years was marked by the caution, the methodical precision, and the sober judgment that had always characterized

³⁷ John C. Fitzpatrick (1933). George Washington Himself, p. 468.

him. A painstaking inquiry into all the problems confronting the new nation laid the basis for a series of judicious recommendations to Congress in his first message.³⁸

He regarded himself as standing aloof from party divisions and emphasized his position as president of the whole country by a tour first through the Northern states and later through the Southern. In selecting the four members of his first cabinet, Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton as secretary of treasury, Henry Knox as secretary of war, and Edmund Randolph as attorney general, Washington balanced the two parties evenly. But he leaned with especial weight upon Hamilton, supporting his scheme for the assumption of state debts, taking his view that the bill establishing the Bank of the United States was constitutional, and in general strengthening the authority of the federal government. Distressed when the inevitable clash between Jefferson and Hamilton arose, he tried to keep harmony, writing frankly to each and refusing to accept their resignations.

But when war was declared between France and England in 1793, he again took Hamilton's view that the United States should completely disregard the treaty of alliance with France and pursue a course of strict neutrality. He had a firm belief that the United States must insist on its national identity, strength, and dignity. His object, he wrote, was to keep the country "free from political connections with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an American character that the powers of Europe may be convinced that we act for ourselves, and not for others." The sequel was the resignation of Jefferson at the close of 1793, the two men parting on good terms. The suppression of the Whisky Insurrection in 1794 by federal troops whom Hamilton led in person and the dispatch of John Jay to conclude a treaty of commerce with Great Britain tended further to align Washington with the Federalist Party. Though the general voice of the people compelled him to acquiesce reluctantly to a second term in 1792 and his election that year was again unanimous, during his last four years in office he suffered from a fierce personal and partisan animosity. This culminated when the publication of the terms of the Jay Treaty, which Washington signed on June 25, 1794, provoked a bitter discussion, and the house of representatives called upon the president for the instructions and correspondence relating to the treaty. These Washington, who had

³⁸ Ref congressional record of addresses

already clashed with the Senate on foreign affairs, refused to deliver; and in the face of an acrimonious debate, he firmly maintained his position.³⁹

Early in his first term, Washington, who by education and natural inclination was minutely careful of the proprieties of life, established the rules of a virtual republican court. In both New York and Philadelphia he rented the best houses procurable, refusing to accept the hospitality of George Clinton, for he believed the head of the nation should be no man's guest. He returned no calls and shook hands with no one, acknowledging salutations by a formal bow. He drove in a coach drawn by four or six horses, with outriders and lackeys in rich livery. He attended receptions dressed in a black velvet suit with gold buckles, with yellow gloves, powdered hair, a cocked hat with an ostrich plume in one hand and a sword in a white leather scabbard. After being overwhelmed by callers, he announced that except for a weekly levee open to all, persons desiring to see him must make previous engagements. On Friday afternoons the First Lady held informal receptions, at which the President appeared. Though the presidents of the Continental Congress had made their tables partly public, Washington, who entertained largely, inviting members of Congress in rotation, insisted that his hospitality be private. His simple ceremony offended many of the more radical anti-Federalists, who did not share his sense of its fitness and accused the president of conducting himself as a king.⁴⁰ To Washington this manner of conduct was the appropriate way that a President should act, that the President was the representation of what would be a King in another country and should behave as such.

John Adams

John Adams was the first vice president from 1789 to 1797, and the second president from 1797 to 1801 of the United States. He earlier had served the American independence movement as a politician and political theorist, influencing the content of state constitutions. He also served as a diplomat during and immediately after the American Revolution.

³⁹ Edward Everett (1860). The Life of George Washington, pp. 162 -204. Chapter 8 passim.

⁴⁰ Edward Everett (1860). The Life of George Washington, pp. 224 - 227. Evert A. Duyckinck, Lives and Portraits of the Presidents of the United States, From Washington to Grant, Johnson, Wilson and Company, New York, Copyright by Johnson, Wilson and Company, 1873. pp. 30 - 31.

John Adams was the eldest of three sons of Deacon John Adams, a farmer and selectman, and Susanna Boylston of Braintree, Massachusetts. There he grew up, relishing all the outdoor joys of boyhood, and was educated for college. After graduating in 1755 from Harvard, he studied law in Worcester in the office of James Putnam, a sophisticated and learned man, in whose household he lived while teaching grammar school. Having returned to Braintree in 1758 and been admitted to the Boston bar, Adams in 1764 married Abigail Smith, a minister's daughter of neighboring Weymouth who had important family connections that were to benefit his practice.⁴¹

At the time when sides were beginning to be formed in Massachusetts politics, the radical wing of colonial opposition to British measures was being led by James Otis, Jr., a popular leader at the bar. Adams had long admired Otis, particularly his eloquent defense of the rights of the colonists in the Writs of Assistance case in 1761, in which he argued the unconstitutionality of any writ that entitled customhouse officers to search colonists' homes for smuggled goods without specific evidence.⁴² Adams remembered this issue in his old age as the one that signaled the opening of the contest with Great Britain. Doubtless his recollection of the incident inspired him with zeal for the cause of the patriots, and there can be no doubt about his own vigorous participation in the crisis four years later over the Stamp Act.⁴³ Although he opposed the riots associated with the act, he regarded it as illegal because the colonists had not consented to it. This argument resulted in his famous articles in the Boston Gazette, beginning in August 1765, which were reprinted in London in 1768 as *A Dissertation On the Canon and Feudal Law*.⁴⁴ In 1770 Adams courageously participated in the defense of the British soldiers accused of murder in the so-called Boston Massacre. Attempting to enforce the Townshend Acts, which imposed import duties on glass, lead, tea, paper, and paint, the soldiers became involved in a riot that resulted in the

⁴¹ John T. Morse JR., *John Adams: American Statesmen*, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Electrotyped by H. O. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston, 1900, Copyright by Author, 1884. pp. 1 - 20 passim.

⁴² John T. Morse JR. *John Adams: American Statesmen*, 1900, p. 24.

⁴³ A British revenue law that required publications and documents in the American colonies to bear a stamp. John T. Morse JR. *John Adams: American Statesmen*, 1900, pp. 26 - 28.

⁴⁴ The Dissertation argued that the opposition of the New England colonies to the Stamp Act was a part of the protest of New World individualism against Old World collective authority. Kenneth Umbreit, *Founding Fathers: Men Who Shaped Our Tradition*, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York and London, Copyright 1941 by author. p. 114.

deaths of five persons.⁴⁵ Public sentiment was against the accused. The trial, however, resulted in the acquittal of the commanding officer and most of the soldiers. His private interests, however, were soon again being sacrificed to public ends, for he was elected to serve in the Massachusetts House of Representatives.⁴⁶

In August 1774 Adams journeyed to Philadelphia with the Massachusetts delegation to the First Continental Congress, the first federal legislature of the 13 colonies. Entries in his diary give a rare insight into the composition of that body, which clearly yielded to the radicals in giving first place to grievances rather than to plans for reconciliation with Britain.⁴⁷ Here, Adams served as an outspoken but shrewd member for three stormy years. Meantime, in early 1775 he published letters in the Boston Gazette under the pseudonym Novanglus, which were rebuttals to letters by the Loyalist writer Daniel Leonard, or "Massachusettensis." Novanglus, not unlike Thomas Jefferson in his "Summary View" of the previous year, emphasized an advanced stage in revolutionary thought: that the colonies having always been outside the realm had never properly been subject to imperial control by Parliament.⁴⁸

Only the personal tie with the sovereign now remained, and this Adams proceeded to sever. In the Second Continental Congress, in June 1775, he nominated George Washington of Virginia to be commander in chief of the almost nonexistent army, a move that he hoped would gain Virginia's support for the Revolutionary policies. A year later, he seconded the resolution of Richard Henry Lee of Virginia "that these United Colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent States" and on June 7, 1776, was appointed to serve on a committee to draft a declaration of independence. The Declaration, written primarily by Thomas Jefferson, was defended on the floor of Congress primarily by Adams.⁴⁹ Meanwhile, he had had altercations with some of the more conciliatory members of that body. His dislike of hesitant congressmen was accompanied by mixed feelings about a newly

⁴⁵ John T. Morse JR. John Adams: American Statesmen, (1900), pp. 36 - 40.

⁴⁶ John T. Morse JR. John Adams: American Statesmen, (1900), pp. 40 - 42.

⁴⁷ John T. Morse JR. John Adams: American Statesmen, (1900), pp. 51 - 54.

⁴⁸ John T. Morse JR. John Adams: American Statesmen, (1900), pp. 82 - 83. Kenneth Umbreit, Founding Fathers, 1941 pp. 42 - 43.

⁴⁹ John T. Morse JR. John Adams: American Statesmen, (1900), pp. 98 - 129 passim, Kenneth Umbreit, Founding Fathers, 1941 pp. 46 - 47.

arrived journalist, Thomas Paine, the Englishman, whose "Common Sense" nevertheless hastened the cause of independence that Adams strongly favored in 1776. At a time of general confusion, Adams' *Thoughts On Government* was circulated by several of his colleagues for use throughout the colonies in the making of new constitutions.⁵⁰

Between 1776 and 1778 Adams divided his time in promoting the Revolutionary cause and in serving on numerous congressional committees, including one to create a navy and one to review foreign affairs. In the summer of 1779, he was in time to play a major role in the drafting of the most famous of all Revolutionary state constitutions, that of Massachusetts in 1780.⁵¹

In middle age John Adams thus entered into a career in foreign service in which his son and grandson were also one day to win distinction. Although his long years of foreign residence were later to influence American public opinion to the effect that he had become an aristocrat, such vilification was always basically political.

While minister to Great Britain, and a year before he returned to America, Adams published his *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (1787), expressing himself strongly along what some people considered to be "aristocratic" lines—as in the suggestion that "the rich, the well-born and the able" would have to compose the upper chamber of a republic if it were to survive. The work was filled with learned and frequently unacknowledged extracts from an awesome range of writers on government and human nature. Yet despite all its pretentiousness, it merely emphasized ideas held by Adams since 1776 at least, that all branches of government should be separated and that the legislature itself should be two-chambered. It was a scholar's view, based more or less upon what the French political philosopher Montesquieu had once understood to be the makeup of the British government and its system of checks and balances. The political reputation of the *Defence* became an important factor in explaining some of the political difficulties experienced by John Adams in later years. More importantly, the first volume of the *Defence* had arrived in America in time to influence the members of the Philadelphia

⁵⁰ John T. Morse JR. *John Adams: American Statesmen*, (1900), p. 140.

⁵¹ John T. Morse JR. *John Adams: American Statesmen*, (1900), pp. 124 - 125, 156 - 157. Kenneth Umbreit, *Founding Fathers*, 1941 p. 140.

Convention had they so desired. Offended by the aristocratic tone of the work, many electors failed to cast their votes for Adams in the presidential election of 1789. While George Washington received 69 votes, or one of the two votes cast by every elector, Adams received only 34 of the remaining 69 votes, the second largest number, and was thus declared vice president.⁵²

The differences of opinion among the members of the new government over the policies to be pursued resulted in the formation of two political groups: the Federalists, the conservative faction led by Alexander Hamilton, which advocated a strong, centralized government and favored industry, landowners, and merchants, and the Democratic-Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson, who emphasized personal liberty and limited powers for the federal government. Adams had been a supporter of the new Federal plan for a republic from the first, and although he was less conservative than many others in the party, he became one of the leading Federalists. The newspaper publication of his Discourses on Davila alienated Hamilton, who criticized the work for fear it might bring the federal experiment into disrepute, while Jefferson, on the other hand, thought it verged on promulgating a hereditary monarchy and aristocracy.⁵³

It was no doubt symptomatic of a certain unpopularity of Adams that he could secure only about half of the electoral votes possible in the elections of 1789 and 1792. His eight years under Washington were politically insignificant, although as presiding officer in the Senate, he invariably voted in a Federalist direction when breaking ties. Not until 1796, when he was selected by a congressional caucus to succeed Washington, did opposition in his own party become apparent. The fact that he received only three more electoral votes than Jefferson, 71 electoral votes as opposed to Jefferson's 68, was due in part to the number of votes cast for another Federalist, Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina. Thus, Adams began his term as president with deep suspicions not only about Jefferson but about Hamilton and his

⁵² John T. Morse JR. John Adams: American Statesmen, (1900), pp. 152 - 153, 251 - 256. Kenneth Umbreit, Founding Fathers, 1941 pp. 146 - 151.

⁵³ John T. Morse JR. John Adams: American Statesmen, (1900), pp. 245 - 248. Nathan Schachner, The Founding Fathers, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1954. pp. 124 - 126, 174, 176 - 177.

followers as well. Nevertheless, he kept the Cabinet of Washington more or less intact until 1800, despite the fact that several of its members relied upon the advice of Hamilton.⁵⁴

The Adams administration went from crisis to crisis, for the French Revolutionists were threatening to create a new imperium in Europe, and in America they were stirring up their numerous admirers. Adams had been appalled by the nature of this new revolutionary upheaval from the beginning, so different, as he saw it, from what had happened in America. Together with his son John Quincy he had taken up the gauntlet seemingly thrown down by Jefferson in 1791, when the latter had endorsed the publication in America of Tom Paine's "Rights of Man," which defended the French Revolution. But if Adams was angered by his Francophile. Adams did not originate the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798, which were designed to restrict the activities of friends of Revolutionary France who either hoped to come to America or were already there, but he did sign them into law. Hating militarism, he decided in 1799 not to go to war with France but to reopen negotiations. This decision drew the sting from the extremists, many of whom now saw Adams himself as the enemy.⁵⁵

Thomas Jefferson

Third president of the United States, principal author of the Declaration of Independence, and influential political philosopher, Thomas Jefferson was the son of Peter Jefferson, an early settler and leader in the county, and Jane Randolph Jefferson. Peter Jefferson was a surveyor and cartographer and was largely self-educated.

Upon Peter Jefferson's death in 1757, he left his son considerable property, but the inheritance for which Thomas Jefferson expressed particular gratitude was his father's determination that he should have a sound classical education. After several years of study at

⁵⁴ John T. Morse JR., John Adams: American Statesmen, (1900), pp. 258 - 270, 274 - 276. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, edited by Thomas C. Jones, J. G. Ferguson Publishing Company, Chicago Illinois, 1973. pp. 456 - 457.

⁵⁵ John T. Morse JR., John Adams: American Statesmen, (1900), pp. 287. . Nathan Schachner, The Founding Fathers, (1954), pp. 174 - 176, 206, 286, 421 - 425, 478, 480 - 485, 501 - 504. He died 50 years to the day after the formal Declaration of Independence, on the same day and only a few hours after the death of Thomas Jefferson, on his deathbed his last words were of his old friend: "Thomas Jefferson still survives," the one-time friend and collaborator who had become his political enemy only to become reconciled again late in life. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 459.

local grammar and classical schools, Jefferson entered the College of William and Mary in 1760. In spite of his youth, he became a close friend of three leading residents of Williamsburg, William Small of the college faculty, George Wythe of the Virginia bar, and Francis Fauquier, lieutenant governor of the colony. These three older men gave Jefferson a taste for the pleasures of a society more urbane and sophisticated than that of rural Virginia, and Small and Wythe gave direction to his intellectual drive. Small introduced him to the natural sciences and to rational methods of inquiry; Wythe led him to see the study of law not as a narrow vocational preparation but as a means of understanding the history, culture, institutions, and morals of a people. After two years at the college, Jefferson studied law for five years under Wythe's direction and was admitted to the bar in 1767. In 1769 he entered the lower house of the colonial legislature, thus beginning a long career in politics that ended 40 years later with his retirement as president of the United States.⁵⁶

When Jefferson entered the House of Burgesses, Virginia and the other colonies were already engaged in the long decade of opposition to British colonial policies that led eventually to revolution and independence. Jefferson joined with Patrick Henry and others who favored strong resistance to George III and the British Parliament and soon became one of the leaders of this group. He was assiduous in committee work, a skilled legal craftsman, a scholar who drew on his comprehensive knowledge of law and history to support the colonial case against Great Britain. He rarely made speeches, disliked oral dispute, whether in formal debate or informal conversation, and he recognized the necessity of consensus for effective political action; the pen was his natural means of expression, and he was a virtuoso in its use. His first major essay, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" (1774), displayed an impressive array of learning and logic, demonstrated his capacity for intense passion and the ability to express it eloquently, and revealed an inclination to intellectual radicalism. The majority of his colleagues were not then prepared for his conclusion that the British Parliament had no authority at all to legislate for the

⁵⁶ Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1974. Chapters 2 & 3, passim.

colonies, but, as relations with Great Britain grew steadily worse, his arguments became increasingly acceptable and his language both persuasive and provocative.⁵⁷

In the spring of 1775 the Virginia legislature, sitting as a revolutionary convention in defiance of the royal governor, appointed Jefferson as a member of its delegation to the Second Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia. There he joined with the more radical group in the Congress, and again his skills as a committeeman and stylist were recognized and used. In June of 1776, when the decision to break irrevocably with Great Britain seemed near, Jefferson was appointed to the committee assigned to draft a formal statement of the reasons for such a decision. Benjamin Franklin and John Adams were also on the committee, but they recognized the superior talent of the Virginian and gracefully bowed to it. Jefferson thus became the principal author of the Declaration of Independence.⁵⁸

Jefferson meant his revolutionary manifesto to be more than an eloquent justification of revolt against Great Britain. He intended to translate its principles into practice and to create in America a society in which the gap between aspiration and achievement would be narrowed. He had wanted to begin by taking part in framing the new constitution of Virginia, which was adopted in June of 1776, but his duties in Philadelphia made that impossible, and he did not enter the Virginia legislature until October. He then set in motion a plan for comprehensive reform of the laws and institutions of Virginia. Two parts of the plan show the thoroughness with which he had considered the nature of representative government and the conditions necessary to its successful operation. A third embodied his passionate commitment to intellectual freedom.

Jefferson sought and secured abolition of the laws of primogeniture and entail in Virginia in order to discourage concentration of property in the hands of a few great landowners. He believed that property was among the natural rights to which man was born and that it meant the right to a decent means of subsistence. No society that denied this right could be

⁵⁷ Fawn M. Brodie, Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History, 1974. Chapter 7, passim. Kenneth Umbreit, Founding Fathers, 1941 p. 29.

⁵⁸ Kenneth Umbreit, Founding Fathers, 1941 pp. 42 - 50. Fawn M. Brodie, Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History, 1974, pp. 120 - 123. It was an official state paper, and in later life he stated that it was intended to be an expression of the American mind.

just, nor was it likely to enjoy for long a republican government. Jefferson believed that the virtues required for that form of government could not flourish in conditions of extreme poverty or complete economic dependence.

He urged revision of the constitution and enactment of his plans for universal education and full freedom of religion because he believed that the public virtue then prevalent among both the people and their leaders was impermanent, in part a function of the revolutionary situation, and destined to diminish. Rulers would become corrupt and abuse their power, and the people "will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights." Jefferson's belief in republican government did not rest on naïve and unqualified faith in the people. Republican government would operate successfully only under certain conditions: a wide distribution of property or the availability of a substitute that provided men with a decent subsistence honestly earned; an educated and informed population; laws and institutions designed to compensate for the diminution of public virtue that Jefferson thought was sure to come when the crises of the revolutions were over.

The educational system proposed for Virginia was also a part of Jefferson's comprehensive plan for republican government. The lower schools would provide literacy for the entire population, which, combined with a free press, was necessary for an informed public opinion. The upper schools would develop a natural aristocracy to supply the leadership so essential to representative government, while scholarships awarded on the basis of merit would prevent identification of educational opportunity with economic privileges. Here Jefferson was applying Plato's idea of the ideal city in which the aristocracy was chosen on the basis of knowledge and education rather than wealth or family status. He would have preferred to develop a system in which an aristocracy was alive and well, led by the philosophers or those who had gained knowledge rather than those of an oligarchic society. Jefferson did not believe that an ignorant people could make rational and responsible decisions about public affairs, nor did he believe that men were equal in intelligence or that the operation of a government was a simple job easily mastered by the common man. He assumed that men of superior capabilities were those naturally suited for public office, and his scheme of education was intended to insure that such men, regardless of their economic circumstances, be given an opportunity to develop their talents. Jefferson's fellow Virginians

were not prepared for so comprehensive a system of free public education, however, and the only part of it that he secured was the University of Virginia. This unfortunate outcome put off the continuation of the Platonic aristocratic scheme and led to in part the devolution process. If this had been adopted it could have postponed temporarily, if put in conjunction with other measures, the devolution process.

The third and most famous reform, the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, met with bitter and persistent opposition and was not enacted until 1786, while Jefferson was in France. Although Americans had largely abandoned the gross forms of persecution common a few generations earlier, the toleration they practiced was limited and erratic. In some states, as in Virginia, a single church was established; others restricted public office to Protestants; some required belief in specific doctrines of the Christian religion, such as the divinity of Jesus, the Trinity, and immortality. The Virginia statute constituted a complete break with the traditional relationship between church and state. It prohibited support of any religion by public taxation and forbade all civil disabilities imposed on citizens because of religious belief or the lack of it.⁵⁹

After three years in the legislature, Jefferson was elected governor in 1779 and served for two years in a position characterized by much responsibility and very little power. When Virginia was invaded by British forces in the winter of 1780-81, Jefferson was unable to organize effective opposition and barely escaped capture when a detachment of troops raided Charlottesville and Monticello. His conduct during the emergency was criticized, and, although the legislature gave him a unanimous vote of confidence, he could not forget the slur cast upon his character as a public official. He refused to serve again either as governor or legislator and retired to Monticello determined to live out his life as a private citizen.⁶⁰

After his retirement as governor and before he returned to public service in December of 1782, Jefferson wrote and revised the major portion of Notes on Virginia, his only book. It originated in a comprehensive but routine series of questions put to him by the secretary of

⁵⁹ Kenneth Umbreit, Founding Fathers, 1941 pp. 54 - 61. Fawn M. Brodie, Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History, 1974, 128 - 130.

⁶⁰ Fawn M. Brodie, Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History, 1974, pp. 135 - 148.

the French legation in order to compile information about the new country. Jefferson's response was as revealing of himself as it was informative about the state of Virginia.⁶¹

In December 1782 he returned to public service and was for several months a member of the Virginia delegation to the Continental Congress. During this time Virginia ceded to the national government the area northwest of the Ohio River, which it claimed under grants made during the colonial period. In an ordinance drafted for the governance of this land, Jefferson set forth the principle that it should not be held by the original 13 states as colonial territory but should be divided into areas that, upon reaching a designated condition of population and organization, should enter the Union as states equal to the original 13. He also included a prohibition that would have forbidden slavery after 1800 in this territory and any others of which the United States might become possessed. The provision was defeated by one vote; a similar one had been incorporated in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, but it applied only to that territory. Had Jefferson's original proposal been adopted, and had it remained in force, then slavery would have been outlawed in the whole area of the Louisiana Purchase.

In 1784 Jefferson went to France to join Benjamin Franklin and John Adams in negotiating treaties with European powers. After a few months he succeeded Franklin as resident U.S. minister to the French government. He loved France and the French, but not uncritically. His observations of economic and social conditions strengthened his aversion to absolute monarchy, and the contrast he saw between French and U.S. domestic morality led to a series of letters condemning the former and warning against the dangers of corruption

⁶¹ The Notes include a discussion of slavery, its effects on both whites and blacks, and an attempt to delineate the racial characteristics of the latter. Although he was unalterably opposed to slavery and reiterated his reasons in this essay, he both expressed and reflected one of the principal obstacles to abolition--the belief that, because of inherent racial differences, blacks and whites could not live together in peace and harmony.

The Notes are otherwise interesting because they reveal the mind of a revolutionist in the midst of a revolution he regarded as unfinished. With some equanimity, he attributed the "very capital errors" in the Virginia constitution of 1776 to inexperience; it was with passionate outrage that he criticized proposals made twice in the Virginia legislature to follow Roman precedent and establish a temporary dictator in time of emergency:

The very thought alone was treason against the people; was treason against mankind in general; as riveting forever the chains which bow down their necks, by giving to their oppressors a proof which they would have trumpeted through the universe, of the imbecility of republican government, in times of pressing danger, to shield them from harm. Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, 1974, pp. 142 - 161.

should young men of his own country be sent to France for their education. As author of the Declaration of Independence and of the Statute for Religious Freedom of Virginia, he had considerable influence with such moderate political leaders as the Marquis de Lafayette, and during the early stages of the French Revolution he was optimistic about the future of their efforts to effect gradual changes in the monarchy and its attendant laws and institutions. Jefferson observed only the opening stages of the Revolution, for he returned to the United States at the end of 1789.⁶²

In the meantime, the Articles of Confederation had been replaced by the Constitution drafted in Philadelphia in 1787 and ratified the following year. Jefferson approved of most of that document but was critical of its lack of a bill of rights and its failure to impose limitations on the length of tenure for the presidency. Upon his return to Virginia in the fall of 1789, he was requested by George Washington to become secretary of state in the new government. Soon after he assumed the new office he became involved in controversy with Alexander Hamilton, who was secretary of the treasury. He opposed Hamilton's financial policies on the grounds that they exceeded the powers delegated to the central government by the Constitution, that they were contrary to the interests of the majority of the people, and that they represented a threat to republican institutions. Jefferson and Hamilton also disagreed on questions of foreign policy, with Jefferson at first leaning toward France and Hamilton toward Great Britain.⁶³

The issues between the two men were not purely personal; they extended to the country at large and led to the formation of national political parties based on policy and principle as well as personality. Thus was established the precedent and pattern of a national two-party system. Both Jefferson and Hamilton retired from the Cabinet near the end of Washington's first term, but each continued to be the symbol of the new parties, Jefferson of the Democratic-Republican, Hamilton of the Federalist. Both sides developed organizational skills among the electorate, the Congress, and the state legislatures, and both made effective use of the press. James Madison was, as usual, Jefferson's able collaborator and supplied active leadership of the party until the latter returned to the center of national

⁶² James Truslow Adams, The Living Jefferson, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, Copyright held by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. pp. 173 - 176, 181 - 183, 191 - 192, 274.

⁶³ James Truslow Adams, The Living Jefferson, 1936. pp. 198 - 201, 203 - 204, 218, 227, 231, 242.

politics as vice president under John Adams in 1797. In 1798, when the United States was close to war with France, the Federalist-controlled Congress enacted the Alien and Sedition Acts. This, particularly as applied by Federalist judges, was used to stifle Democratic-Republican criticism of the government. Jefferson and Madison believed it to be contrary to the first amendment and therefore unconstitutional, a position they argued in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99.⁶⁴

The decade ended with the defeat of the Federalists in the election of 1800. This would mark an important time in the development of the government. With Jefferson's election, sometimes noted as the Revolution of 1800, was the peaceful transition from a federalist regime to that of the Democratic Republicans. This revolution through politics showed that power could be transferred from one ideology to another and would transform government in such a way that would lead to the election of someone such as Andrew Jackson.⁶⁵ It was a critical period in the development of the new nation; politics were sharply divisive, conducted with extreme animosity, and permeated with fundamental cleavages over political principles. Jefferson regarded Hamilton as an enemy of republican government; Hamilton regarded Jefferson as a demagogic radical. Hamilton had a dream of national grandeur to which he was prepared to subordinate the immediate interests of the individual. Jefferson saw the purpose of government as the protection of the individual's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Jefferson's attitudes and behavior during this period were revealing. He did not exercise an Olympian calm; his letters sometimes displayed anger and passion toward the policies of his opponents and toward some of them personally. At the same time, he sensed and feared the divisive and destructive effects of unrestrained ideological conflict. Not only could the latter disrupt the social harmony that Jefferson valued so highly, but it could also conceivably rip the fabric of republican government altogether. A desire to forestall in America what had so frequently been the fate of such

⁶⁴ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 432 - 433, 445 - 446, 456 - 457. Fawn M. Brodie, Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History, 1974, pp. 311 - 312.

⁶⁵ This does not qualify a transitory stage though since the policies carried out and the attitudes harbored still remain in the realm of the aristocratic mindset. The differences between the Republican Democrats and the Federalists do not widen very far until just before Jackson and the Democratic Republicans being the dominant party splits.

governments in the past seemed to influence Jefferson's conduct of the presidency during his first term.⁶⁶

The Federalist candidates clearly lost the presidential election of 1800, Adams only receiving 65 electoral votes. Under the electoral system then prevailing neither of the Democratic Republican candidates, Jefferson and Aaron Burr, could claim victory both with an electoral vote of 73. The Constitution had provided no means for electors to distinguish between their choices for president and vice president, and both candidates had received the same number of votes. The choice between them was therefore made in the House of Representatives. Partly because of the influence of Hamilton, who distrusted Burr even more than he disliked Jefferson, the latter was chosen president and inaugurated March 4, 1801.⁶⁷ During his first term, a constitutional amendment, the twelfth amendment passed in 1804 would prevent deadlock in the instance of a tie by making the process easier. Doing this by eliminating the number of potential candidates in the pool to be decided from five to 3 for President and 2 for vice-president and separating the election process for each office.

The spirit and content of Jefferson's inaugural address were conciliatory, and so, to a considerable extent, were the policies of his first administration. There was no attempt at wholesale reversal of Federalist policies of the preceding 12 years, and in at least two instances, the Louisiana Purchase and the Embargo Act, he was said to be even more Federalist than the Federalists themselves. There was, however, an effort to nullify the Federalist attempt to fill the federal judiciary with partisan appointees holding office for life, and there was sufficient turnover in other federal offices to give some substance to the accusation that Jefferson introduced the spoils system. But, in spite of the very bitter controversy of the preceding years, Jefferson's inauguration ushered in no drastic or radical changes. Had Jefferson been more doctrinaire or less aware of the danger of unrestrained political passion and of the delicate situation created by the first party change of administration in the new government's history, the future of U.S. politics might have been

⁶⁶ Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, 1974, pp. 267 - 270.

⁶⁷ Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, 1974, pp. 329 - 333.

characterized by less stability than has been the case. The precedent he deliberately set must rank with the Louisiana Purchase as one of the major achievements of his presidency.⁶⁸

Jefferson was re-elected in 1804; George Clinton replaced Burr as vice president. He easily defeated his Federalist opponent, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney with an electoral vote of 162 to 14. The two were the only candidates in the race. Jefferson's second administration was notable for his efforts to pursue a policy of neutrality during the Napoleonic Wars and maintain the rights of neutrals on the high seas. His overwhelming desire to avoid war with either side led to charges of timidity and vacillation, and his Embargo Act of 1807 was criticized as inconsistent with the principles of individual freedom and his former opposition to a strong national government. The act was securely based on the power given to the Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations, a power of which Jefferson approved long before he became president, but the enforcement provisions of the act and its amendments can rightly be questioned as contravening the Fourth Amendment's prohibition of unreasonable search and seizure.⁶⁹

During Jefferson's presidency the power and prestige of the Supreme Court grew under the leadership of Chief Justice John Marshall. In the case *Marbury V. Madison* (1803), the court explicitly asserted the right and power of judicial review. Jefferson opposed the power of the court as the ultimate and exclusive interpreter of the Constitution and argued that such a power lodged in one department of the government whose members held office for life was irresponsible and therefore contrary to the principles of republican government.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Ripley Hitchcock, *The Louisiana Purchase and the Exploration, Early History and Building of the West*, 1904. pp. v. - vi., 71 - 82. Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, 1974, pp. 305, 335 - 338. The acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 was of incalculable importance, nearly doubling the size of the United States. Jefferson's original plan was to purchase merely a small area at the mouth of the Mississippi River. When Napoleon offered to sell the entire territory, Jefferson saw his chance and took it, even though, as he frankly admitted, he had no constitutional authority to do so. He believed that the purchase would contribute to the security of the United States by removing from the continent a major foreign power and that it would ensure the stability of republican government for generations to come by providing a vast reservoir of land for settlers.

⁶⁹ James Truslow Adams, *The Living Jefferson*, 1936. pp. 327 - 331. Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, 1974, pp. 418 - 421.

⁷⁰ James Truslow Adams, *The Living Jefferson*, 1936. pp. 306 - 311. See appendix 3.

Jefferson might have been elected president for a third term but chose to follow Washington's example of withdrawing after two terms. On March 4, 1809, he turned the office over to his successor, James Madison, and went home to Monticello.⁷¹

He was an extraordinarily learned man, and the range of his knowledge and inquiry is scarcely credible in the modern age of specialization.⁷²

James Madison

James Madison was the fourth president of the United States from 1809 to 1817 as well as one of the founding fathers of our country. At the Constitutional Convention he influenced the planning and ratification of the U.S. Constitution and collaborated with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in the publication of *The Federalist Papers*. As a member of the new House of Representatives, he sponsored the first 10 amendments to the Constitution. He was secretary of state under President Thomas Jefferson when the Louisiana Territory was purchased from France. The War of 1812 was fought during his presidency. His administration continued the policies generally of Jefferson and the Democratic Republicans.

The son and namesake of a leading Orange county landowner and squire, he maintained his lifelong home at Montpelier, near the Blue Ridge Mountains. In 1769 he rode horseback to

⁷¹ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973, p. 449.

⁷² He knew Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon and concerned himself with such questions as the difference between the ancient and modern pronunciation of Greek. At the age of 71 he tackled Plato's *Republic* in the original and found its author greatly overrated. He attempted an analysis of the New Testament in order to discover what Jesus really said as distinguished from what he was reported to have said. He enjoyed the study of mathematics and found its precision and certitude a welcome relief from the untidiness of politics and government. He was an ardent student of the natural sciences, carried on an extensive correspondence with such men as Joseph Priestley, and sometimes contributed time and money to progress in these fields.

The pursuit of these various interests concurrently with his political activities and the management of his estates, which included several thousand acres and at one time about 150 slaves, is remarkable. To this record of industry must be added the voluminous correspondence Jefferson maintained until very near his death.

Ten days before his death, Jefferson replied to an invitation to join the residents of Washington, D.C., in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence. He could not attend because of illness, while Jefferson grew steadily weaker at Monticello, his old friend John Adams was nearing death in Massachusetts. It seems certain from the accounts of friends and relatives of both that each man wanted badly to live until the 50th anniversary of the day that symbolized the central endeavor and achievement of their lives. They succeeded. Jefferson died shortly before one o'clock on the afternoon of July 4, 1826; Adams died a few hours later. Jefferson was buried at Monticello.

the College of New Jersey, Princeton University. He completed the four-year course in two years, finding time also to demonstrate against England. Overwork produced several years of epileptoid hysteria and premonitions of early death, which thwarted military training but did not prevent home study of public law, mixed with early advocacy of independence in 1774 and furious denunciation of the imprisonment of nearby dissenters from the established Anglican Church. Madison never became a church member.⁷³

His health improved, and he was elected to Virginia's 1776 Revolutionary convention, where he drafted the state's guarantee of religious freedom. In the convention-turned-legislature he helped Thomas Jefferson disestablish the church but lost reelection. After two years on the governor's council, he was sent to the Continental Congress in March 1780.⁷⁴

He rose quickly to leadership against the devotees of state sovereignty and enemies of Franco-U.S. collaboration in peace negotiations, contending also for the Mississippi as a western territorial boundary and the right to navigate that river through its Spanish-held delta. Defending Virginia's charter title to the vast Northwest against states that had no claim to western territories and whose major motive was to validate barrel-of-rum purchases from Indian tribes, Madison defeated the land speculators by persuading Virginia to cede the western lands to Congress as a national heritage.⁷⁵

Following the ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1781, Madison undertook to strengthen the Union by asserting implied power in Congress to enforce financial requisitions upon the states by military coercion. This move failing, he worked unceasingly for an amendment conferring power to raise revenue and wrote an eloquent address adjuring the states to avert national disintegration by ratifying the submitted article.⁷⁶

⁷³ Merrill D. Peterson ed., The Founding Fathers: James Madison, A Biography in His Own Words, Published by Newsweek, New York, Distributed by Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., Copyright by Newsweek, Inc., 1974. pp. 18, 22 - 28. Saul K. Padover ed., The Complete Madison: His Basic Writings, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, Copyright by editor, 1953. p. 2. John T Morse, Jr. ed., American Statesmen: James Madison, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917. p. 11.

⁷⁴ Saul K. Padover ed., The Complete Madison: His Basic Writings, 1953. pp. 4, 6.

⁷⁵ Saul K. Padover ed., The Complete Madison: His Basic Writings, 1953. pp. 59 - 60, 257.

⁷⁶ Saul K. Padover ed., The Complete Madison: His Basic Writings, 1953. pp. 147, 244.

Reentering the Virginia legislature in 1784, he defeated Patrick Henry's bill to give financial support to "teachers of the Christian religion." To avoid the political effect of his extreme nationalism, he persuaded the states-rights advocate John Tyler to sponsor the calling of the Annapolis Convention of 1786, which, aided by Madison's influence, produced the Constitutional Convention of 1787. There his Virginia Plan, put forward through Gov. Edmund Randolph, furnished the basic framework and guiding principles of the Constitution.⁷⁷

Besides earning the title of father of the Constitution, Madison took day-by-day notes of debates, which furnish the only comprehensive history of the convention proceedings. To promote ratification he collaborated with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in newspaper publication of *The Federalist Papers*, Madison wrote 29 out of 85, which became the standard commentary on the Constitution. He influenced ratification by Virginia.⁷⁸

Elected to the new House of Representatives, Madison sponsored the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, placing emphasis, in debate, on freedom of religion, speech, and press. His leadership in the House, came to an end when he split with Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton over methods of funding the war debts. Hamilton's aim was to strengthen the national government by cementing men of wealth to it; Madison sought to protect the interests of Revolutionary veterans.

Hamilton's victory turned Madison into a strict constructionist of the congressional power to appropriate for the general welfare. He denied the existence of implied power to establish a national bank to aid the Treasury. Later, as president, he asked for and obtained a bank as "almost a necessity" for that purpose, but he contended that it was constitutional only because Hamilton's bank had gone without constitutional challenge.⁷⁹

Madison left Congress in 1797, disgusted by John Jay's treaty with England, which frustrated his program of commercial retaliation against wartime oppression of U.S.

⁷⁷ Saul K. Padover ed., *The Complete Madison: His Basic Writings*, 1953. pp. 19, 102 - 107, 199 - 200.

⁷⁸ Saul K. Padover ed., *The Complete Madison: His Basic Writings*, 1953. pp. 11 - 15, 17, 20.

⁷⁹ Saul K. Padover ed., *The Complete Madison: His Basic Writings*, 1953. pp. 18 - 20, 118, 294 - 297. John T. Morse, Jr. ed., *American Statesmen: James Madison*, 1917. pp. 139, 179 - 92. David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 475.

maritime commerce. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 inspired him to draft the Virginia Resolutions of that year, denouncing those statutes as violations of the First Amendment of the Constitution and affirming the right and duty of the states "to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil." Carefully worded to mean less legally than they seemed to threaten, they forced him to spend his octogenarian years combating South Carolina's interpretation of them as a sanction of state power to nullify federal law.⁸⁰

Madison acted for eight years as Jefferson's secretary of state from 1801 to 1809.

Although he was accused of weakness in dealing with France and England, Madison won the presidency in 1808 by publishing his vigorous diplomatic dispatches.⁸¹ Madison's electoral vote was 122 as a Democratic Republican, Pinckney, a Federalist, 47, and Clinton received 6 running as an Independent Republican.

Although he had fully supported Jefferson's wartime shipping embargo, Madison reversed his predecessor's policy two weeks after assuming the presidency.⁸² Unifying with his opposition further deteriorating the Federalist Party.

An agreement with England providing for repeal of its Orders in Council, which limited trade by neutral nations with France, collapsed because the British minister violated his instructions; he concealed the requirements that the United States continue its trade embargo against France, renounce wartime trade with Britain's enemies, and authorize England to capture any U.S. vessel attempting to trade with France. Madison expelled the minister's successor for charging, falsely, that the President had been aware of the violation.⁸³

Believing that England was bent on permanent suppression of American commerce, Madison proclaimed non-intercourse with England on Nov. 2, 1810, and notified France on

⁸⁰ Merrill D. Peterson ed., The Founding Fathers: James Madison, A Biography in His Own Words, 1974. pp. 205 - 209.

⁸¹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 433.

⁸² John T Morse, Jr. ed., American Statesmen: James Madison, 1917. pp. 268 - 279. By secretly notifying both Great Britain and France, then at war, that, in his opinion, if the country addressed should stop molesting U.S. commerce and the other belligerent continued to do so, "Congress will, at the next ensuing session, authorize acts of hostility . . . against the other."

⁸³ John T Morse, Jr. ed., American Statesmen: James Madison, 1917. pp. 273 - 296, 305 - 308.

the same day that this would “necessarily lead to war” unless England stopped its molestations. One week earlier, unknown to Congress, which was in recess, or the public, he had taken armed possession of the Spanish province of West Florida, claimed as part of the Louisiana Purchase. He was reelected in 1812, despite strong opposition.

With his actions buried in secrecy, Federalists and politicians pictured Madison as a timorous pacifist dragged into the War of 1812 by congressional war hawks. In fact, he sought peace but accepted war. As wartime commander in chief he was hampered by the refusal of Congress to heed pleas for naval and military development and made the initial error of entrusting army command to aging veterans of the Revolution. The small U.S. Navy sparkled, but on land defeat followed defeat.⁸⁴

By 1814, however, Madison had lowered the average age of generals from 60 to 36 years; victories resulted, reversing British Cabinet policy and ending a war the principal cause of which had been removed by revocation of the Orders in Council the day before the conflict began. Contemporary public opinion in the United States, Canada, England, and continental Europe proclaimed the result a U.S. triumph. The Federalist Party was killed by its sedition in opposing the war, and the President was lifted to a pinnacle of popularity. Madison’s greatest fault was delay in discharging incompetent subordinates, including Secretary of War John Armstrong, who had scoffed at the President’s repeated warnings of a coming British attack on Washington and ignored presidential orders for its defense.⁸⁵

James Monroe

James Monroe was the fifth president of the United States from 1817 to 1825, and issued an important contribution to U.S. foreign policy in the Monroe Doctrine, a warning to European nations against intervening in the Western Hemisphere. The period of his administration has been called the *Era of Good Feeling*.

⁸⁴ John T Morse, Jr. ed., American Statesmen: James Madison, 1917. pp. 297 - 299. Merrill D. Peterson ed., The Founding Fathers: James Madison, A Biography in His Own Words, 1974. pp. 238 - 247, 293, 298, 301 - 304, 323 - 325, 339, 343 - 348.

⁸⁵ John T Morse, Jr. ed., American Statesmen: James Madison, 1917. pp. 232 - 243, 269, 317 - 319. Merrill D. Peterson ed., The Founding Fathers: James Madison, A Biography in His Own Words, 1974. pp. 343 - 349.

At the age of 16 he entered the College of William and Mary but in 1776 left to fight in the U.S. War of Independence. In 1780 he began the study of law under Thomas Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, and between the two men there developed an intimacy and a sympathy that had a powerful influence upon Monroe's later career.⁸⁶

He was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1782 and though only 24 years of age was chosen a member of the governor's council. From 1783 to 1786 he served in the Congress under the Articles of Confederation, the first constitution of the new nation. During his term he vigorously insisted on the right of the United States to navigate the Mississippi River, then controlled by the Spanish, and attempted, in 1785, to secure for the weak Congress the power to regulate commerce and thus remove one of the great defects in the existing central government. In 1786 he married Elizabeth Kortright of New York by whom he had two daughters. Retiring from Congress, he began practicing law at Fredericksburg, Va., and was chosen a member of the Virginia House of Delegates in 1787 and 1788 a member of the state convention at which Virginia ratified the new federal Constitution. In 1790 he was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he vigorously opposed Washington's administration; nevertheless, in 1794 Washington nominated him as minister to France.⁸⁷

It was the hope of the administration that Monroe's well-known French sympathies would secure for him a favorable reception and that his appointment would also conciliate France's friends in the United States. His warm reception in France and his enthusiastic republicanism displeased the Federalists, the party of Alexander Hamilton, which encouraged close ties to England, at home; he did nothing, moreover, to reconcile the French to the Jay Treaty, which regulated commerce and navigation between the United States and Great Britain during the French Revolutionary Wars.

Without real justification, the French regarded the treaty as a violation of the French-American treaty of commerce and amity of 1778. Monroe led the French government to believe that the Jay Treaty would never be ratified by the United States, that the

⁸⁶ George Morgan, The Life of James Monroe, Small, Maynard and Company Publishers, Boston, Copyright by Small, Maynard and Company, Inc., 1921. pp. 22, 31 - 37, 82, 87 - 88.

⁸⁷ George Morgan, The Life of James Monroe, 1921. pp. 89, 103 - 23, 131 - 142, 152 - 153, 161 - 168.

administration of George Washington would be overthrown as a result of the obnoxious treaty, and that better things might be expected after the election in 1796 of a new president, perhaps Thomas Jefferson. Washington, though he did not know of this intrigue, sensed that Monroe was unable to represent his government properly and, late in 1796, recalled him.⁸⁸

Monroe returned to America in the spring of 1797 and in the following December published a defense of his course in a pamphlet of 500 pages entitled "A View of the Conduct of the Executive, in the Foreign Affairs of the United States." Washington seems never to have forgiven Monroe for this stratagem, though Monroe's opinion of Washington and Jay underwent a change in his later years. In 1799 Monroe was chosen governor of Virginia and was twice reelected, serving until 1802.⁸⁹

At this time there was much uneasiness in the United States when Spain restored Louisiana to France by the Treaty of San Ildefonso in October 1800. The Spanish district administrator's subsequent withdrawal of the United States' "right of deposit" at New Orleans greatly increased this feeling and led to much talk of war. Resolved upon peaceful measures, President Jefferson in January 1803 appointed Monroe envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to France to aid Robert R. Livingston, the resident minister, in purchasing the territory at the mouth of the Mississippi, including the island of New Orleans, authorizing him at the same time to cooperate with Charles Pinckney, the minister at Madrid, in securing from Spain the cession of East and West Florida. On April 18 Monroe was further commissioned as the regular minister to Great Britain.⁹⁰

Monroe joined Livingston in Paris on April 12, after the latter's negotiations were well under way, and the two ministers, on finding Napoleon willing to dispose of the entire province of Louisiana, decided to exceed their instructions and effect its purchase. Accordingly, on May 2, antedated to April 30, they signed a treaty and two conventions

⁸⁸ George Morgan, The Life of James Monroe, 1921. pp. 159 - 160, 180 - 191, 198 - 201.

⁸⁹ George Morgan, The Life of James Monroe, 1921. pp. 204 - 206, 219. Daniel C. Gilman, American Statesmen: James Monroe, In His Relations to the Public Service During Half a Century, 1776 - 1826, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Copyright by Author, 1883. pp. 32 - 35.

⁹⁰ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 424 - 425, 447.

whereby France sold Louisiana to the United States. The fact that Monroe signed the treaty along with Livingston did not hurt his political career at home, but he is not entitled to much credit for the diplomatic achievement.⁹¹

In July 1803 Monroe left Paris and entered upon his duties in London, and in the autumn of 1804 he proceeded to Madrid to assist Pinckney in his efforts to define the Louisiana boundaries and acquire the Floridas. After negotiating until May 1805 without success, Monroe returned to London and resumed his negotiations concerning the impressment of American seamen and the seizure of American vessels. As the British ministry was reluctant to discuss these vexing questions, little progress was made, and in May 1806 Jefferson ordered William Pinkney of Maryland to assist Monroe.

The result of the deliberations was a treaty signed on Dec. 31, 1806, which contained no provision against impressments and provided no indemnity for the seizure of goods and vessels. Accompanying its signature was a British reservation maintaining freedom of action to retaliate against imminent French maritime decrees. In passing over these matters Monroe and Pinkney had disregarded their instructions, and Jefferson was so displeased with the treaty that he returned it to England for revision.⁹²

Monroe returned to the United States in December 1807 and was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in the spring of 1810. In the following winter he was again chosen governor, serving from January to November 1811, and resigning to become secretary of state under James Madison, a position he held until March 1817. The direction of foreign affairs in the troubled period immediately preceding and during the War of 1812, with Great Britain, thus fell upon him. On Sept. 27, 1814, after the capture of Washington, D.C., by the British, he was appointed secretary of war and discharged the duties of this office, in addition to those of the Department of State, until March 1815.⁹³

⁹¹ Ripley Hitchcock, The Louisiana Purchase and the Exploration, Early History and Building of the West, 1904. pp. v. - vi., 71 - 82. Fawn M. Brodie, Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History, 1974, pp. 305, 335 - 338. George Morgan, The Life of James Monroe, 1921. pp. 236 - 259.

⁹² George Morgan, The Life of James Monroe, 1921. pp. 252 - 285.

⁹³ George Morgan, The Life of James Monroe, 1921. pp. 297 - 316, 324 - 325, 339 - 347.

In 1816 Monroe was elected president of the United States. Receiving 183 of the electoral votes as a Democratic Republican and Rufus King 34 as a Federalist. In 1820 he was reelected, receiving all the electoral votes but one, 231. His opponent, John Quincy Adams received the one electoral vote as an Independent Republican. His administration was called the Era of Good Feeling because a single party dominated the political arena with a lack of partisan struggle and commanded the affections of virtually all the segments of society. This calm only masked time bombs that would soon surface, those of slavery and protectionism. The chief events of his calm and prosperous administration, were the Seminole War (1817-18); the acquisition of the Floridas from Spain (1819-21); the Missouri Compromise of 1820; recognition of the new Latin-American states in Central and South America in 1822; and, most intimately connected with Monroe's name, the enunciation, in the presidential message of Dec. 2, 1823, of the Monroe Doctrine, which has profoundly influenced the foreign policy of the United States.⁹⁴

Not until 1852 did the phrase Monroe Doctrine come into use. The "principles of President Monroe," as the message was referred to in Congress, consisted of three openly proclaimed dicta: no further European colonization in the New World, abstention of the United States from the political affairs of Europe, and nonintervention of Europe in the governments of the American hemisphere. In the diplomatic correspondence preceding the proclamation of these principles in the President's message was a fourth dictum not publicly associated with the doctrine until 1869: the United States opposed the transfer of any existing European colonies from one European sovereign to another.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ George Morgan, The Life of James Monroe, 1921. pp. 350 - 353, 372 - 385, 390 - 391, 394 - 412.

⁹⁵ It is generally concluded that Secretary of State John Quincy Adams was the sole author of the non-colonization principle of the doctrine; the principle of abstention from European wars and politics was common to all the fathers of American independence, inherited and expressed by the younger Adams all his professional life; in Cabinet meetings, Adams also urged the dictum of nonintervention in the affairs of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. But Adams had no idea of proclaiming these dicta to the world. Monroe took responsibility for embodying them in a presidential message that he drafted himself. Modern historical judgment considers the Monroe Doctrine to be appropriately named. Mary W. M. Hargreaves, The Presidency of John Quincy Adams, University Press of Kansas, Copyright by University Press of Kansas, 1985. pp. 126 - 62, 165 - 66. Daniel C. Gilman, American Statesmen: James Monroe. In His Relations to the Public Service During Half a Century, 1776 - 1826, 1883. pp. 157 - 161, 249 - 250, 161 - 174. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 426.

Transition to Timarchy

Throughout the previous presidencies, the election of the president was not in the hands of the average citizen. Since the candidates were chosen by caucuses of senators and congressmen, and since these caucuses also chose the electors, the earlier presidents did not have to appeal for popular support with the masses of voters, instead they were more concerned with staying on the good side of Congress and the state legislatures. With the presidents, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, able to emphasize their roles as statesmen rather than popular politicians, political campaigns in the modern sense was unknown to them. The break in this pattern developed with the disputed election of 1824. None of the candidates had a majority of electoral votes and the election was thrown to the House of Representatives. Even though Andrew Jackson received the largest number of electoral votes, Henry Clay threw in his support to John Quincy Adams to ensure the presidency would go to Adams and he would get the Secretary of State position. With this the Jackson camp cried foul and led to an upheaval in the election process before the election of 1828. The process of selecting the electors was taken out of the hands of the state legislatures in all of the states except South Carolina and given to the voters. With this change citizens were able to influence the election process and effect a change in the type of representation that would follow. This would make Andrew Jackson the first president popularly elected in the modern sense.

Another development was that of increased third parties and their influence on the election process. If the old two-party system had remained intact, then the possibility of change would not have presented itself through the nomination of Andrew Jackson for presidency. Without the medium within which to work, his presidency would not have occurred since the parties of his day of the two parties available previously did not and would not have seen him fit for the nomination. With third parties developing, we will see as we go that they provide a conduit for new ideas and candidates to come to the forefront of presidential politics and representation.

John Quincy Adams

John Quincy Adams, the last president of the aristocratic period, was eldest son of President John Adams and sixth president of the United States from 1825 to 1829. In his pre-presidential years he was one of America's greatest diplomats, formulating, among other

things, what came to be called the Monroe Doctrine; in his post-presidential years, as U.S. congressman, from 1831 to 1848 he conducted a consistent and often dramatic fight against the expansion of slavery.

He grew up as a child of the American Revolution. He watched the Battle of Bunker Hill from Penn's Hill and heard the cannons roar across the Back Bay. His patriot father, at that time a delegate to the Continental Congress, and his patriot mother, one of the intellectual women of those times, had a strong molding influence on his education after the war had deprived Braintree of its only schoolmaster. In 1778 and again in 1780 the boy accompanied his father to Europe. He studied at a private school in Paris in 1778-79 and at the University of Leiden in 1780. Thus, at an early age he acquired an excellent knowledge of the French language and a smattering of Dutch.⁹⁶

In 1781, at the age of 14, he accompanied Francis Dana, United States envoy to Russia, as his private secretary and interpreter of French. Dana, after lingering for more than a year in St. Petersburg, was not received by the Russian government; and in 1782 Adams, returning by way of Scandinavia, Hanover, and the Netherlands, joined his father in Paris. There he acted, in an informal way, as an additional secretary to the American commissioners in the negotiation of the treaty of peace that concluded the American Revolution. Instead of remaining in London with his father, who had been appointed United States minister to the Court of St. James, he chose to return to Massachusetts, where he was graduated from Harvard College in 1787. He then read law at Newburyport under the tutelage of Theophilus Parsons, and in 1790 he was admitted to the bar in Boston. While struggling for a practice, he wrote a series of articles for the newspapers in which he controverted some of the doctrines in Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man." In another later series he ably supported the neutrality policy of George Washington's administration as it faced the war that broke out between France and England in 1793. These articles were brought to President Washington's attention and resulted in Adams' appointment as U.S. minister to the Netherlands in May 1794.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. P. 414.

⁹⁷ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. P. 414.

The Hague was then the best diplomatic listening post in Europe for the war of the first coalition against Revolutionary France. Young Adams' official dispatches to the Secretary of State and his informal letters to his father, who was now the vice president, kept the government well informed of the diplomatic activities and wars of the distressed Continent and the danger of becoming involved in the European vortex. These letters were also read by President Washington. During the absence of the regular minister at London, Thomas Pinckney, Adams transacted public business with the British Foreign Office relating to exchange of ratifications of the Jay Treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain. In 1796 Washington, who came to regard young Adams as the ablest officer in the foreign service, appointed him minister to Portugal, but before his departure his father, John Adams, became president and changed the young diplomat's destination to Prussia.⁹⁸

John Quincy Adams was married in London in 1797, on the eve of his departure for Berlin, to Louisa Catherine Johnson, daughter of the United States consul Joshua Johnson. While in Berlin, Adams negotiated in 1799 a treaty of amity and commerce with Prussia. Recalled from Berlin by President Adams after the election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800, the younger Adams reached Boston in 1801 and the next year was elected to the Massachusetts Senate. In 1803 the Massachusetts legislature elected him as a member of the Senate of the United States.⁹⁹

Up to this time John Quincy Adams was regarded as belonging to the Federalist Party, but he found its general policy displeasing. He was frowned upon as the son of his father by the followers of Alexander Hamilton and by reactionary groups, and he soon found himself practically powerless as an unpopular member of an unpopular minority. Actually he was not then, and indeed never was, a strict party man; all through his life, ever aspiring to higher public service. Adams arrived in Washington too late to vote for ratification of the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana, opposed by the other Federalist senators, but he voted for the appropriations to carry it into effect and announced that he would have voted for the purchase treaty itself. Nevertheless, he joined his Federalist colleagues in voting against a

⁹⁸ Edward Everett (1860). The Life of George Washington, pp. 162 -204. Chapter 8 passim. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. P. 414. Kenneth Umbreit, Founding Fathers, 1941 p. 325.

⁹⁹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 414 - 415.

bill to enable the President to place officials of his own appointment in control of the newly acquired territory; such a bill, Adams vainly protested, overstepped the constitutional powers of the presidency, violated the right of self-government, and imposed taxation without representation. In December 1807 he supported President Jefferson's suggestion of an embargo prohibiting all foreign commerce, an attempt to gain British recognition of American rights, and vigorously urged instant action, saying: "The President has recommended the measure on his high responsibility. I would not consider, I would not deliberate; I would act!" Within five hours the Senate had passed the embargo bill and sent it to the House of Representatives. Support of this measure, hated by the Federalists and unpopular in New England because it stifled the region's economy, cost Adams his seat in the Senate. His successor was chosen on June 3, 1808, several months before the usual time of electing a senator for the next term, and five days later Adams resigned. In the same year he attended the Republican congressional caucus, which nominated James Madison for the presidency, and thus allied himself with that party. From 1806 to 1809 Adams was Boylston professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard College.¹⁰⁰

In 1809 President Madison sent Adams to Russia to represent the United States at the court of the tsars. He arrived at St. Petersburg at the psychological moment when the Tsar had made up his mind to break with Napoleon. Adams therefore met with a favorable reception and a disposition to further the interests of American commerce in every possible way. From this vantage point he watched and reported Napoleon's invasion of Russia and the final disastrous retreat and dissolution of France's *grande armée*. On the outbreak of the war between the United States and England in 1812, he was still at St. Petersburg. That September the Russian government suggested that the Tsar was willing to act as mediator between the two belligerents. Madison precipitately accepted this proposition and sent Albert Gallatin and James Bayard to act as commissioners with Adams, but England would have nothing to do with it. In August 1814, however, these gentlemen, with Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, began negotiations with English commissioners that resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on December 24 of that year. Adams then visited Paris, where he witnessed the return of Napoleon from Elba, and next went to London, where,

¹⁰⁰ Adrienne Koch, William Peden, The Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., Copyright by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1946. pp. 264 - 266. Ripley Hitchcock. The Louisiana Purchase and the Exploration. Early History and Building of the West, 1904. pp. v. - vi., 71 - 82.

with Clay and Gallatin, he negotiated in 1815 a "Convention to Regulate Commerce and Navigation." Soon afterward he became U.S. minister to Great Britain, as his father had been before him, and as his son, Charles Francis Adams, was to be after him. After accomplishing little in London, he returned to the United States in the summer of 1817 to become secretary of state in the Cabinet of President James Monroe. This appointment was primarily because of his diplomatic experience but also because of the President's desire to have a sectionally well-balanced Cabinet in what came to be known as the Era of Good Feeling.¹⁰¹

As secretary of state, Adams played the leading part in the acquisition of Florida. Ever since the acquisition of Louisiana, successive administrations had sought to include at least a part of Florida in that purchase. In 1819, after long negotiations, Adams succeeded in getting the Spanish minister to agree to a treaty in which Spain would abandon all claims to territory east of the Mississippi, the United States would relinquish all claim to what is now Texas, and a boundary of the United States would be drawn for the first time from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This Transcontinental Treaty was perhaps the greatest victory ever won by a single man in the diplomatic history of the United States. Adams himself was responsible for the idea of extending the country's northern boundary westward from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. Before the Spanish government ratified the Transcontinental Treaty in 1819, however, Mexico including Texas had thrown off allegiance to the mother country, and the United States had occupied Florida by force of arms. As secretary of state, Adams was also responsible for conclusion of the treaty of 1818 with Great Britain, laying down the northern boundary of the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains along the line of 49 N latitude. President James K. Polk's Oregon treaty of 1846 drew that boundary along the line of 49. The Monroe Doctrine rightly bears the name of the president who in 1823 assumed the responsibility for

¹⁰¹ Adrienne Koch, William Peden, The Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams, 1946. pp. 260 - 263, 282 - 286. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 416 - 417. Charles Francis Adams, Charles Francis Adams: An Autobiography, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Copyright by The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1916. pp. 107, 111, 165.

its promulgation, but it was the work of John Quincy Adams more than of any other single man.¹⁰²

As President Monroe's second term drew to a close in 1824, there was a lack of good feeling among his official advisers, odd in an era of good feeling, three of whom, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, and Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford, aspired to succeed him in his high office. Henry Clay, speaker of the House, and General Andrew Jackson were also candidates. Calhoun was nominated for the vice presidency. Of the other four, Jackson received 99 electoral votes for the presidency running as a Democrat with a popular vote of 143,544 or 43.1%, Adams 84 as a Democratic Republican with a popular vote of 108,740 or 30.6%, Crawford 41 as an Independent Republican with a popular vote of 46,618 or 13.1%, and Clay 37 as a Federalist with a popular vote of 47,136 or 13.2%. Because no one had a majority, the decision was made by the House of Representatives, which was confined in its choice to the three candidates who had received the largest number of votes. Clay, who had for years assumed a censorious attitude toward Jackson, cast his influence for Adams, whose election was thereby secured on the first ballot. A few days later Adams offered Clay the office of secretary of state, which was accepted. The charge of "bargain and corruption" followed, and the feud thus created between Adams and Jackson greatly influenced the history of the United States.¹⁰³

Up to this point Adams' career had been almost uniformly successful, but his presidency from 1825 to 1829, during which the country prospered, was in most respects a political failure because of the virulent opposition of the Jacksonians. In 1828 Jackson was elected president over Adams. It was during Jackson's administration that irreconcilable differences developed between the followers of Adams and the followers of Jackson, the former becoming known as the National Republicans, who, with the Anti-Masons, were the precursors of the Whigs. In 1829 Adams retired to private life in the town of Quincy, but only for a brief period; in 1830, supported largely by members of the Anti-Mason movement, a political force formed initially in opposition to Freemasonry, he was elected a

¹⁰² Adrienne Koch, William Peden, The Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams, 1946. pp. 296 - 297. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 425 - 426, 416. Daniel C. Gilman, American Statesmen: James Monroe, In His Relations to the Public Service During Half a Century, 1776 - 1826, 1883. pp. 161 - 171, 189 - 191.

¹⁰³ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 404, 417.

member of the national House of Representatives. When it was suggested to him that his acceptance of this position would degrade a former president, Adams replied that no person could be degraded by serving the people as a representative in Congress or, he added, as a selectman of his town. He served in the House of Representatives from 1831 until his death, in 1848.¹⁰⁴

His long second career in Congress was at least as important as his earlier career as a diplomat. Throughout, he was conspicuous as an opponent of the expansion of slavery and was at heart an Abolitionist, though he never became one in the political sense of the word. In 1839 he presented to the House of Representatives a resolution for a constitutional amendment providing that every child born in the United States after July 4, 1842, should be born free; that, with the exception of Florida, no new state should be admitted into the Union with slavery; and that neither slavery nor the slave trade should exist in the District of Columbia after July 4, 1845. The "gag rules," a resolution passed by Southern members of Congress against all discussion of slavery in the House of Representatives, effectively blocked any discussion of Adams' proposed amendment. His prolonged fight for the repeal of the gag rules and for the right of petition to Congress for the mitigation or abolition of slavery was one of the most dramatic contests in the history of Congress. These petitions, from individuals and groups of individuals from all over the northern states, were increasingly sent to Adams, and he dutifully presented them. Adams contended that the gag rules were a direct violation of the First Amendment to the federal Constitution, and he refused to be silenced on the question, fighting indomitably for repeal, in spite of the bitter denunciation of his opponents. Each year the number of anti-slavery petitions received and presented by him grew in great numbers. Perhaps the climax was in 1837 when Adams presented a petition from 22 slaves and, threatened by his opponents with censure, defended himself with remarkable keenness and ability. At each session the majority against him decreased until, in 1844, his motion to repeal the then standing 21st gag rule of the House was carried by a vote of 108 to 80, and his long battle was over.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 419.

¹⁰⁵ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 419.

As a member of Congress—in fact, throughout his life—Adams supported the improvement of the arts and sciences and the diffusion of knowledge; and he did much to conserve the bequest of James Smithson to the United States and to create and endow the Smithsonian Institution with the money from Smithson's estate.¹⁰⁶

Andrew Jackson

With the Jackson Presidency, and voting rights broadened, the peoples' choice was that of a Timocrat, seeing honor as important over wisdom. This would begin a new trend in Presidential politics and American perception of government.

Andrew Jackson was a U.S. military hero and seventh president of the United States from 1829 to 1837. He was the first U.S. president to come from the area west of the Appalachians and the first to gain office by a direct appeal to the mass of voters. His political movement has since been known as Jacksonian Democracy.¹⁰⁷

Jackson was born on the western frontier of the Carolinas, an area that was in dispute between North Carolina and South Carolina, and both states have claimed him as a native son. Jackson maintained that he was born in South Carolina, and the weight of evidence supports his assertion. The area offered little opportunity for formal education, and what schooling he received was interrupted by the British invasion of the western Carolinas in 1780-81. In the latter year he was captured by the British. Shortly after being imprisoned, he refused to shine the boots of a British officer and was struck across the face with a sabre. His mother and two brothers died during the closing years of the war, direct or indirect casualties of the invasion of the Carolinas. This sequence of tragic experiences fixed in Jackson's mind a lifelong hostility to Great Britain. After the end of the U.S. War of Independence, he studied law in an office in Salisbury, N.C., and was admitted to the bar of

¹⁰⁶ Mary W. M. Hargreaves, The Presidency of John Quincy Adams, 1985. pp. 320 - 321.

¹⁰⁷ Despite the prevailing "Era of Good Feeling", Adams noted in his diary as early as December 1818, . . . political, personal and electioneering intrigues are intermingling themselves with increasing heat and violence. This Government is indeed assuming daily more and more a character of cabal, and preparation, not for the next Presidential election, but for the one after—that is, working and counter-working, with many of the worst features of elective monarchies. Jackson has made himself a multitude of friends, and still more enemies. The course pursued by the Administration has satisfied neither party, but neither can find much to attack it." David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p.

that state in 1787. In 1788 he went to the Cumberland region as prosecuting attorney of the western district of North Carolina, the region west of the Appalachians, soon to become the state of Tennessee.¹⁰⁸

When Jackson arrived in Nashville, the community was still a frontier settlement. As prosecuting attorney, Jackson was principally occupied with suits for the collection of debts. He was so successful in these litigations that he soon had a thriving private practice and had gained the friendship of landowners and creditors. For almost 30 years Jackson was allied with this group in Tennessee politics. Jackson boarded in the home of Colonel John Donelson, where he met and married the colonel's daughter, Mrs. Rachel Robards.¹⁰⁹

Jackson's interest in public affairs and in politics had always been keen. He had gone to Nashville as a political appointee, and in 1796 he became a member of the convention that drafted a constitution for the new state of Tennessee. In the same year he was elected as the first representative from Tennessee to the national House of Representatives. He refused to seek reelection and served only until March 4, 1797.

Jackson returned to Tennessee, vowing never to enter public life again, but before the end of the year he was elected to the U.S. Senate. His willingness to accept the office reflects his emergence as an acknowledged leader of one of the two political factions contending for control of the state. Jackson resigned from the Senate in 1798 after an uneventful year, though.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Copyright by the Author, 1882. Pp. 1 - 7. Andrew Jackson & John F. Brown and William White, eds., Messages of Gen. Andrew Jackson: With a Short Sketch of His Life, John F. Brown and William White, Publishers and Printers, Copyright by John F. Brown and William White, Publishers and Printers, 1837. pp. 7 - 34. Philo A. Goodwin, Esq., Biography of Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, Formerly Major-General in the Army of the United States, R. Hart Towner, New York, Copyright by R. Hart Towner, 1833. pp. 2 - 8. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 397 - 398.

¹⁰⁹ Philo A. Goodwin, Esq., Biography of Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, Formerly Major-General in the Army of the United States, 1833. pp. 6 - 9. William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Copyright by Author, 1882. pp. 9 - 13. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 398 - 399.

¹¹⁰ William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, 1882. pp. 13 - 16.

Soon after his return to Nashville he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court, in effect, the supreme court, of the state and served in that post until 1804. In 1802 Jackson had also been elected major general of the Tennessee militia, a position he still held when the War of 1812 opened the door to a command in the field and a hero's role.¹¹¹

In March 1812, when it appeared that war with Great Britain was imminent, Jackson issued a call for 50,000 volunteers to be ready for an invasion of Canada. After the declaration of war, in June 1812, Jackson offered his services and those of his militia to the United States. The government was slow to accept this offer, and, when Jackson finally was given a command in the field, it was to fight against the Creek Indians, who were allied with the British and who were threatening the Southern frontier. In a campaign of about five months, in 1813-14, Jackson crushed the Creeks, the final victory coming in the Battle of Tohopeka or Horseshoe Bend in Alabama. The victory was so decisive that the Creeks never again menaced the frontier, and Jackson was established as the hero of the West.

In August 1814, Jackson moved his army south to Mobile. Though he was without specific instructions, his real objective was the Spanish post at Pensacola. The motive was to prepare the way for U.S. occupation of Florida, then a Spanish possession. Jackson's justification for this bold move was that Spain and Great Britain were allies in the wars in Europe. At Mobile, Jackson learned that an army of British regulars had landed at Pensacola. In the first week in November, he led his army into Florida and, on November 7, occupied that city just as the British evacuated it to go by sea to Louisiana. Jackson then marched his army overland to New Orleans, where he arrived early in December. A series of small skirmishes between detachments of the two armies culminated in the Battle of New Orleans on Jan. 8, 1815, in which Jackson's forces inflicted a decisive defeat upon the British army and forced it to withdraw. The news of this victory reached Washington at a time when morale was at a low point. A few days later, news of the signing of a peace treaty between the United States and Great Britain on Dec. 24, 1814, at Ghent reached the capital. The twin tidings brought joy and relief to the American people and made Jackson the hero not only of the West but of a substantial part of the country as well.

¹¹¹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 399 - 400.

After the close of the war, Jackson was named commander of the southern district. He entrusted the command of the troops in the field to subordinates while he retired to his home at the Hermitage, near Nashville. He was ordered back to active service at the end of December 1817, when unrest along the border appeared to be reaching critical proportions. The instructions given Jackson were vague, and he ordered an invasion of Florida immediately after taking active command. He captured two Spanish posts and appointed one of his subordinates military governor of Florida. These bold actions brought an immediate and sharp protest from Spain and precipitated a Cabinet crisis in Washington. The staunch defense of Jackson by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams saved Jackson from censure and hastened the U.S. acquisition of Florida.¹¹²

Jackson's military triumphs led to suggestions that he become a candidate for president, but he disavowed any interest, and political leaders in Washington assumed that the flurry of support for him would prove transitory. The campaign to make him president, however, was kept alive by his continued popularity and was carefully nurtured by a small group of his friends in Nashville, who combined devotion to the General with a high degree of political astuteness. In 1822 these friends maneuvered the Tennessee legislature into a formal nomination of their hero as a candidate for president. In the following year this same group persuaded the legislature to elect him to the U.S. Senate, a gesture designed to demonstrate the extent of his popularity in his home state.¹¹³

In the election of 1824 four candidates received electoral votes. Jackson received the highest number, the others being John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, and Henry Clay. Since no one had a majority of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives was required to elect a president from the three with the highest number of votes. Crawford was critically ill and the actual choice was between Jackson and Adams. Clay, as speaker of the House, was in a strategic and perhaps decisive position to determine the outcome. Adams was elected on the first ballot. When he appointed Clay secretary of state, it seemed to admirers of

¹¹² William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, 1882. pp. 30 - 35, 37 - 50, 69 - 79. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 400, 402 - 403.

¹¹³ William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, 1882. Pp. 82 - 84, 90, 95 - 101. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 404.

Jackson to confirm rumors of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay. Jackson's friends persuaded him that the popular will had been thwarted by intrigues, and he thereupon determined to vindicate himself and his supporters by becoming a candidate again in 1828. Jackson, running as a Democrat defeated Adams, a National Republican, by an electoral vote of 178 to 83, and a popular vote of 647,292 or 56% to 507,730 or 44%. after a campaign in which personalities and slander played a larger part than in any previous national election in the history of the United States with popular opinion paramount for the first time in the electoral process.

The election of 1828 is commonly regarded as a turning point in the political history of the United States. Jackson was the first president from the area west of the Appalachians, but it was equally significant that the initiative in launching his candidacy and much of the leadership in the organization of his campaign also came from the West. The victory of Jackson indicated a westward movement of the center of political power. He was also the first man to be elected president through a direct appeal to the mass of the voters rather than through the support of a recognized political organization. His victory was regarded by contemporaries and by historians as the triumph of political democracy.

Jackson was the beneficiary of a rising tide of democratic sentiment. The trend toward greater political democracy, aided by the admission of six new states to the union, five of which had manhood suffrage, along with the extension of the suffrage laws by many of the older states, weakened the power of the older political organizations and opened the way for the rise of new political leaders skilled in appealing to the mass of voters. Not the least remarkable triumph of the Jacksonian organization was its success in picturing its candidate as the embodiment of democracy, despite the fact that Jackson had been aligned with the conservative faction in Tennessee politics for 30 years and that in the financial crisis that swept the West after 1819 he had vigorously opposed legislation for the relief of debtors.

As the victory of Jackson reflected the emergence of new forces in U.S. politics, so Jackson himself brought to the presidency a new set of personal qualifications that were to become the standard by which presidential candidates would be judged for the remainder of the 19th century. He was the first president since Washington who had not served a long apprenticeship in public life and had no personal experience in the formulation or conduct

of foreign policy. His brief periods of service in Congress provided no clue to his stand on the public issues of the day, except perhaps on the tariff.¹¹⁴

When Jackson was inaugurated on March 4, 1829, it was the first time in more than a quarter of a century that the advent of a new president reflected the repudiation of his predecessor. Hundreds who had worked for the election of Jackson hoped this would mean that incumbent officeholders would be replaced by friends of the new president, and within a few weeks the process of removing opponents of Jackson to make way for supporters had begun.¹¹⁵

Jackson was in poor health when he became president, and few believed that he would have the strength or inclination to seek a second term. The question of the succession was, therefore, certain to attract early attention. One obvious candidate was Vice Pres. John C. Calhoun from Jackson's native state of South Carolina. Another was Martin Van Buren, Jackson's first secretary of state. The harmony of the new administration was marred from the outset by the rivalry between Calhoun and Van Buren. When Jackson learned, in 1830, that during the Cabinet debates in 1818 Calhoun had urged that he be censured for his invasion of Florida, he concluded that he could no longer trust Calhoun. From that time, Van Buren was generally recognized as the probable successor of Jackson as president.

The feud between Jackson and Calhoun assumed crucial importance in 1830 when Calhoun openly espoused the cause of South Carolina in its opposition to a high protective tariff. Feeling in South Carolina was so intense that there were covert threats that the state would attempt to prevent collection of the tariff within its borders. The issue of the tariff drifted unresolved, however, until 1832, when congressional leaders sought a compromise in the form of a moderate reduction of the tariff. South Carolina was not satisfied and in reply adopted a resolution declaring the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void and prohibiting the

¹¹⁴ William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, 1882. pp. 110 - 127, 129 - 149. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 404.

¹¹⁵ Rotation in office, however, did not begin with Jackson, nor did he utilize this practice as extensively as was charged. In eight years as president, Jackson removed fewer than one-sixth of all federal officeholders. William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, 1882. pp. 188 - 192. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 405.

enforcement of either within its boundaries after Feb. 1, 1833. Jackson accepted the challenge, denounced the theory of nullification, and asked Congress for authority to send troops into South Carolina to enforce the law. The President believed the tariff to be too high, however, and urged Congress to reduce the rates it had enacted a few months earlier. On March 1, 1833, Congress sent to the President two companion bills. One reduced tariff duties on many items. The other, commonly called the Force Bill, empowered the president to use the armed forces to enforce federal laws. South Carolina repealed its nullification ordinance, but at the same time it declared the Force Act null and void.¹¹⁶

Whatever the motives, Jackson had preserved the integrity of the Union against the most serious threat it had yet faced. In contrast, he was remarkably complacent when Georgia defied the federal government. In 1829 Georgia extended its jurisdiction to about 9,000,000 acres of land that lay within its boundaries but was still occupied by Indians. The Indians' title to the land had been guaranteed by a treaty with the United States. The Indians appealed to the federal courts. In two separate cases, the Supreme Court ruled against Georgia, but Georgia ignored those decisions and continued to enforce its jurisdiction within the territory claimed by the Indians. In contrast to his strong reaction against South Carolina's defiance of federal authority, Jackson made no effort to restrain Georgia.¹¹⁷

In the meantime, Jackson acquiesced to the pressure of friends and sought a second term. As the election of 1832 approached, Jackson's opponents hoped to embarrass him by presenting him with a new dilemma. The charter of the Bank of the United States was due to expire in 1836. The President had not clearly defined his position, but he was increasingly uneasy about the bank as then organized. More significant in an election year was the fact that large blocs of voters who favored Jackson were openly hostile to the bank. In the summer of 1832, Jackson's opponents rushed through Congress a bill to re-charter the bank, thus forcing Jackson either to sign the measure and alienate many of his supporters or to veto it and appear as a foe of sound banking. Jackson's Cabinet was divided between

¹¹⁶ William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, 1882. pp. 196 - 197, 200 - 206, 209 - 211, 259 - 263, 323 - 338. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 405 - 408.

¹¹⁷ William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, 1882. pp. 224 - 227, 233.

friends and critics of the bank, but the obviously political motives of the re-charter bill reconciled all of them to the necessity of a veto. The question before Jackson actually was whether the veto message should leave the door open to future compromise.

Few presidential vetoes have caused as much controversy in their own time or later as the one Jackson sent to Congress on July 10, 1832. The veto of the bill to re-charter the bank was the prelude to a conflict over financial policy that continued through Jackson's second term. Efforts to persuade Congress to enact legislation limiting the circulation of bank notes failed, but there was one critical point at which Jackson was free to apply his theories. Nearly all purchasers of public lands paid with bank notes, many of which had to be discounted because of doubts as to the continuing solvency of the banks that issued them. Partly to protect federal revenues against loss and partly to advance his concept of a sound currency, Jackson issued the Specie Circular in July 1836, requiring payment in gold or silver for all public lands. This measure created a demand for specie that many of the banks could not meet; the effect of bank failures in the West spread to the East, and by the spring of 1837 the entire country was gripped by a financial panic. The panic did not come, however, until after Jackson had had the pleasure of seeing Van Buren inaugurated as president on March 4, 1837.¹¹⁸

Jackson had left office more popular than when he entered. The widespread approval of his actions exercised a profound effect on the character of U.S. politics for half a century. The success of Jackson appeared to be a vindication of the new democracy. Powerful voices still questioned the wisdom and morality of democracy in 1829; there were few who would question it in 1837. Jackson had likewise established a pattern that future candidates for the presidency attempted to imitate. Birth in humble circumstances, experience on the frontier, evidence of being close to the mass of the people, a devotion to democracy, and, if possible, some military exploits were all valuable assets for any candidate.

Jackson never thought of himself as a master politician, but he and his associates proved themselves the most skillful political leaders of that generation. When Jackson was elected

¹¹⁸ William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, 1882. pp. 278 - 320, 339 - 348, 360 - 375, 381 - 383, 397 - 400, 442, 450 - 452. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 409, 411.

president in 1828, he was the candidate of a faction rather than of a party. When he retired from the presidency he left a vigorous and well-organized Democratic Party as a legacy.¹¹⁹

Martin Van Buren

Martin Van Buren was the eighth president of the United States from 1837 to 1841 and one of the founders of the Democratic Party.

He studied law and in 1803 began practice in Kinderhook. He served two terms in the New York Senate (1812-20) as a Jeffersonian Republican and during his tenure was appointed state attorney general. After his election to the U.S. Senate in 1821, he created a group known as the Albany Regency, an informal political organization set up to run New York state during his absence in Washington.

In the Senate he supported the doctrine of states' rights, opposed a strong central government, and disapproved of federally sponsored internal improvements. After the election of John Quincy Adams in 1824, Van Buren aided in the formation of a new political amalgam that resulted in the Democratic Party. Made up of factions of the Jeffersonian Republican Party led by Andrew Jackson, William H. Crawford, and John C. Calhoun, it espoused the principles of Jefferson and capitalized on Jackson's popularity.

In 1828 Van Buren resigned his Senate seat and successfully ran for governor of New York. He gave up the governorship within 12 weeks to become President Andrew Jackson's secretary of state.¹²⁰

Nominated for the vice presidency in 1832 by the first national convention of the Democratic Party, Van Buren was elected with Jackson on a ticket opposing the established bank system. He became Jackson's choice to succeed him and in 1835 was unanimously nominated for the presidency. Winning the election, with the American electorate electing

¹¹⁹ William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson As A Public Man: What He Was, What Chances He Had, And What He Did With Them, 1882. pp. 296, 299, 439 - 440, 442. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 407, 411.

¹²⁰ George Bancroft, Martin Van Buren, Harper and Brothers, Franklin Square, New York, Copyright by author, 1889. pp. 119 - 122, 152 - 157, 159 - 165. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 388 - 389.

him in part because of Jackson's popularity and his backing of Van Buren and their belief that he would continue Jackson's policies. As the transition was still in progress, the second and third party effect was still strong. Van Buren received as a Democrat a popular vote of 762,678 or 51%, and an electoral vote of 170, William H. Harrison received as a Whig, 548,007 popular votes, or 36%, and 73 electoral votes, Hugh Lawson White also a Whig received 145,396 or 10% of the popular vote and 26 electoral votes, Daniel Webster, another Whig, received 42,247 or 3%, and 14 electoral votes, and Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina, who was not a declared candidate, but still received 11 electoral votes. The reason behind the large number of Whig candidates was as a new party that had developed in opposition to Andrew Jackson in 1834, or whom they called King Andrew I, wanted to deny Van Buren a majority and throw the election into the House of Representatives. The Whig party, though unsuccessful in their attempt, and Van Buren taking office in 1837, as a financial panic spread throughout the nation, would gain second party status.

In 1840 Van Buren made a proposal to remove government funds from state banks and put them in an "independent treasury", this proposal passed only after a bitter congressional battle, in which many conservative Democrats deserted to the Whig Party. A costly war with the Seminole Indians in Florida and his failure to support the proposed annexation of Texas also lessened his popularity. The question of the northeast boundary of the United States provoked conflict between the inhabitants of Maine and Canadians bordering the Aroostook River. Armed clashes were halted by Van Buren and a permanent settlement was later negotiated in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842.¹²¹

Unanimously renominated in 1840 by the Democrats, Van Buren was overwhelmingly defeated by the Whig candidate William Henry Harrison. Four years later he failed to win the Democratic nomination. In 1848 he was nominated by the antislavery Democrats ("Barnburners") and then by the Free-Soilers, with whom the Barnburners and "conscience" Whigs united, but he failed to be elected.¹²²

¹²¹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 391 - 393.

¹²² Edward M. Shepard, Martin Van Buren, Edited by John T. Morse Jr., Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York, The Riverside Press, Cambridge Mass., Copyright by author, 1888. pp. 325 - 334, 367 - 369.

Beginning of Timarchy

“He should have more of self-assertion and be less cultivated and yet a friend of culture; and he should be a good listener but no speaker. Such a person is apt to be rough with slaves, unlike the educated man, who is too proud for that; and he will also be courteous to freemen, and remarkably obedient to authority; he is a lover of power and a lover of honor; claiming to be a ruler, not because he is eloquent, or on any ground of that sort, but because he is a soldier and has performed feats of arms.”

William Henry Harrison

William Henry Harrison was the ninth president of the United States whose successful Indian campaigns, while a territorial governor and army officer, thrust him into the national limelight and led to his election in 1840. He was the first chief executive to die in office, after only one month's service.

Descended from a Virginia family long active in politics, Harrison enlisted at 18 as an army officer, serving as an aide-de-camp to General Anthony Wayne against the Northwest Indian Confederation in the successful campaign that ended in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, near present Maumee, Ohio August 20, 1794. He was named secretary of the Northwest Territory in 1798 and sent to Congress as a territorial delegate the following year. In May 1800 Harrison was appointed governor of the newly created Indiana Territory, where, succumbing to the demands of land-hungry whites, he negotiated between 1802-09 a number of treaties that stripped the Indians of that region of millions of acres of land.

Resisting this expansionism, the Shawnee intertribal leader Tecumseh organized an Indian uprising. Leading a force of seasoned regulars and militia, Harrison defeated the Indians at the Battle of Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811, near present Lafayette, Indiana, a victory that largely established his military reputation in the public mind.

A few months after the War of 1812 broke out with Great Britain, Harrison was made a brigadier general and placed in command of all federal forces in the Northwest Territory. On Oct. 5, 1813, troops under his command decisively defeated the British and their Indian allies at the Battle of the Thames, in Ontario. Tecumseh was killed in the battle, and the

British-Indian alliance was permanently destroyed; thus ended resistance in the Northwest.¹²³

After the war Harrison settled in Ohio, where he quickly became prominent in Whig politics. He served in the U.S. House of Representatives (1816-19), the Ohio Senate (1819-21), the U.S. Senate (1825-28), and as minister to Colombia (1828-29). In 1836 he was one of three presidential candidates of the splintered Whig Party, but lost the election to Democrat Martin Van Buren. In 1840 Harrison received the regular Whig nomination, largely because of his military record and his noncommittal political views. To attract Southern Democrats, the Whigs nominated John Tyler of Virginia for vice president. Capitalizing on voter discontent with the economic depression caused by the Panic of 1837, the campaign deliberately avoided discussion of national issues and substituted political songs, partisan slogans, and appropriate insignia: miniature log cabins and jugs of hard cider were widely distributed to emphasize Harrison's frontier identification, and the cry of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" rang throughout the land. These emotional appeals triumphed, with Harrison winning 234 electoral votes and 1,275,017 popular votes or 53% to Van

¹²³ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 380 - 381. The People's Presidential Candidate: or The Life of William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, Weeks, Jordan and Compnay, Boston, Mass., 1839, Compilation between Moses Dawson's book, A Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Major General William H. Harrison, and a Vindication of his Character and Conduct as a Statesman, a Citizen, and a Soldier. With a Detail of His Negotiations and Wars with the Indians until the final Overthrow of the Celebrated Chief Tecumthe, and his Brother the Prophet, Published in Cincinnati, Ohio, 1824, and James Hall's, Memoir of the Public Services of William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, Published in Philadelphia in 1836. This compilation was done for this work to bring together these two lengthy, and as whomever the author is puts it, and ill arranged and confusing works together, all I can assume since there is no single author attached to this work, that it is an anonymous work on behalf of Harrison to help get him elected. It gives a particular light since it was written at the time Harrison was running for office and gives a true historical context for the happenings and occurrences during this period in Harrison's career. As you will probably have noted at this point, I am attempting to use the oldest materials that survive so that the effects that we see in history of whitewashing does not cloud the events as they truly happened. I want the most authentic version of each administration that I can get. pp. 110 - 116, 147, 171 - 172, 179, 200 - 211 (His acceptance letter to Harmar Denny of his nomination of President by the Democratic anti-masonic party.) Another book to review is, A Sketch of the Life and Public Services of William Henry Harrison: Commander in Chief of the Northwestern Army, During the War of 1812, etc., Printed at the Office of the New York Express, New York, 1839, which includes the first edition of the same work done in 1835, published then by T. & C. Wood, Stationers, Wall Street, New York. This like the previous is a campaign flier that was distributed right as Harrison was running for President. I find it interesting because it gives you not only direct information from that time, but also some insight into the campaign practices as well. Note that the first edition of 1835 was 30 ½ pages long and the second edition was 32 pages. There is a lot of overlap of course, but taken as a whole does give a good pre-presidential overview. Pp. 1 - 30, 32, passim.

Buren as a Democrat with 60 electoral votes and a popular vote of 1,128,702 or 47%.¹²⁴ This return to stability of the two-party system, between the Whig party and the Democrats, shows us the completion of this transition and the acceptance of the new regime of timocracy in American presidential politics and governance.

Inauguration ceremonies at the capital were held in a cold drizzle on March 4, 1841, and the old campaigner insisted on delivering his address without a hat or an overcoat. He contracted pneumonia and died a month later, undoubtedly weakened by the fatigue brought on by innumerable demands of office seekers.¹²⁵

John Tyler

John Tyler was the 10th president of the United States from 1841 to 1845 who was the first vice-president to take office upon the death of a President, solidifying the right of succession of the vice-president to the presidency at the death of William Henry Harrison. A maverick Democrat who refused allegiance to the program of party leader Andrew Jackson, and disavowing the policies of his predecessor, Tyler was rejected in office by both Democrats and Whigs and functioned as a political independent.

Born into a politically active family, young Tyler studied law and began his political career in the Virginia legislature (1811-16, 1823-25, 1839). He was elected a U.S. congressman (1817-21), state governor (1825-27), and U.S. senator (1827-36). His service in Washington was marked by consistent support of states' rights and strict construction of the Constitution.¹²⁶

In an unusual show of independence, Tyler resigned from the Senate in 1836 rather than yield to his state legislature's instructions to reverse his vote on Senate resolutions censuring President Jackson for removal of deposits from the Bank of the United States. This anti-Jackson stand endeared Tyler to the opposition Whig Party, which in 1840 nominated him

¹²⁴ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 381, 384. Henry Montgomery, The Life of Major General William H. Harrison, Ninth President of the United States, Tooker and Gatchell, Cleveland, Ohio, Second Edition, 1853. pp. 329 - 333.

¹²⁵ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. P. 385. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 381, 384. Henry Montgomery, The Life of Major General William H. Harrison, Ninth President of the United States, 1853. pp. 367 - 374.

¹²⁶ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 372 - 373.

for the vice presidency in an effort to attract Southern support. Harrison and Tyler won after a campaign that sedulously avoided the issues and stressed innocuous party insignia and the slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler too!"

When Tyler was unexpectedly thrust into the presidency, upon President Harrison's death, his opponents proposed to recognize him as acting president only, but Tyler successfully claimed all the rights and privileges of office. When he vetoed a new national bank bill, all but one member of the Cabinet resigned; he promptly appointed new members who shared his states'-rights views.

Tyler was now a president without a party; he had been repudiated by the Whigs, and the Democrats refused to recognize him. Even so, his administration accomplished a great deal. It reorganized the U.S. Navy, established the U.S. Weather Bureau, brought the Second Seminole War of 1835-42 in Florida to an end, and quieted Dorr's Rebellion in 1842 in Rhode Island.¹²⁷

In 1844 Tyler was renominated for the presidency by an irregular convention but withdrew in favor of the regular Democratic nominee, James K. Polk.

He continued to take an active interest in public affairs and remained a strong champion of Southern rights and interests. On the eve of the Civil War he stood firmly against secession, however, and exerted himself to preserve the Union. Early in 1861 he presided over the Washington Peace Conference, an abortive effort to compromise sectional differences. When the Senate rejected the proposed plan, he relinquished all hope of saving the Union and urged an immediate break as a delegate to the Virginia Secession Convention. Shortly before his death Tyler was elected to the Confederate House of Representatives.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 373 - 374.

¹²⁸ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 376 - 377.

James K. Polk

James K. Polk was the 11th president of the United States from 1845 to 1849. Under his leadership the United States fought the Mexican War of 1846-47 and acquired vast territories along the Pacific coast and in the Southwest.

At the age of 11 Polk accompanied his family to Tennessee, where his father operated a prosperous farm in Maury County. Though ill health made formal schooling impossible during his childhood, at the age of 20 he successfully passed the entrance requirements for the second-year class of the University of North Carolina. He as a graduating senior in 1818 was the Latin salutatorian of his class, the preeminent scholar in both the classics and mathematics.¹²⁹

After graduation he returned to Tennessee and began to practice law in Nashville. His interest in politics, which had fascinated him even as a young boy, was encouraged by his association with leading public figures in the state. In 1820 he was admitted to the bar. Because he was a confirmed Republican-Democrat and an unfailing supporter of Andrew Jackson and because his style of political oratory became so popular his political career was assured.¹³⁰

In 1821, Polk was commissioned a captain of a militia cavalry unit and later rose to colonel, putting him in line with the military requisite that the electorate desired.

His rapid rise to political power was furthered by his wife, Sara Childress Polk, whom he married while serving in the state house of representatives from 1823 to 1825. The social prominence of her family and her personal charm were distinct assets for a politically ambitious lawyer. As an official hostess she won the admiration and esteem of the leading figures of the day, and for 25 years she was her husband's close companion in state and national politics.¹³¹

¹²⁹ John S. Jenkins, The Life of James Knox Polk: Late President of the United States, Entered by James M. Alden, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the U. S. for the Northern District of New York, Auburn, T. B. Smith, Stereotyper, 216 William St., New York, 1850. pp. 36 - 44.

¹³⁰ John S. Jenkins, The Life of James Knox Polk: Late President of the United States, 1850. pp. 45 - 50.

¹³¹ John S. Jenkins, The Life of James Knox Polk: Late President of the United States, 1850. pp. 54 - 56.

James K. Polk was by nature a student of government, by experience a legislator, and by force of circumstance an administrator. Among his few close friends was Andrew Jackson, who encouraged and advanced Polk and whose influence carried him from the Tennessee House of Representatives to the United States House of Representatives, where he served from 1825 to 1839.¹³²

As speaker of the House during that time, Polk acquired a reputation as an undeviating supporter of Jacksonian principles. In 1839 he left the House to become governor of Tennessee. Two defeats for a second term (1841, 1843) by small majorities convinced him that to strengthen his party he should return to Washington in some capacity.¹³³

Polk's nomination as the Democratic candidate for president in 1844 was unsought by him, for the party had more prominent candidates in Martin Van Buren, Lewis Cass, and James Buchanan. But the Democrats could not reconcile their differences, and a compromise candidate had to be found because the campaign was to be run on issues and not on personalities; it was decided that Polk would do. He is regarded as the first "dark horse" nominee in the history of the presidency.¹³⁴

It was thought that Polk, as a party man from what was then the West, and a former member of the House of Representatives, would bring about legislative and executive cooperation and understanding in the functioning of the national government. While speaker of the House he had decided many procedural questions and had usually been sustained by majorities composed of the leaders of both parties. His party feeling was intense, but his integrity was unquestioned; he knew the rights and privileges of the House, and he also knew its responsibilities.

During his campaign Polk surprised the country by taking a positive stand on two burning issues of the day. Whereas other candidates hedged on the question of whether to annex Texas, which had been independent of Mexico since 1836, he demanded annexation.

¹³² John S. Jenkins, The Life of James Knox Polk: Late President of the United States, 1850. pp. 57 - 61.

¹³³ John S. Jenkins, The Life of James Knox Polk: Late President of the United States, 1850. pp. 94 - 104, 116 - 117. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. P. 366.

¹³⁴ John S. Jenkins, The Life of James Knox Polk: Late President of the United States, 1850. pp. 119 - 120, 132 - 135, 139 - 140. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 366 - 367.

Whereas other candidates evaded the problem of joint occupancy of Oregon with England, he openly laid claim to the whole territory that extended as far north as 54 40'. His election was close, but it was decisive, a popular plurality of about 38,000, Polk as a Democrat receiving 1,338,464 popular votes or 50.7%, and 170 electoral votes to 1,300,097 popular votes or 49.3%, and 105 electoral votes for Henry Clay, representing the Whig party.¹³⁵ There was a third party, the Liberty Party, but it received only 62,300 popular votes and received no electoral votes, with such little support it died out.

Not yet 50 years of age, Polk was the youngest successful presidential candidate up to that time. He entered the presidency full of vigor and with an expressed zeal to serve his country to the best of his ability. He left it four years later exhausted and enfeebled by his efforts. In office he demonstrated remarkable skill in the selection and control of his official advisors, and in his formal relations with Congress his legislative experience served him well. When his party was firmly united behind a policy he himself opposed, he yielded to the wishes of Congress. When he disagreed with congressional policy and decided to make an issue of it, he fortified his position with recognized executive precedent and practice.

The Polk administration was marked by large territorial gains. The annexation of Texas as a state was concluded and resulted in a two-year war with Mexico. As a consequence of that war the Southwest and far West, California, partly by conquest and partly by purchase, became part of the U.S. domain. During this period the northwestern boundary became fixed by treaty, and the continental United States emerged a recognized reality.

Additional achievements included a treaty with New Granada (Colombia) resolving the problem of right-of-way for U.S. citizens across the Isthmus of Panama; establishment of a warehouse system that provided for the temporary retention of undistributed imports; and the passage of the Walker Tariff Act of 1846, which lowered import duties and did much to pacify British public opinion that had been inflamed over the Oregon compromise of 1846 that established the international frontier at the 49th parallel. As these measures helped foreign trade, so the reenactment of the independent treasury system in 1846 helped in the solution of domestic financial problems.

¹³⁵ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 367 - 368. John S. Jenkins, *The Life of James Knox Polk: Late President of the United States*, 1850. p. 141.

The expansion of the country westward led to the creation of a new agency, the Department of the Interior. The Polk administration should also be credited with the establishment of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis and the authorization of the Smithsonian Institution, a national foundation for all areas of science.

Polk's influence over his Congresses may be gauged from the results of the recommendations of 4 annual messages and 10 significant special messages to one or both houses. His control of legislative policy in bitterly partisan Congresses must be judged in terms of results, not oratory or parliamentary delay. He recommended with a high degree of success settlement of a trade dispute with Great Britain, an increase in U.S. armed forces, war with Mexico, peace with Great Britain over Oregon, making available finances to expedite peace conclusions, organization of the Oregon Territory, peace with Mexico providing for limited conquest, and a revised treasury system, recognized a new French revolutionary government, and proclaimed the validity of the Monroe Doctrine.¹³⁶

Zachary Taylor

Zachary Taylor 12th president of the United States from 1849 to 1850, he was elected on the Whig ticket as a hero of the Mexican War of 1846-48, and he died only 16 months after taking office.

After spending his boyhood on the Kentucky frontier, Taylor enlisted in the army in 1806 and was commissioned first lieutenant in the infantry in 1808. He served in the army almost continuously thereafter, advancing to the rank of major general in 1846. He commanded troops in the field in the War of 1812, the Black Hawk War of 1832, and the Second Seminole War in Florida from 1835 to 1842, in which he won promotion to the rank of

¹³⁶ His formal disapprovals (in the form of two message vetoes and one pocket veto, by which legislation is killed by the failure of the president to sign a bill before the adjournment of Congress) were questioned, but the two returned measures failed to command the necessary two-thirds majority in order to override his vetoes. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 368 - 369. John S. Jenkins, The Life of James Knox Polk: Late President of the United States, 1850. Chapter 10, passim.

brigadier general for his leadership in the Battle of Lake Okeechobee in 1837. In 1840 he was assigned to a post in Louisiana and established his home in Baton Rouge.¹³⁷

Soon after the annexation of Texas in 1845, President James K. Polk ordered Taylor with an army of 4,000 men to the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoros. A detachment of Mexican troops crossed the Rio Grande and engaged Taylor's forces in a skirmish on April 25, 1846. Two weeks later Mexican troops again crossed the river to challenge Taylor, whose forces decisively defeated the invaders on two successive days in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma on May 8th and 9th. On May 13 the United States formally declared war on Mexico. Taylor then led his troops across the Rio Grande and advanced toward Monterey, capturing it on September 22-23 and granting the Mexican army an eight-week armistice, an action that displeased Polk. Taylor further alienated Polk by writing a letter, which found its way into the press, criticizing Polk and his secretary of war, William L. Marcy. Polk then ordered Taylor to confine his actions to those necessary for defensive purposes and transferred Taylor's best troops to the army of General Winfield Scott. The following February, however, Taylor disobeyed these orders and with his diminished force marched south to the vicinity of Buena Vista, where he won a brilliant victory over a Mexican army that outnumbered his troops by about four to one.¹³⁸

Having thus won the north of Mexico, Taylor emerged as a hero and began to be seen by Whig politicians as a presidential possibility. At their convention in 1848 Taylor gained the nomination on the fourth ballot. This general election would be the first in which voting would take place nationwide on the same day. Zachary Taylor running as a Whig received 1,360,101 popular votes or 47% and 163 electoral votes, Lewis Cass running as a Democrat received 1,220,544 popular votes or 43% and 127 electoral votes, and Van Buren, running under the Free-Soil Party only received 291,263 popular votes or 10% and no electoral votes and Millard Fillmore ran as a Whig but received no popular or electoral votes.¹³⁹ The Free-

¹³⁷ Henry Montgomery, The Life of Major-General Zachary Taylor, Twelfth President of the United States, Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, 1880. pp. 17 - 20, 29 - 33, 39 - 55. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 358 - 359.

¹³⁸ John Frost, L.L. D., The Life of Major-General Zachary Taylor, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1847. Pp. 38 - 40, 99 - 104, 76 - 86. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 359. Henry Montgomery, The Life of Major-General Zachary Taylor, Twelfth President of the United States, Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, 1880. pp. 244 - 252, 260.

¹³⁹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 359.

Soil Party, a third party, and Van Buren tipped the election to Taylor by drawing votes away from Cass in the slavery issue in the new territories.

Taylor's brief administration was beset with problems. The most perplexing was the controversy over the status of the newly acquired Mexican territories. Taylor advocated statehood for California and New Mexico, but he encountered resistance by Southerners in Congress who opposed the admission of California as a free state. A further problem was the revelation in mid-1850 of improprieties on the part of three members of his Cabinet. Deeply humiliated, Taylor, who prided himself on honesty, determined to reorganize his Cabinet, but before he could do so, he died. He was succeeded by Millard Fillmore.¹⁴⁰

Millard Fillmore

Millard Fillmore was the 13th president of the United States serving from 1850 to 1853 and one of the founders of the Whig Party. Fillmore was a moderate Whig politician whose insistence on federal enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 alienated the North and led to the death of the Whig Party. Elected vice president in 1848, he became chief executive on the death of President Zachary Taylor in July of 1850.

Fillmore was born in a log cabin to a poor family and was apprenticed to a cloth-maker at age 14. He received little formal education until he was 18, when he managed to obtain six consecutive months of schooling. Shortly afterward he obtained his release as an indentured apprentice and started work in a law office. He was admitted to the bar in 1823 and entered politics in 1828. Fillmore was identified with the democratic and libertarian Anti-Masonic Party from 1828 until 1834, when he followed his political mentor Thurlow Weed to the Whigs and was soon recognized as an outstanding leader of the party's Northern wing. Following three terms in the state assembly from 1829 to 1832, he was elected to Congress (1833-35, 1837-43), where he became a devoted follower of Senator Henry Clay. Losing the New York gubernatorial election in 1844, he was easily elected the first state comptroller three years later. At the national Whig convention (1848), the Mexican War hero Zachary

¹⁴⁰ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 360 - 361.

Taylor of Virginia was nominated for president and Millard Fillmore, the honest, experienced, dignified Northerner, for vice president, largely through Clay's sponsorship.¹⁴¹

Fillmore believed that Whig success at the polls heralded the rise of a truly national party that would occupy a middle ground between extremists of both North and South in the growing sectional controversy over slavery. This philosophy was embodied in Clay's Compromise of 1850, which sought to appease both sides on the slavery issue. When President Taylor died in the middle of the national debate, his successor, Fillmore, much as he personally abhorred slavery, felt it must be endured and given constitutional protection until it could be abolished without destroying the Union in the process. This went totally against his predecessor, Taylor, who had been totally opposed to the idea. Thus he felt obligated to support the provision requiring the federal government to aid in the capture and return of runaway slaves to their former owners. Although this section of the compromise assuaged the South and postponed the Civil War for 10 years, it also meant political death for Fillmore and the fatal division of the Whig Party because of its extreme unpopularity in the North.¹⁴²

In 1852, Fillmore was one of three presidential candidates of a divided Whig Party in its last national election, which it lost. He also allowed his name to be put forth for president in 1856 by the American, or Know-Nothing, Party, which took an ambivalent position on slavery. Overwhelmingly defeated, he retired to Buffalo and never again ran for public office.¹⁴³

Franklin Pierce

Franklin Pierce was the 14th president of the United States from 1853 to 1857. He failed to deal effectively with the corroding sectional controversy over slavery in the decade preceding the American Civil War.

¹⁴¹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 352.

¹⁴² David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 353 - 354.

¹⁴³ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 355.

An attorney and the son of a governor of New Hampshire, Pierce entered political life there as a Democrat, serving in the state legislature (1829-33); the U.S. House of Representatives (1833-37), and the Senate (1837-42). He became a devoted supporter of President Andrew Jackson but was continually overshadowed by older and more prominent men on the national scene. Resigning from the Senate for personal reasons, he returned to Concord, where he resumed his law practice and also served as federal district attorney.¹⁴⁴

Except for a brief stint as an officer in the Mexican War (1846-48), Pierce remained out of the public eye until the Democratic nominating convention of 1852, at which a deadlock developed among the leading presidential contenders. Pierce's name was entered as a compromise candidate after the leading candidates, Lewis Cass, Stephen A. Douglas, and James Buchanan, failed in their bids for the nomination due to factional rivalries. The ensuing presidential campaign was dominated by controversy over the slavery issue. Both the Democrats and the Whigs were too badly split internally to stake out strong stands on the issue; the chief question in the public mind was the finality of the Compromise of 1850, and while both parties declared themselves in favor of it, the Democrats were more thoroughly united in its support. Franklin Pierce as a Democrat received a popular vote of 1,601,474 or 51% and an electoral vote of 254, while the Whig candidate of a badly fractured party, Winfield Scott received 1,386,578 or 44% of the popular vote and an electoral vote of 42 and John P. Hale, a Free-Soil candidate received 155,825 popular votes and no electoral votes. As a result, Pierce, who was almost unknown nationally, unexpectedly swept the country in the November election. He then tried to promote sectional unity in the selection of his Cabinet, to which he named a coalition of Southern planters and Northern businessmen.¹⁴⁵

The youngest man to have been elected to the presidency as of that date. He represented the Eastern element of the Democratic Party, which was inclined for the sake of harmony and business prosperity to oppose antislavery agitation and generally to placate Southern opinion. Pierce accordingly sidestepped the fierce sectional antagonisms of the domestic scene by ambitiously and aggressively promoting the extension of U.S. territorial and

¹⁴⁴ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 345.

¹⁴⁵ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 346.

commercial interests abroad. In an effort to buy Cuba, he ordered the U.S. minister to Spain, Pierre Soulé, to try to secure the influence of European financiers upon the Spanish government. The resulting diplomatic statement, the Ostend Manifesto on October 1854, was interpreted by the public as a call to wrest Cuba from Spain by force if necessary. The ensuing controversy forced the administration to disclaim responsibility for the document and to recall Soulé. The following year an American adventurer, William Walker, conducted a notorious filibustering expedition into Central America with the hope of establishing a pro-slavery government that would be under the control of the United States. He established himself as military dictator, and then as president, of Nicaragua, and his dubious regime was recognized by the Pierce administration. A more lasting diplomatic achievement came from the expedition that had been sent out by President Millard Fillmore in 1853 under Commodore Matthew C. Perry to Japan. In 1854 Pierce received Perry's report that his expedition had been successful and that U.S. ships would have limited access to Japanese ports. The Pierce administration also effected a reorganization of the diplomatic and consular service and the creation of the U.S. Court of Claims.¹⁴⁶

Among Pierce's domestic policies were preparations for a transcontinental railroad and the opening up of the Northwest for settlement. In order to open the way for a southerly route to California, almost 30,000 square miles of territory were acquired from Mexico in 1853; the Gadsden Purchase, for 10 million dollars. Mainly to stimulate migration to the Northwest and to facilitate the construction of a central route to the Pacific, the Kansas-Nebraska Act was enacted in 1854 and received the President's sanction. This measure opened two new territories for settlement and provided resolution of the slavery question by popular sovereignty. The indignation aroused by the act, which included repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and the resultant violent conflict over slavery in the territories were the main causes of the rise of the Republican Party in the mid-1850s. Pierce's ineptness in handling the Kansas struggle made him unacceptable as a candidate for a second term, and he retired from public life in 1857.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 338, 346 - 347.

¹⁴⁷ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 348 - 349.

James Buchanan

James Buchanan was the 15th U.S. president from 1857 to 1861, moderate Democratic leader whose efforts to find a compromise in the conflict between the North and the South failed to avert the Civil War.

As a Federalist lawyer, Buchanan served in the Pennsylvania legislature from 1814 to 1816 and in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1821 to 1831. When his party disintegrated in the 1820s, Buchanan associated himself with the emerging Democratic Party. He served as U.S. minister to St. Petersburg (1831-33), U.S. senator (1834-45), and secretary of state (1845-49) in the Cabinet of President James K. Polk. Failing to receive the presidential nomination in 1848, Buchanan retired from public service until 1853, when he was appointed minister to Great Britain.¹⁴⁸

Although he felt that slavery was morally wrong, Buchanan tried to impress the Southern party leadership with his respect for the Constitutional safeguards for the practice. Thus in 1846 he opposed the Wilmot Proviso which would have prohibited the extension of slavery into the U.S. territories, and he supported the Compromise of 1850, which attempted to maintain a balance of Senate seats between slave and free states. In Europe he played a large part in drafting the Ostend Manifesto. Having thus consolidated his position in the South, Buchanan was nominated for president in 1856 as a Democrat and received 1,838,169 or 45% of the popular vote and 174 electoral votes and was elected over Republican John C. Frémont who received 1,335,264 or 33% of the popular vote and 114 electoral votes, and the American (Know-Nothing) Party candidate, Millard Fillmore whose party was an amalgamation of the American Party and the Whig Party and received 874,534 or 22% of the popular votes and 8 electoral votes.¹⁴⁹ As we can see the influx of third parties attempting to influence the process and form new constituencies, they effect a change in direction of the political winds with new ideas or harboring old ones. This party or coalition, advocated the status quo and opposed the interference of the federal government with slavery.

¹⁴⁸ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 336 - 338.

¹⁴⁹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 338 - 339. Frederick Moore Binder, James Buchanan and the American Empire, Susquehanna University Press, Selinsgrove, Associated

Although well endowed with legal knowledge and experience in government, Buchanan lacked the soundness of judgment and moral courage to deal effectively with the slavery crisis. His strategy for the preservation of the Union consisted in the prevention of Northern antislavery agitation and the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Embroiled in the explosive Kansas struggle from 1854 to 1859, he attempted to persuade Kansas voters to accept the unpopular Lecompton Constitution, which would have permitted slavery there. The economic panic of 1857 and the raid on the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia in 1859 by the Abolitionist John Brown, added to the national turmoil. Buchanan's position was further weakened by a split within the Democratic Party, which opened the way for the election of the Republican Abraham Lincoln as president in 1860.¹⁵⁰

By February 1861 seven Southern states had seceded from the Union. Buchanan denounced secession but admitted that he could find no means to stop it. The president refused to surrender any of the federal forts that he could hold, however, and he ordered reinforcements in January of 1861 sent to Fort Sumter at Charleston, S.C. Upon leaving office on March 4, Buchanan retired to his home near Lancaster, where he actively supported the Union cause until his death.¹⁵¹

End of Timocracy

Lincoln's administration begins the transition from timocracy to oligarchy. This transition period has a stable period as well while the consciousness of America moves from a timocratic mindset to that of oligarchic.

Abraham Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln, 16th president of the United States, preserved the Union during the Civil War and brought about the emancipation of the slaves.

University Presses, London and Toronto, 1994. p. 112. Philip Shriver Klein, President James Buchanan: A Biography, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962. pp. 239 - 241.

¹⁵⁰ Philip Shriver Klein, President James Buchanan: A Biography, 1962. pp. 212 - 217, 296 - 312, 335 - 337.

¹⁵¹ Philip Shriver Klein, President James Buchanan: A Biography, 1962. pp. 368 - 376, 392 - 398. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 339 - 340.

His father, Thomas Lincoln, was descended from a weaver's apprentice who had migrated from England to Massachusetts in 1637. Though much less prosperous than some of his Lincoln forebears, Thomas was a sturdy pioneer. In 1806 he married Nancy Hanks and they had three children: Sarah, Abraham, and Thomas who died in infancy.

In December 1816, faced with a lawsuit challenging the title to his Kentucky farm, Thomas Lincoln moved with his family to southwestern Indiana. There, as a squatter on public land, he hastily put up a half-faced camp, a crude structure of logs and boughs with one side open to the weather, in which the family took shelter behind a blazing fire. Soon he built a permanent cabin, and later he bought the land on which it stood. The unhappiest period of his boyhood followed the death of his mother in the autumn of 1818. Before the onset of a second winter, Thomas Lincoln brought home from Kentucky a new wife, Sarah Bush Johnston Lincoln, a widow with two girls and a boy of her own.

Both of his parents were almost completely illiterate, and he himself received little formal education, his entire schooling amounted to no more than one year's attendance. His neighbors later recalled how he used to trudge for miles to borrow a book. Apparently the young Lincoln did not read a large number of books but thoroughly absorbed the few that he did read. These included Parson Weems' Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington. From his earliest days he must have had some familiarity with the Bible, for it was the only book his family owned.

In March 1830 the Lincoln family undertook a second migration, this one to Illinois, with Lincoln himself driving the team of oxen and had just reached the age of 21. After his arrival in Illinois, having no desire to be a farmer, Lincoln tried his hand at a variety of occupations. As a "rail splitter" he helped to clear and fence his father's new farm. As a flatboatman, he made a voyage down the Mississippi River to New Orleans. On his return he settled in New Salem, a village of about 25 families on the Sangamon River. There he worked from time to time as storekeeper, postmaster, and surveyor. With the coming of the Black Hawk War of 1832, he enlisted as a volunteer and was elected captain of his company. Meanwhile, aspiring to be a legislator, he was defeated in his first try. He then considered blacksmithing as a trade but finally decided in favor of the law. Already he had taught

himself grammar and mathematics, and now he began to study lawbooks. In 1836, having passed the bar examination, he began to practice law.

The next year he moved to Springfield, Illinois, the new state capital, which offered many more opportunities for a lawyer than New Salem did. Within a few years after his removal to Springfield, Lincoln was earning from \$1,200 to \$1,500 annually, at a time when the governor of the state received a salary of \$1,200 and circuit judges only \$750.¹⁵²

The coming of the railroads; especially after 1850, made travel easier and practice more remunerative. Lincoln served as a lobbyist for the Illinois Central Railroad to assist it in getting a charter from the state, and thereafter he was retained as a regular attorney for that railroad. After successfully defending the company against the efforts of McLean County to tax its property, he received the largest single fee of his legal career--\$5,000. He also handled cases for other railroads and for banks, insurance companies, mercantile and manufacturing firms. In one of his finest performances before the bar, he saved the Rock Island Bridge, the first to span the Mississippi River, from the threat of the river transportation interests that demanded the bridge's removal. His business included a number of patent suits and criminal trials.¹⁵³

Mary Todd was high-spirited, quick-witted, and well-educated, came from a rather distinguished Kentucky family, and her Springfield relatives belonged to the social aristocracy of the town. Some of them frowned upon her association with Lincoln, and from time to time he too had doubts whether he ever could make her happy. Nevertheless, they became engaged and on November 4, 1842, were married.¹⁵⁴

When Lincoln first entered politics, Andrew Jackson was president. Lincoln shared the sympathies that the Jacksonians professed for the common man, but he disagreed with the Jacksonian view that the government should be divorced from economic enterprise. He most admired Henry Clay and Daniel Webster among the prominent politicians of the time. Clay and Webster advocated using the powers of the federal government to encourage

¹⁵² David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 314 - 315, 317.

¹⁵³ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 317 - 318.

¹⁵⁴ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 319.

business and develop the country's resources by means of a national bank, a protective tariff, and a program of internal improvements for facilitating transportation. In Lincoln's view, Illinois and the West as a whole desperately needed such aid to economic development. From the outset, he associated himself with the Clay and Webster party, the Whigs.

As a Whig member of the Illinois State Legislature, to which he was elected four times from 1834 to 1840, he devoted himself to a grandiose project for constructing with state funds a network of railroads, highways, and canals. Whigs and Democrats joined in passing an omnibus bill for these undertakings, but the Panic of 1837 and the ensuing business depression brought about the abandonment of most of them. While in the legislature he demonstrated that, though opposed to slavery, he was no abolitionist. Resolutions were introduced, in 1837, in response to the mob murder of Elijah Lovejoy, an antislavery newspaperman of Alton. Instead of denouncing lynch law, these resolutions condemned abolitionist societies and upheld slavery within the Southern states as sacred by virtue of the federal Constitution. Lincoln refused to vote for the resolutions. Together with a fellow member he drew up a protest against them.

Much of his time Lincoln devoted to presidential politics, to unmaking one president, a Democrat, and making another, a Whig. He found an issue and a candidate in the Mexican War. With his "spot resolutions" he challenged the statement of President James K. Polk that Mexico had started the war by shedding American blood upon American soil. Along with other members of his party, Lincoln voted to condemn Polk and the war while voting supplies for carrying it on. At the same time he labored for the nomination and election of the war hero Zachary Taylor. After Taylor's success at the polls, Lincoln expected to be named commissioner of the general land office as a reward for his campaign services, and he was bitterly disappointed when he failed to get the job. His criticisms of the war, meanwhile, had not been popular among the voters in his own congressional district. At the age of 40, frustrated in politics, he seemed to be at the end of his public career.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 319 - 321.

For about five years he took little part in politics, and then a new sectional crisis gave him a chance to re-emerge and rise to statesmanship. In 1854 his political rival Stephen A. Douglas maneuvered through Congress a bill for reopening the entire Louisiana Purchase to slavery and allowing the settlers of Kansas and Nebraska to decide for themselves whether to permit slaveholding in those territories. The Kansas-Nebraska Act provoked violent opposition in Illinois and the other states of the old Northwest. It gave rise to the Republican Party while speeding the Whig Party on the way to disintegration. Along with many thousands of other homeless Whigs, Lincoln soon became a Republican in 1856. Before long, some prominent Republicans in the East talked of attracting Douglas to the Republican fold, and with him his Democratic following in the West. Lincoln would have none of it. He was determined that he, not Douglas, should be the Republican leader of his state and section. In their basic views, he and Douglas were not quite so far apart as they seemed in the heat of political argument. Neither was an abolitionist, neither a pro-slavery man. But Lincoln, unlike Douglas, insisted that Congress must exclude slavery from the territories. He disagreed with Douglas' belief that the territories were by nature unsuited to the slave economy and that no congressional legislation was needed to prevent the spread of slavery into them. He declared in 1858: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe the government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." He predicted that the country eventually would become "all one thing, or all the other." Again and again he insisted that the civil liberties of every U.S. citizen, white as well as black, were at stake. The territories must be kept free, he further said, because "new free states" were "places for poor people to go and better their condition." He agreed with Thomas Jefferson and other founding fathers, however, that slavery should be merely contained, not directly attacked. In the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, while contesting for Douglas' seat in the United States Senate, he drove home the inconsistency between Douglas' "popular sovereignty" principle and the Dred Scott decision of 1857, in which the U.S. Supreme Court held that Congress could not constitutionally exclude slavery from the territories. Though he failed to obtain the Senate seat, Lincoln gained national recognition and soon began to be mentioned as a presidential prospect for 1860.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 321 - 322.

On May 18, 1860, after Lincoln and his friends had made skillful preparations, he was nominated on the third ballot at the Republican Convention in Chicago. He then put aside his law practice and gave his full time to the direction of his campaign. With the Republicans united, the Democrats divided, and a total of four candidates in the field, he carried the election on November 6. No one in the Deep South voted for him and no more than 40 out of 100 in the country as a whole. Still, the popular votes were so distributed that he won a clear and decisive majority in the electoral college.¹⁵⁷ Lincoln running as a Republican, received 1,866,352 or 40% of the popular vote and 180 electoral votes, Stephen A. Douglas, a Democrat, received 1,375,157 or 29% of the popular vote and 12 electoral votes, John C. Breckinridge, a National Democrat, received 845,763 or 18% of the popular vote and 72 electoral votes, and John Bell, a member of the Constitutional Union Party received 589,581 or 13% of the popular vote and 39 electoral votes. Here we see that the third party influence is even greater as it grows at the time of this transition. We can see that the second and third party influence does not allow the major party from gaining a majority of the vote and has a substantial voice in the election process with the smallest gaining 13%. This growth of third parties as compared to the two-party stability of the previous presidents during this period shows that instability is moving into the presidential politics and making way for a new transition. This we can see because after this election we see a new progression in American politics of the two-party system dominated during this next phase with Democrats and Republicans.

After Lincoln's election and before his inauguration, the state of South Carolina proclaimed its withdrawal from the Union. To forestall similar action by other Southern states, various compromises were proposed in Congress. The most important, the Crittenden Compromise, included constitutional amendments (1) guaranteeing slavery forever in the states where it already existed and (2) dividing the territories between slave and free. Though Lincoln had no objection to the first of these amendments, he was unalterably opposed to the second and indeed to any scheme infringing in the slightest upon the free-soil plank of his party's platform. From his home in Springfield he advised Republicans in Congress to

¹⁵⁷ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 323 - 324. Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of The Civil War in the United States of America, T. Belknap, Publisher, Hartford, Copyright by Author, 1866. Vol. I, pp. 32 - 36.

vote against a division of the territories. The proposal was killed in committee. Six additional states then seceded and, with South Carolina, combined to form the Confederate States of America.

So, before Lincoln took office, a disunion crisis was upon the country. Attention of the North and South focused particularly upon Ft. Sumter in Charleston Harbor. This fort, still under construction, was garrisoned by U.S. troops under Major Robert Anderson. The Confederacy claimed it and, from other harbor fortifications, threatened it. Foreseeing trouble, Lincoln, while still in Springfield, confidentially requested Winfield Scott, general in chief of the U.S. Army, to be prepared "to either hold, or retake, the forts, as the case may require, at, and after the inauguration." In his inaugural address on March 4, 1861, besides upholding the Union's indestructibility and appealing for sectional harmony, Lincoln restated his Sumter policy as follows:

The power confided to me, will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property, and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion—no using of force against, or among the people anywhere. Then, near the end, addressing the absent Southerners: "You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors."

No sooner was he in office than Lincoln received word that the Sumter garrison, unless supplied or withdrawn, would shortly be starved out. Still, for about a month, Lincoln delayed to act. He was beset by contradictory advice. On the one hand, General Scott, Secretary of State William H. Seward, and others urged him to abandon the fort; and Seward, through a go-between, gave a group of Confederate commissioners to understand that the fort would in fact be abandoned. On the other hand, many Republicans insisted that any show of weakness would bring disaster to their party and to the Union. Finally Lincoln ordered the preparation of two relief expeditions, one for Ft. Sumter and the other for Ft. Pickens, in Florida. Before the Sumter expedition, he sent a messenger to tell the South Carolina governor:

I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort-Sumpter with provisions only; and that, if such attempt be not

resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition, will be made, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the Fort.

Without waiting for the arrival of Lincoln's expedition, the Confederate authorities presented to Major Anderson a demand for Sumter's prompt evacuation, which he refused. On April 12, 1861, at dawn, the Confederate batteries in the harbor opened fire.

"Then, and thereby," Lincoln informed Congress when it met on July 4, "the assailants of the Government, began the conflict of arms." The Confederates, however, accused him of being the real aggressor. They said he had cleverly maneuvered them into firing the first shot so as to put upon them the onus of war guilt.¹⁵⁸

Lincoln looked to the West for a top general. He admired the Vicksburg Campaign of Ulysses S. Grant. Nine days after the Vicksburg surrender which occurred on July 4, 1863, he sent "Grant a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service" he had done the country.¹⁵⁹

In March 1864 Lincoln promoted Grant to lieutenant general and gave him command of all the Federal armies. At last Lincoln had found a man who, with such able subordinates as William T. Sherman, Philip Sheridan, and George H. Thomas, could put into effect those parts of Lincoln's concept of a large-scale, coordinated offensive that still remained to be carried out. Grant was only a member, though an important one, of a top-command arrangement that Lincoln eventually had devised. Overseeing everything was Lincoln himself, the commander in chief. And directing all the armies, while accompanying Meade's Army of the Potomac, was Grant, the general in chief. Thus Lincoln pioneered in the creation of a high command, an organization for amassing all the energies and resources of a people in the grand strategy of total war. He combined statecraft and the overall direction of armies with an effectiveness that year by year increased. His achievement is all the more

¹⁵⁸ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 323 - 326, 330. Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial History of The Civil War in the United States of America*, 1866. Vol. I, pp. 276 - 296, 562.

¹⁵⁹ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 331, 333. Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial History of The Civil War in the United States of America*, 1866. Vol. II, pp. 572 - 5591, 603 - 614, 616 - 628.

remarkable in view of his lack of training and experience in the art of warfare. This lack may have been an advantage as well as a handicap.¹⁶⁰

Lincoln took a step by issuing his preliminary on September 22, 1862, and his final on January 1, 1863, Emancipation Proclamation. This famous decree, which he justified as an exercise of the president's war powers, applied only to those parts of the country actually under Confederate control, not to the loyal slave states nor to the Federally occupied areas of the Confederacy. Directly or indirectly the proclamation brought freedom during the war to fewer than 200,000 slaves. Yet it had great significance as a symbol. It indicated that the Lincoln government had added freedom to reunion as a war aim, and it attracted liberal opinion in England and Europe to increased support of the Union cause.

Lincoln himself doubted the constitutionality of his step, except as a temporary war measure. After the war the slaves freed by the proclamation would have risked re-enslavement, had nothing else been done to confirm their liberty. Something else was done: the Thirteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution, and Lincoln played a large part in bringing about this change in the fundamental law. Through the chairman of the Republican National Committee he urged the party to include a plank for such an amendment in its platform of 1864. The plank, as adopted, stated that slavery was the cause of the rebellion, that the President's proclamation had aimed "a death blow at this gigantic evil," and that a constitutional amendment was necessary to "terminate and forever prohibit" it. When Lincoln was re-elected on this platform and the Republican majority in Congress was increased, he was justified in feeling that he had a mandate from the people for the Thirteenth Amendment. The newly chosen Congress, with its overwhelming Republican majority, was not to meet until after the lame duck session of the old Congress during the winter of 1864-65. Lincoln did not wait. Using his resources of patronage and persuasion upon certain of the Democrats, he managed to get the necessary two-thirds vote before the session's end. He rejoiced as the amendment went out to the states for

¹⁶⁰ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 331, 333. Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of The Civil War in the United States of America, 1866. Vol. III, p. 234.

ratification, and he rejoiced again and again as his own Illinois led off and other states followed one by one in acting favorably upon it.¹⁶¹

To win the war, President Lincoln had to have popular support. The reunion of North and South required, first of all, a certain degree of unity in the North. But the North contained various groups with special interests of their own. Lincoln faced the task of attracting to his administration the support of as many divergent groups and individuals as possible. So he gave much of his time and attention to politics, which in one of its aspects is the art of attracting such support. Fortunately for the Union cause, he was a president with rare political skill. He had the knack of appealing to fellow politicians and talking to them in their own language. He had a talent for smoothing over personal differences and holding the loyalty of men antagonistic to one another. Inheriting the spoils system, he made good use of it, disposing of government jobs in such a way as to strengthen his administration and further its official aims.¹⁶²

The opposition party remained alive and strong. Its membership included war Democrats and peace Democrats, often called "Copperheads," a few of whom collaborated with the enemy. Lincoln did what he could to cultivate the assistance of the war Democrats, as in securing from Congress the timely approval of the Thirteenth Amendment. So far as feasible, he conciliated the peace Democrats. In dealing with persons suspected of treasonable intent, Lincoln at times authorized his generals to make arbitrary arrests. He justified this action on the ground that he had to allow some temporary sacrifice of parts of the Constitution in order to maintain the Union and thus preserve the Constitution as a whole. He let his generals suspend several newspapers, but only for short periods, and he promptly revoked a military order suppressing the hostile Chicago Times. Considering the dangers and provocations of the time, Lincoln was quite liberal in his treatment of political

¹⁶¹ Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of The Civil War in the United States of America, 1866. Vol. II, pp. 29, 554 - 559. Vol. III, pp. 229 - 230.

¹⁶² William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, Wings Books, New York, Copyright by Author, 1993. pp. 237 - 238.

opponents and the opposition press. He by no means the dictator critics accused him of being.¹⁶³

Within his own party he confronted factional divisions and personal rivalries that caused him as much trouble as did the activities of the Democrats. True, he and most of his fellow partisans agreed fairly well upon their principal economic aims. With his approval, the Republicans enacted into law the essentials of the program he had advocated from his early Whig days, a protective tariff; a national banking system; and federal aid for internal improvements, in particular for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast. The Republicans disagreed among themselves, however, on many matters regarding the conduct and purposes of the war. Two main factions arose: the "radicals" and the "conservatives." Lincoln himself inclined in spirit toward the conservatives, but he had friends among the radicals as well, and he strove to maintain his leadership over both. In appointing his cabinet, he chose his several rivals for the 1860 nomination and, all together, gave representation to every important party group. Wisely he included the outstanding conservative, Seward, and the outstanding radical, Salmon P. Chase. Cleverly he overcame cabinet crises and kept these two opposites among his official advisers until Chase's resignation in 1864.¹⁶⁴

He had to deal with even more serious factional uprisings in Congress. The big issue was the "reconstruction" of the South. The seceded states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee having been largely recovered by the Federal armies, Lincoln late in 1863 proposed his "10 percent plan," according to which new state governments might be formed when 10 percent of the qualified voters had taken an oath of future loyalty to the United States. The radicals rejected his proposal as too lenient, and they carried through Congress the Wade-Davis Bill, which would have permitted the remaking and re-admission of states only after a

¹⁶³ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, Wings Books, New York, Copyright by Author, 1993. p. 240.

¹⁶⁴ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, Wings Books, New York, Copyright by Author, 1993.

majority had taken the loyalty oath. When Lincoln pocket vetoed that bill, its authors published a "manifesto" denouncing him.¹⁶⁵

Already he was the candidate of the "Union", that is, the Republican party for re-election to the presidency, and the Wade-Davis manifesto signaled a movement within the party to displace him as the party's nominee. He waited quietly and patiently for the movement to collapse, but even after it did, the party remained badly divided. A rival Republican candidate, John C. Frémont, nominated much earlier by a splinter group, was still in the field. Leading radicals promised to procure Frémont's withdrawal if Lincoln would obtain the resignation of his conservative postmaster general, Montgomery Blair. Eventually Frémont withdrew and Blair resigned. The party was reunited in time for the election of 1864.¹⁶⁶

In 1864, as in 1860, Lincoln was the chief strategist of his own electoral campaign. He took a hand in the management of the Republican Speakers' Bureau, advised state committees on campaign tactics, hired and fired government employees to strengthen party support, and did his best to enable as many soldiers and sailors as possible to vote. Most of the citizens in uniform voted Republican. Lincoln was reelected with a large popular majority as a Republican with 212 electoral votes and 2,216,067 popular votes, or 55% over his Democratic opponent, General George B. McClellan running as a Democrat, who received 1,808,725 or 45% of the popular vote and 21 electoral votes, showing political stability with a two-party election of the 22 states that were not in the Confederacy.¹⁶⁷

In 1864 the Democratic platform called for an armistice and a peace conference, and prominent Republicans as well as Democrats demanded that Lincoln give heed to Confederate peace offers, irregular and illusory though they were. In a public letter, he stated his own conditions:

¹⁶⁵ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, Wings Books, New York, Copyright by Author, 1993.

¹⁶⁶ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993.

¹⁶⁷ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 334. 11 states did not participate because they were part of the Confederacy.

Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States will be received and considered by the Executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points.¹⁶⁸

At the end of the war, Lincoln's policy for the defeated South was not clear in all its details, though he continued to believe that the main object should be to restore the seceded States with the Union as soon as possible. He possessed no fixed and uniform program for the region as a whole.¹⁶⁹

On the question of reconstruction, however, Lincoln and the extremists of his own party stood even farther apart in early 1865 than a year before. Some of the radicals were beginning to demand a period of military occupation for the South, the confiscation of planter estates and their division among the freedmen, and the transfer of political power from the planters to their former slaves. In April 1865 Lincoln began to modify his own stand in some respects and thus to narrow the gap between himself and the radicals. He recalled the permission he had given for the assembling of the rebel legislature of Virginia, and he approved in principle, or at least did not disapprove, the radicals' scheme for the military occupation of southern states. After the cabinet meeting of April 14, Attorney General James Speed inferred that Lincoln was moving toward the radical position. "He never seemed so near our views," Speed believed. What Lincoln's reconstruction policy would have been, if he had lived to complete his second term, can only be guessed at.¹⁷⁰

On the evening of April 14, 1865, John Wilkes Booth shot Lincoln as he sat in Ford's Theater in Washington, and early the next morning Lincoln died.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993.

¹⁶⁹ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993.

¹⁷⁰ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993.

¹⁷¹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 331, 333. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 331, 333. Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of The Civil War in the United States of America, 1866. Vol. III, pp. 563 - 570.

One of his recurring themes, probably his central theme, was the promise and the problem of self-government. As early as 1838, speaking to the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield on "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions," he recalled the devotion of his Revolutionary forefathers to the cause and went on to say: Their ambition aspired to display before an admiring world, a practical demonstration of the truth of a proposition, which had hitherto been considered, at best no better, than problematical; namely, the capability of a people to govern themselves.¹⁷²

Again and again he returned to this idea, especially after the coming of the Civil War, and he steadily improved his phrasing. In his first message to Congress after the fall of Ft. Sumter, he declared that the issue between North and South involved more than the future of the United States.

It presents to the whole family of man, the question, whether a constitutional republic, or a democracy—a government of the people, by the same people—can, or cannot, maintain its territorial integrity, against its own domestic foes.¹⁷³

And finally at Gettysburg he made the culminating, supreme statement, concluding with the words: . . . that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.¹⁷⁴

Transition to Oligarchy

During this transition it starts out with strong military leaders being considered the ones who should lead our country after Andrew Johnson. Johnson being a continuance of Lincoln and his policies after his death. As it progresses they fall to more money dominated

¹⁷² William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993.

¹⁷³ William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993.

¹⁷⁴ William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993. p. 243.

candidates with business and financial interests influencing their policy and electorate that puts them in office.

Andrew Johnson

Andrew Johnson was the 17th president of the United States from 1865 to 1869, who took office upon the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln during the closing months of the American Civil War. His lenient Reconstruction policies toward the South embittered the Radical Republicans in Congress and led to his political downfall.

Johnson's lack of formal schooling and his homespun quality were distinct assets in building a political base in eastern Tennessee, where his family moved in 1826. Before he was 21 he organized a workingman's party that elected him first alderman and then mayor of Greeneville. During his eight years in the legislature (1835-43), he found a natural home in the states' rights Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson and emerged as the raucous spokesman for mountaineers and small farmers. He went to Congress for 10 years as their representative (1843-53), after which he served as governor of Tennessee (1853-57). Elected a U.S. senator in 1856, he generally adhered to the dominant Democratic views favoring lower tariffs and opposing antislavery agitation. In 1860, however, he broke dramatically with the party when, after Lincoln's election, he vehemently opposed Southern secession. When Tennessee seceded in June 1861, he alone among the Southern senators remained at his post and refused to join the Confederacy. Although denounced by his constituents, he remained loyal to the Union. In recognition of this unwavering support, Lincoln appointed him in May of 1862 military governor of Tennessee, by then under Federal control.¹⁷⁵

To broaden the base of the Republican Party to include loyal "war" Democrats, Johnson was selected to run for vice president on Lincoln's successful reelection ticket of 1864. Thrust unexpectedly into the presidency in April of 1865, he was faced with reconstruction of the Confederate states as his most vexing problem. Determined to continue the lenient Reconstruction of the South envisioned by Lincoln, fell into conflict with Congressional Republicans. The radical Republicans favored severe measures toward the defeated South who were disappointed with the new president's program, which readmitted seceded states

¹⁷⁵ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 304 - 306.

to the Union with few provisions for reform or civil rights for freedmen. Congress was outraged at the return of power to traditional white aristocratic hands, coupled with the emergence of restrictive Black Codes. In the Congressional elections of 1866, Johnson's efforts to explain and defend his policies and defeat Congressional opponents proved vain as the Radicals won a strong majority, sufficient to override any presidential veto.¹⁷⁶

In March 1867 the new Congress passed, over Johnson's veto, the first of the Reconstruction Acts, providing for Negro suffrage and military administration of the Southern states. By vetoes and narrow interpretation of the law, the President managed to delay the program so seriously that he contributed materially to its failure. He further played into his enemies' hands by an imbroglio over the Tenure of Office Act, passed the same day, forbidding the chief executive to remove certain federal officers without the Senate's concurrence. Johnson plunged ahead and dismissed from office Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, the Radicals' ally within his Cabinet, to provide a court test of the act's constitutionality. In response, the House of Representatives voted articles of impeachment against the President, the first such occurrence in U.S. history. In a theatrical trial before the Senate, the charges proved weak, however, and the key votes on May 16 and 26, 1868, fell one short of the necessary two-thirds for conviction, seven Republicans voting with Johnson's supporters. Despite his exoneration, Johnson's usefulness as a political leader was over, though after returning to Tennessee he finally won reelection as a senator in 1875 shortly before he died.¹⁷⁷

Ulysses S. Grant

Ulysses S. Grant was as a U.S. general, commander of the Union armies during the late years (1864-65) of the American Civil War and 18th president of the United States from 1869 to 1877.

Grant was the son of Jesse Root Grant, a tanner, and Hannah Simpson Grant. Detesting the work around his father's tannery, Ulysses performed his share of chores on farmland owned by his father, developing considerable skill in handling horses. Jesse secured for

¹⁷⁶ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 306 - 308.

¹⁷⁷ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 308 - 311.

Ulysses an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., in 1839. Ulysses had no interest in military life but accepted the appointment, realizing that the alternative was no further education. At West Point, Grant ranked 21st in a class of 39 but distinguished himself in horsemanship and showed considerable ability in mathematics. Upon graduation in 1843, he was assigned as a brevet second lieutenant to the 4th U.S. Infantry, stationed near St. Louis, Mo. There he married Julia Boggs Dent in 1848. They had four children.¹⁷⁸

During the Mexican War Grant showed gallantry in campaigns under General Zachary Taylor, then was transferred to General Winfield Scott's army, where he first served as regimental quartermaster and commissary. His service in these posts gave him an invaluable knowledge of army supply but galled the young officer who wanted action. Grant subsequently distinguished himself in battle in September 1847, earning brevet commissions as first lieutenant and captain, though his permanent rank was first lieutenant. This promotion to captain in August 1853 brought an assignment to Fort Humboldt, California, a dreary post with an unpleasant commanding officer. On April 11, 1854, Grant resigned from the army.¹⁷⁹

Grant settled on the Dent estate of White Haven, in Missouri, and began to farm 80 acres given to his wife by her father. Grant's farming venture and a real estate partnership in St. Louis in 1859 were both unsuccessful. In 1860 Grant took a post in a leather goods business, owned by his father and operated by his brothers, in Galena, Illinois.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Charles A. Dana and Brevet Major-General J. H. Wilson, The Life of Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States, Published by Gurdon Bill & Company, Springfield, Mass., H. C. Johnson, Cincinnati, Ohio, Charles Bill, Chicago, Illinois. Copyright by Gurdon Bill & Co., 1868. pp. 27 - 30. James Grant Wilson, Great Commanders: General Grant, D. Appleton and Company, New York, Copyright by D. Appleton and Company, New York. 1897. pp. 70 - 71. William M. Thayer, From Tannery to The White House. The Life of Ulysses S. Grant: His Boyhood, Youth, Manhood, Public and Private Life and Services, James H. Earle, Publisher, Boston, Copyright by Author, 1885. Pp. 51 - 53, 67 - 78, 84 - 85. Major Penniman, The Tanner Boy: A Life of General U. S. Grant, Roberts Brothers, Boston, University Press, John Wilson and Son, Cambridge, Copyright by Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1864. pp. 10 - 11, 15 - 17, 36 -, 48

¹⁷⁹ Charles A. Dana and Brevet Major-General J. H. Wilson, The Life of Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States, 1868. pp. 31 - 37.

¹⁸⁰ Charles A. Dana and Brevet Major-General J. H. Wilson, The Life of Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States, 1868. pp. 37 - 39.

At the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861, Grant helped recruit, equip, and drill troops in Galena, then accompanied them to Springfield, where Governor Richard Yates appointed him an aide and assigned him to the state adjutant general's office. Yates appointed him colonel of an unruly regiment in June 1861. Before he had even engaged the enemy, Grant was appointed brigadier general through the influence of Elihu B. Washburne, U.S. congressman from Galena. He soon gained command of the District of Southeast Missouri, headquartered at Cairo, Illinois.¹⁸¹

In January 1862, dissatisfied with the use of his force for defensive and diversionary purposes, Grant received permission from General Henry Wager Halleck to begin an offensive campaign. On February 16 he won the first major Union victory of the war, when Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River in Tennessee, surrendered with about 15,000 troops.¹⁸²

Now a major general, Grant drove off an unexpected Confederate attack at Shiloh Church, near Pittsburg Landing, Tenn., but the public outcry over heavy Union losses at the battle hurt Grant's reputation, and Halleck took personal command of the army. When Halleck was called to Washington as general in chief in July, Grant regained command. Before the end of the year, Grant began his advance toward Vicksburg, the last major Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River. Grant displayed the qualities of aggressiveness, resilience, independence, and determination that led to the besieged city's surrender on July 4, 1863. When Port Hudson, La., the last Confederate post on the Mississippi, fell a few days later, the Confederacy was cut in half.¹⁸³

Grant was appointed lieutenant general in March 1864 and was given command over all the armies of the United States. His basic plan for the 1864 campaign, to immobilize General Robert E. Lee near the Confederate capital at Richmond, Va., while General William

¹⁸¹ Charles A. Dana and Brevet Major-General J. H. Wilson, The Life of Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States, 1868. pp. 41 - 50.

¹⁸² Charles A. Dana and Brevet Major-General J. H. Wilson, The Life of Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States, 1868. pp. 55 - 58, 68 - 70. Major Penniman, The Tanner Boy: A Life of General U. S. Grant, 1864. p. 116.

¹⁸³ Charles A. Dana and Brevet Major-General J. H. Wilson, The Life of Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States, 1868. pp. 74 - 92. Major Penniman, The Tanner Boy: A Life of General U. S. Grant, 1864. pp. 201 - 215.

Tecumseh Sherman led the western Union army southward through Georgia, was successful. By mid-June Lee was pinned down at Petersburg, near Richmond, while Sherman's army cut through Georgia, and cavalry forces under General Philip Sheridan destroyed railroads and supplies in Virginia. On April 2, 1865, Lee was forced to abandon his Petersburg defensive line, and the surrender of Lee's army followed on April 9 at Appomattox Court House. This surrender in effect marked the end of the Civil War.¹⁸⁴

In late 1865 Grant toured the South at President Andrew Johnson's request, was greeted with surprising friendliness, and submitted a report recommending a lenient Reconstruction policy. In 1866 Grant was appointed to the newly established rank of general of the armies of the United States. In 1867 Johnson removed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton in order to test the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Act, which required the assent of Congress to removals from office, and in August he appointed Grant secretary of war ad interim. When Congress insisted upon Stanton's reinstatement, Grant resigned his secretaryship in January of 1868, thus infuriating Johnson, who believed that Grant had promised to remain in office to provoke a court decision. Johnson's angry charges brought an open break and strengthened Grant's Republican ties, leading to his nomination for president in 1868. The last line of his letter of acceptance, "Let us have peace," became the Republican campaign slogan. Grant was elected with a small popular margin over his Democratic opponent, Horatio Seymour, former governor of New York.¹⁸⁵ Grant received 3,012,833 or 53% of the popular vote and 214 electoral votes, while Horatio Seymour, a Democrat received 2,703,249 or 47% of the popular vote and 80 electoral votes.

Grant entered the White House on March 4, 1869, politically inexperienced and, at age 46, the youngest man yet elected president. His appointments to office were uneven in quality but sometimes refreshing, as when he appointed a Seneca Indian, Ely S. Parker, his former staff officer, as commissioner of Indian affairs, taking a new position towards Indian Policy.

¹⁸⁴ Charles A. Dana and Brevet Major-General J. H. Wilson, The Life of Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States, 1868. pp. 163 - 169, 356 - 377.

¹⁸⁵ Charles A. Dana and Brevet Major-General J. H. Wilson, The Life of Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States, 1868. pp. 377 - 387. Major Penniman, The Tanner Boy: A Life of General U. S. Grant, 1864. pp. 328 - 331.

On March 18 Grant signed his first law, pledging to redeem in gold the greenback currency issued during the Civil War, thus placing himself with the financial conservatives of the day. During his first term he backed the recommendations of the first Civil Service Commission, but he abandoned the effort in view of congressional intransigence. He was more persistent but equally unsuccessful when the Senate rejected a treaty of annexation with Santo Domingo. His negotiation of the Treaty of Washington provided for the settlement by international tribunal of American claims against England arising from the wartime activities of the British-built Confederate raider Alabama.

Grant as a Republican won reelection easily in 1872, with a large margin over Horace Greeley who ran as a Liberal Republican and was also endorsed by the Democrats. Grant received 3,597,070 or 56% of the popular vote and 286 electoral votes and Greeley received 2,834,079 or 44% of the popular vote and 0 electoral votes, the reason being that he died after the general election and before the electoral votes were cast. The 66 votes that were expected to go to Greeley went to Thomas A. Hendricks of Illinois, 42; B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, 18; Charles J. Jenkins of Georgia, 2; and David Davis of Illinois, 1; not counted, 3. During the campaign, newspapers discovered that prominent Republican politicians were involved in the Crédit Mobilier of America, a shady corporation designed to siphon profits of the Union Pacific Railroad. More scandal followed in 1875, when Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin Helm Bristow exposed the operation of a whiskey ring that had the aid of high government officials in defrauding the government of tax revenues. When the evidence touched the president's private secretary, Orville E. Babcock, Grant regretted his earlier statement, "Let no guilty man escape." Grant blundered in accepting the resignation of Secretary of War William W. Belknap, who was impeached on charges of accepting bribes; Belknap escaped conviction since he was no longer a government official.

Scandals have become the best remembered feature of the Grant administration, obscuring more positive aspects. Grant supported amnesty for Confederate leaders and protection for black civil rights. His veto of a bill to increase the amount of legal tender currency in 1874 diminished the currency crisis during the next quarter century. He dealt gracefully with the

controversy caused when both Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel Jones Tilden claimed election to the presidency in 1876.¹⁸⁶

In 1879 Grant found a faction of the Republican Party anxious to nominate him for a third term. Although he did nothing to encourage support, he received more than 300 votes in each of the 36 ballots of the 1880 convention, which finally nominated James A. Garfield.¹⁸⁷

Rutherford B. Hayes

Rutherford B. Hayes the 19th president of the United States from 1877 to 1881, who brought post-Civil War Reconstruction to an end in the South and who tried to establish new standards of official integrity after eight years of corruption in Washington, D.C. He was the only president to hold office by decision of an extraordinary commission of congressmen and Supreme Court justices appointed to rule on contested electoral ballots.

A successful Cincinnati lawyer during the decade preceding the American Civil War, Hayes represented defendants in several fugitive-slave cases and became associated with the newly formed Republican Party. After combat service with the Union Army he was elected to Congress (1865-67) and to the Ohio governorship (1868-76).¹⁸⁸

In 1875, Hayes attracted national attention by his third gubernatorial campaign and unprecedented win. The following year he became his state's favorite son at the national Republican nominating convention, where a shrewdly managed campaign won him the presidential nomination. Hayes's unblemished public record and high moral tone offered a striking contrast to widely publicized accusations of corruption in the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant. An economic depression, however, and Northern disenchantment with Radical Reconstruction in the South combined to give Hayes's Democratic opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, a popular and electoral majority. Early returns indicated a Democratic victory in the electoral college as well, but Hayes's campaign

¹⁸⁶ William M. Thayer, From Tannery to The White House. The Life of Ulysses S. Grant: His Boyhood, Youth, Manhood, Public and Private Life and Services, 1885. pp. 240 - 262. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 297 - 300. Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage, Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, Copyright by Author, 1932. pp. 232 - 233.

¹⁸⁷ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 300 - 301.

¹⁸⁸ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 279 - 282.

management challenged the validity of returns from South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and as a result, two sets of ballots were submitted from the three states. The ensuing electoral dispute became known as the Hayes-Tilden affair. The eventual solution, which was not approved by Hayes, was the creation of a special 15-man Electoral Commission, of whom 8 were Republicans. In a vote along strict party lines, the commission awarded all the contested votes to Hayes, who was thus elected with 185 electoral votes to Tilden's 184.¹⁸⁹ The popular vote in comparison was 4,284,757 or 51% to Tilden as a Democrat, and Hayes received 4,033,950 or 48%. Another party that was newly formed, a third party, was the Greenback Party who received 81,737 popular votes but no electoral votes. This would be the first time the electoral vote would go against the popular vote in an election.

Honoring secret assurances made to moderate Southerners during the compromise negotiations, Hayes withdrew federal troops from those areas of the South still occupied, thus ending the era of Reconstruction from 1865 and lasting until 1877. In addition, he promised not to interfere with elections in the former Confederacy, thus ensuring a return there of traditional white Democratic supremacy. He appointed Southerners to federal positions, and he made financial appropriations for Southern improvements. These policies aroused the animosity of a conservative Republican faction called Stalwarts, who were further antagonized by the president's efforts to reform the civil service by substituting nonpartisan examinations for political patronage.¹⁹⁰

In the great railroad strikes of 1877, Hayes, at the request of state governors, used federal troops against the strikers. His administration was under continual pressure from the South and West to resume silver coinage, outlawed in 1873. Many considered this proposal inflationary, and Hayes sided with the Eastern, hard-money gold interests. Congress,

¹⁸⁹ The ensuing electoral dispute became known as the Hayes-Tilden affair. The eventual solution, which was not approved by Hayes, was the creation of a special 15-man Electoral Commission, of whom 8 were Republicans. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 272, 282 - 285. William Mason Cornell, LL.D., The Life of Hon. Samuel Jones Tilden, Governor Of The State of New York: With a Sketch of the Life of Hon. Thomas Andrews Hendricks, Governor of the State of Indiana. Lee and Shepard, Boston, Copyright by Author, 1876. Pp. 225 - 336 passim.

¹⁹⁰ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, Wings Books, New York, Copyright by Author, 1993. pp. 284 - 286, 288 - 290.

however, overrode his veto of the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, which provided for government purchase of silver bullion and restoration of the silver dollar as legal tender.¹⁹¹

Hayes refused renomination by the Republican Party in 1880, contenting himself with one term as president.¹⁹²

James A. Garfield

James A. Garfield was the 20th president of the United States from March 4 to September 19, 1881. When he was shot and rendered unconscious soon after taking office, serious constitutional questions arose concerning who should properly perform the functions of the presidency.

Garfield's father died in 1833, leaving the family in poverty. His mother continued to run the family's small farm and to see that her children went to the neighborhood school. Garfield attended Western Reserve Eclectic Institute at Hiram, Ohio, and was graduated from Williams College in 1856. He then returned to the academy in Ohio as a teacher and later as principal.¹⁹³

An advocate of free-soil principles, Garfield soon became a supporter of the newly organized Republican Party, and in 1859 he was elected to the Ohio legislature. During the American Civil War he helped recruit the 42nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry and became its colonel. He fought at Shiloh in April of 1862, served as chief of staff in the Army of the Cumberland, saw action at Chickamauga in September of 1863, and emerged as a major general of volunteers.¹⁹⁴

In 1862 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served until 1880. As chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, he became an expert on fiscal matters, advocated a high protective tariff, and, as a Radical Republican, sought a firm policy

¹⁹¹ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 287 - 288.

¹⁹² David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 288 - 289.

¹⁹³ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 268 - 270.

¹⁹⁴ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 271 - 272.

of Reconstruction for the South. In 1880 the Ohio legislature elected him to the U.S. Senate.¹⁹⁵

At the Republican presidential convention the same year in Chicago, the delegates were sharply divided between supporters of James G. Blaine and Ulysses S. Grant. Garfield, present as the chairman of the Ohio delegation, led a coalition of anti-Grant delegates who succeeded in rescinding the unit rule, by which a majority of delegates from a state could cast the state's entire vote. This rule change doomed Grant's candidacy. He led all other candidates for 35 ballots, but failed to command a majority; and on the 36th ballot the nomination went to Garfield. In November, with a popular plurality of less than 50,000 votes, Garfield was elected. Garfield as a Republican received 4,454,416 or 48.3% of the popular vote and 214 electoral votes while Winfield S. Hancock as a Democrat received 4,444,952 or 48.2% of the popular vote and 155 electoral votes.¹⁹⁶ The two candidates differed only on the tariff issue in regards to policy, the main difference was that one was perceived as a career politician, Garfield, and the other a career military officer. The two had their pluses and minuses in regards to their status with the voters, with the career politician perception, Garfield was tied to previous legislation and policies that were unpopular, Hancock as a career military officer was tied to the quelling of unrest in a railroad strike which frightened labor and was seen as being inexperienced in matters of politics or affairs of state. The career politician image beat out the military officer for the presidential office.

Third parties to run were the Greenback Party joined with the Labor Party whose candidate was James B. Weaver, receiving 308,578 popular votes and 0 electoral votes, and the Prohibition Party whose candidate was Neal Dow, who received 0 electoral votes as well. Chester A. Arthur ran as a Republican also but threw in to Garfield to receive the vice-presidency. This increase in third party activity creating instability is leading to the completion of the transition to oligarchy.

On July 2, 1881, after only four months in office, Garfield was shot at the railroad station in Washington, D.C., by Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office seeker. For 80 days the president lay ill and performed only one official act, the signing of an extradition paper. It

¹⁹⁵ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 272.

¹⁹⁶ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 273 - 274.

was generally agreed that, in such cases, the vice president was empowered by the Constitution to assume the powers and duties of the office of president. But should he serve merely as acting president until Garfield recovered, or would he receive the office itself and thus displace his predecessor? Because of an ambiguity in the Constitution, opinion was divided, and, since Congress was not in session, the problem could not be debated there. On Sept. 2, 1881, the matter came before a Cabinet meeting where it was finally agreed that no action would be taken without first consulting Garfield. But in the opinion of the doctors this was impossible, and no further action was taken before the death of the president on September 19.¹⁹⁷

Chester A. Arthur

Chester A. Arthur, was the 21st president of the United States from 1881 to 1885. Elected vice president on the Republican ticket of 1880, he acceded to the presidency on the assassination of President James A. Garfield. Serving in Garfield's place, Arthur only served to finish out Garfield's term.

Arthur graduated from Union College, Schenectady, N.Y., in 1848. He then taught school while studying law, and in 1853 he entered a law office in New York City. Admitted to the New York bar in 1854, Arthur was an ardent abolitionist and won an early reputation by successfully pleading the case of a slave who sued for his freedom on the ground that his master had brought him temporarily to the free state of New York. Joining the Republican Party in the 1850s, Arthur became active in local politics and was quartermaster general of New York state's troops during the Civil War.¹⁹⁸

Resuming his law practice in 1863, he became closely associated with New York Republican boss Senator Roscoe Conkling, and in 1871 he was appointed customs collector for the port of New York City by President Ulysses S. Grant. The customhouse had long been conspicuous for some of the most flagrant abuses of the spoils system, and, although Arthur conducted the business of the office with integrity, he continued the practice of overstaffing it with employees whose chief qualification was loyalty to Conkling. In 1877 the

¹⁹⁷ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 275.

¹⁹⁸ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 260 - 261.

newly elected president Rutherford B. Hayes, intent on reform of the civil service, demanded the resignation of Arthur and others in the New York City customhouse. With the support of Conkling, Arthur was able to resist Hayes for a time; but in July 1878 Hayes finally suspended him, and once again Arthur returned to the practice of law.¹⁹⁹

As a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1880, Arthur worked with Conkling and the "Stalwart" faction for the renomination of Grant for a third term as president. With the triumph of James A. Garfield, Arthur was offered the vice presidency as a conciliatory gesture to the Stalwarts. His nomination was coldly received by the public, however, and when, during his first few months in office, he openly sided with Conkling in a bitter conflict with Garfield over New York patronage, the impression was widespread that he was too partisan for the nation's second highest office.²⁰⁰

Acceding to the presidency on Sept. 19, 1881, in a period of intense factional controversy, Arthur is said to have been deeply wounded by public apprehension over the prospect of an administration in the hands of so confirmed an adherent of the spoils system. He did replace six of the seven members of Garfield's cabinet with his own appointees, but his appointments were generally unexceptionable, and he displayed an unexpected independence by his veto in 1882 of an \$19,000,000 rivers and harbors bill that contained ample funds for projects that could be used for political patronage. He particularly confounded his critics and dismayed his friends among the Stalwarts by his support of the Pendleton Act of 1883, which created a federal civil-service system, with appointments and promotions based on merit, applying to a limited number of specified offices. He and his secretary of the navy, William E. Chandler, recommended the appropriations that initiated the rebuilding of the U.S. Navy toward the strength it later achieved at the time of the war with Spain.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 261, 263.

²⁰⁰ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 263.

²⁰¹ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 263 - 264.

In 1884 Arthur, who was secretly suffering from Bright's disease, an incurable kidney ailment, allowed his name to be presented for the Republican presidential nomination. Defeated by James G. Blaine, he retired to New York City at the end of his term.²⁰²

Benjamin Harrison

Benjamin Harrison was the 23rd president of the United States from 1889 to 1893, and was a moderate Republican.

Grandson of the ninth U.S. president, William Henry Harrison, young Harrison found an inviting arena for his political ambitions in the newly formed Republican Party when he moved to Indianapolis to practice law in the mid-1850s. After three years of service as a Union officer in the Civil War, Harrison resumed his law practice and political interest, publicly supporting the Radical Republicans' firm Reconstruction policy toward the South. Although he failed to win the governorship of Indiana in 1876, his energetic campaign brought him national prominence. Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1881, he was nominated for the presidency by the Republicans in 1888 and won the election by 233 electoral votes to Cleveland's 168 as a Democrat, an electoral majority while losing the popular vote by more than 90,000, Cleveland with 5,540,329 or 49% to Harrison's 5,439,853 or 48%.²⁰³ Third parties in this election were the Prohibition Party whose candidate was Clinton Fisk who received 249,506 popular votes and no electoral votes, and the Union Labor Party whose candidate was Alson Streeter who received 146,935 popular votes and no electoral votes.

Harrison's administration was marked by an innovative foreign policy and expanding U.S. influence abroad. His secretary of state, James G. Blaine, presided over the country's first Inter-American Conference in Washington, D.C. (1889-90), which established the Pan-American Union for exchange of cultural and scientific information and set a precedent for the entire Pan-American movement. In addition, Blaine successfully resisted pressure from Germany and Great Britain to abandon U.S. interests in the Samoan Islands in 1889, and he negotiated a treaty with Great Britain to refer to arbitration a long-standing controversy

²⁰² David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 265.

²⁰³ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 251, 253.

over the hunting of seals in the Bering Sea in 1892. The administration also concluded treaties of commercial reciprocity with a number of foreign governments.²⁰⁴

Harrison's domestic program was less successful, despite the fact that the Republicans controlled both houses of the U.S. Congress. An economic depression in the agrarian West and South led to pressure for legislation that conservative Republicans would normally resist. The result was an accommodation in which the conservatives gained the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890, which substantially raised duties on most imports, but yielded to agrarians and reformers in such measures as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, which outlawed business combinations in restraint of trade, and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of the same year, which increased the amount of money in circulation.

In the congressional elections of 1890, the Democrats recaptured the House of Representatives by a large majority, and during the remaining two years of his term Harrison had little, if any, influence on legislation. He was renominated at the party convention in Minneapolis in 1892, but growing Populist discontent and several national strikes occurring late in his term largely accounted for his defeat by an electoral vote of 145 to 277 for his old rival, Cleveland.²⁰⁵

Oligarchy

"The evil is certainly not prevented there; for oligarchies have both the extremes of great wealth and utter poverty."

"And so at last, instead of loving contention and glory, men become lovers of trade and money; they honor and look up to the rich man, and make a ruler of him, and dishonor the poor man."

As the transition nears completion the final throes of the transition are drawn in the battle lines between these two candidates, Cleveland and Harrison. Cleveland representing the oligarchic part of society and Harrison representing the timocratic segment. The battle ends with the reelection of Cleveland and a new regime is put into place. After this transition is complete with Cleveland's second win, the two-party system takes over again and stability is

²⁰⁴ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. P. 254.

²⁰⁵ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 254 - 255.

regained. Also notice that this also marks a changing of major political party influence from Republican to Democrat, the Democrats not having a president in office since just before the last transition.

Grover Cleveland

Grover Cleveland was 22nd and 24th president of the United States, serving from 1885 to 1889 and from 1893 to 1897.

The need to support a widowed mother ruled out college for Cleveland, and he read law at a Buffalo law firm where he clerked. Admitted to the bar in 1859, he practiced law and entered Democratic politics. As mayor of Buffalo from 1881 to 1882, he quickly won wide notice as a foe of corruption, and he was elected governor of New York in 1882. His independence of political machines won him the undying hostility of New York City's dominant Democratic machine, Tammany Hall, and in 1884 the Democratic nomination for president. After a virulent campaign, Cleveland became the first Democrat elected president since 1856, by virtue of the electoral vote of New York state, which he won by a scant plurality of some 1,100, out of over a million votes. Cleveland as the Democratic candidate received 4,879,507 or 49% of the popular vote and 219 electoral votes and his opponent Republican James G. Blaine received 4,850,293 or 48% of the popular vote and 182 electoral votes. Third party candidates were Benjamin Butler, candidate for the Greenback Party received 175,370 popular votes but no electoral votes and John P. St. John of the Prohibition Party who received 150,369 popular votes and no electoral votes.²⁰⁶

As president, Cleveland continued his policies of reform and independence, transferring thousands of jobs from patronage to civil service, often rejecting the pleas of fellow Democrats for appointments. He vetoed hundreds of private pension bills and nullified fraudulent grants to some 80,000,000 acres of Western public lands. Cleveland opposed the high protective tariff that was producing a treasury surplus and strenuously advocated a lowered tariff, which led business interests to label the usually conservative Cleveland a

²⁰⁶ Denis Tilden Lynch, Grover Cleveland: A Man Four - Square, Van Rees Press, New York City, Copyright by Author, 1932. pp. 34 - 42. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 232 - 233, 235. Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage, 1932. pp. 21 - 24, 36, 79 - 124, 131 - 140.

radical. The Republican-controlled Senate scuttled his tariff proposals with crippling amendments.

The tariff issue dominated the 1888 election campaign. Cleveland won a majority of the popular vote but Republican Benjamin Harrison won in the Electoral College, and Cleveland moved to New York City to practice law.²⁰⁷

The Democrats renominated him in 1892 with significant opposition only from Tammany Hall. Tariff again was the issue, and in a three-way race, Cleveland defeated the agrarian Populist Party candidate and the Republican incumbent Harrison with the largest popular plurality since Ulysses S. Grant. In this second election Cleveland received 5,555,426 or 46% of the popular vote and 277 electoral votes, Harrison received 5,182,690 or 43% of the popular vote and 145 electoral votes and James Weaver of the Populist Party, a new third party that developed out of the Greenback Party, received 1,029,846 or 9% of the popular vote and 22 electoral votes. Another third party that had a candidate was the Socialist Labor Party, its candidate, Simon Wing received 21,164 popular votes and no electoral votes. The Populist Party, led by Weaver, would later move into and support the Democratic Party. The Democrats won both the House and the Senate. Early in Cleveland's second term, the United States was engulfed in a financial panic and the most severe economic depression the country had yet experienced. Cleveland held the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 responsible for the drain of gold from the Treasury, the immediate cause of the panic. He called Congress into special session and, through party discipline and generous use of patronage, forced repeal of the Sherman Act, thereby alienating many Western and Southern Democrats in and out of Congress.²⁰⁸

The problem of the gold reserve in the Treasury persisted. Three times in 1894 and 1895 the government issued bonds to obtain gold, selling them to a banking syndicate headed by J.P. Morgan. Dealing with bankers to preserve the gold standard further antagonized the agrarians, who were committed to a bimetallic standard of silver and gold.

²⁰⁷ Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage, 1932. pp. 223 - 243, 280 - 298, 383 - 402, 414 - 418, 439 - 443. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 236, 238, 240.

²⁰⁸ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 240 - 241.

The depression caused unrest among laborers as well as farmers. When a strike against virtually the entire railroad system of the Midwest led to violence near Chicago, Cleveland sent federal troops to protect the mails, despite Illinois Governor John P. Altgeld's denial that troops were needed. The strike was broken within a week, and the president received the plaudits of the business community and the general public, but he lost whatever support he still had in the ranks of labor.²⁰⁹

In foreign policy Cleveland was an isolationist and opposed territorial expansion. He withdrew from the Senate a treaty for the annexation of Hawaii negotiated by the Harrison administration. He refused aid to Cuban anti-Spanish insurgents despite wide sympathy for them in the United States, and he did not protest British occupation of a Nicaraguan port, Corinto, in April 1895. Public and congressional criticism and concern about a boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela finally impelled Cleveland to invoke the Monroe Doctrine and demand arbitration, which the British rejected. Cleveland sent a message to Congress that carried a threat of war if Great Britain did not recede. After some delay Britain did agree to arbitration and implicitly accepted the Monroe Doctrine.²¹⁰

Free silver forces took over the Democratic Party in 1896 and nominated William Jennings Bryan. Cleveland retired to Princeton, N.J., and became active in the affairs of Princeton University, which he served as lecturer in public affairs and as trustee from 1901 to 1908.²¹¹

William McKinley

William McKinley was the 25th president of the United States from 1897 to 1901; a staunch Republican who rose to national prominence by championing tariff protectionism and

²⁰⁹ Robert McElroy, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.H.S., Grover Cleveland. The Man and the Statesman: An Authorized Biography, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, Vol. II, Copyright by Harper and Brothers, 1923. pp. 74 - 107, 144 - 172 passim. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 245.

²¹⁰ Robert McElroy, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.H.S., Grover Cleveland. The Man and the Statesman: An Authorized Biography, 1923. pp. 242 - 252. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 245 - 246.

²¹¹ Robert McElroy, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.H.S., Grover Cleveland. The Man and the Statesman: An Authorized Biography, 1923. pp. 221 - 239, 296 - 300. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 246 - 247.

opposing free silver, he came to be identified with the global imperialism associated with U.S. territorial acquisitions following the Spanish-American War of 1898.

During the U.S. Civil War McKinley served under Col. Rutherford B. Hayes who made him his aide-de-camp and subsequently encouraged his political career. Two years after his admission to the bar at Canton, Ohio in 1867, he entered public life as county prosecuting attorney.²¹²

Elected to Congress, where he served for 14 years (1877-91), McKinley became particularly well known for his support of high tariffs to protect U.S. industry from foreign competition; as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, he was the principal sponsor of the McKinley Tariff of 1890, which raised duties on many imports to the highest levels up to that time.²¹³

McKinley was defeated for reelection in 1890, but he had won the admiration of Mark Hanna, a wealthy Ohio industrialist who was active in the Republican Party. With the support of Hanna he was elected governor of Ohio and served two terms (1892-96), while Hanna laid plans to win the Republican presidential nomination for him in 1896. McKinley won the nomination easily on a platform stressing high protective tariffs and the maintenance of the gold standard. This position directly opposed that of the Democratic-Populist candidate, William Jennings Bryan, who advocated a bimetallic standard of gold and silver. The dynamic Hanna raised enormous sums of money from big business and directed a vigorous campaign; McKinley remained at home, daily addressing from his front porch streams of visitors who flocked to Canton by railroad. The Republicans won with an electoral vote of 271 to 176. McKinley received as the Republican candidate 7,035,638 or 51% of the popular vote and 271 electoral votes, while his opponent, William Jennings Bryan who was a Democrat had the Populist support that was garnered by the previous populist candidate Weaver and received 7,467,946 or 47% of the popular vote and 176 electoral votes. Other third parties who had candidates but received no electoral votes were the National Democrat Party candidate John Palmer, with a popular vote of 133,148, the Prohibition Party candidate Joshua Levering, with 132,007 popular votes, the Socialist Labor

²¹² David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 220 - 221.

²¹³ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 223.

Party candidate Charles Matchett, with 36,274 popular votes, and the Nationalist Party candidate Charles Bentley, with 13,969 popular votes.²¹⁴ With this election the two-party system would be regained with two parties in control, but the insurgence of third parties would remain high with their numbers increasing at times of transition. They would not be totally absorbed as before into the two major parties, keeping the condition of the political atmosphere in more turmoil than before. This election was also a battle between the socialist ideas of the populists that Bryan represented in favor of labor versus the industrialists fear that labor would organize, gain the power to strike more effectively, and demand the breaking up of monopolies, essentially the Populists represented the first protest of the masses against the privileged classes. A movement that would not get full recognition until Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In office the new President promptly called a special session of Congress to revise customs duties upward, the Dingley Tariff. All other domestic concerns were eclipsed, however, by the nation's preoccupation with the Cuban insurrection and Spain's reported mistreatment of insurgents. McKinley hoped to avoid U.S. involvement, but after the mysterious sinking of the U.S. battleship "Maine" in the harbor at Havana on Feb. 15, 1898, sentiment in the United States increasingly demanded armed intervention and congressional leaders were anxious to satisfy the public demand for action. Despite evidence that Spain was prepared to make major concessions, McKinley referred the issue to Congress, which authorized him to intervene with armed force to secure the independence of Cuba on April 20, 1898. In the short war that followed, the United States defeated Spanish forces in Cuba and on the seas. By the end of July, Spain was seeking an armistice.²¹⁵

Though McKinley had not entered the war for territorial aggrandizement, he was now faced with the disposition of the former Spanish territories. He declared that Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other strategically located islands must not be allowed to fall into unfriendly hands and must therefore be made U.S. dependencies. Despite opposition to this

²¹⁴ James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt., The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations: 1897 - 1909, The Macmillan Company, New York, Copyright by Macmillan and Company, 1922. pp. 11 - 13, 29. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 224 - 225.

²¹⁵ James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt., The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations: 1897 - 1909, 1922. pp. 91 - 99. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 226 - 228.

"imperialism" from certain Republicans, McKinley stood fast in his decision throughout the peace negotiations.²¹⁶

McKinley was renominated by the Republicans without opposition and, in a period of prosperity, was returned to office by a large majority in the election of 1900. McKinley received 7,218,491 or 52% of the popular vote and 292 electoral voters, William J. Bryan as a Democrat, moving more into the mainstream, received 6,356,734 or 46% of the popular vote and 155 electoral votes. Third parties to run were John C. Wooley representing the Prohibition Party, receiving 208,914 popular votes, Eugene Debs of the Socialist Party received 87,814 popular votes, Wharton Barker of the Populist Party received 50,373 popular votes and Joseph Malloney of the Socialist Labor Party received 39,739 popular votes, none of these received any electoral votes.

With the war out of the way, he spoke throughout the country on two subjects that had been overshadowed by it: the control of trusts and, in a change from his previous position, commercial reciprocity as a stimulant to foreign trade. He ended his tour at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, where he was fatally shot on Sept. 6, 1901, by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist. McKinley was succeeded in office by his vice president, the Progressive Republican Theodore Roosevelt.²¹⁷

Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt was the 26th president of the United States from 1901 to 1909 and soldier, who expanded the powers of the presidency and of the federal government on the side of public interest in conflicts between big business and big labor. He also engaged the nation in affairs of Asia and Europe. He won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906 for mediating the end of the Russo-Japanese War, and he promoted the construction of the Panama Canal from 1904 to 1914.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt., The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations: 1897 - 1909, 1922. pp. 106 - 112, 176 - 183. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 228.

²¹⁷ James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt., The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations: 1897 - 1909, 1922. pp. 170 - 171. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 229.

²¹⁸ James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt., The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations: 1897 - 1909, 1922. pp. 308 - 311.

Roosevelt was born into a moderately wealthy family of Dutch ancestry; his mother, Martha Bulloch of Georgia, was of Scots-Irish and Huguenot descent. He received an excellent education from private tutors and at Harvard College; he was one of the few presidents endowed with an encompassing intellectual curiosity. In 1880 he entered Columbia University Law School. But historical writing and politics soon lured him away from a legal career. During the same year he married Alice Hathaway Lee of Boston and after her death, in 1884, married Edith Kermit Carow, with whom he lived for the rest of his life near Oyster Bay, Long Island, N.Y.²¹⁹

At the age of 23 he successfully ran for the New York State Assembly, in which he soon became one of the Republican leaders, known for his opposition to corrupt, party-machine politics. He served for three terms and at the end of his third term, he declined renomination, even though he could have won without opposition, and he also declined two other offers to two different Congressional districts. He pursued personal interests and after two years spent ranching in the Dakota Territory he reentered public life and continued his reform activities as a member of the U.S. Civil Service Commission (1889-95) and as the president of the New York City Board of Police Commissioners (1895-97). As assistant secretary of the Navy under President William McKinley he vociferously advocated war with Spain. When war was declared in 1898, he abruptly resigned, organized the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, known as the Rough Riders, and took them to Cuba that year. Roosevelt's leadership was spectacular. Disdaining army red tape and even orders, his colorful exploits, especially in the Battle of Santiago, made him something of a national hero.²²⁰

Roosevelt returned home just when Thomas C. Platt, the Republican boss of New York, was looking for a respectable candidate for governor. Platt distrusted him, but, upon Roosevelt's promise that he would not attack the machine, he was easily elected. An

²¹⁹ Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt And His Time: Shown In His Own Letters, Vol. I, Charles Scribner's Son's, New York, Copyright by Charles Scribner's Son's, 1920. pp. 1 - 5, David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 204 - 206. Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, The Macmillan Company, New York, Copyright by Macmillan Company, 1913. pp. 4 - 12.

²²⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 122, 125 - 129, 223 - 237. Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt And His Time: Shown In His Own Letters, Vol. I, 1920. pp. 6 - 38 passim, 43 - 91 passim.

excellent governor, he removed several corrupt politicians from office and over Platt's opposition secured a corporation franchise tax and a civil service system. Enraged, Platt maneuvered Roosevelt into the 1900 nomination for vice president on the McKinley ticket and thus secured his elimination from state politics.²²¹

McKinley and Roosevelt won, but Roosevelt, his office powerless and found presiding over the Congress boring, spent most of his time enjoying the outdoors, traveling and such until Sept. 14, 1901, when McKinley died after being shot by an assassin, and he himself became president. Although Roosevelt announced that there would be no change in policy, it soon became apparent that a new direction would be taken at the White House. Young, college-educated men were appointed to administrative positions. Presidential speeches became centered on interstate commerce and the regulations of corporations who abused their power to the detriment of the general welfare.

He was always conscious that he had become president by accident, and his chief ambition was to be elected in 1904. A highly sensitive politician, he was aware that William Jennings Bryan's defeat for the presidency in 1896 had not quieted the popular demands that he represented for control of the trusts, regulation of railroads, and a reduction of import duties. But he also knew that both houses of Congress were controlled by conservative Republicans bitterly opposed to all reforms. He met this perplexing situation by asking for little legislation and by using executive power in appeasing the rising popular discontent.²²²

In 1902 Roosevelt took three steps that virtually assured his reelection. From Congress he asked for the establishment of a Bureau of Corporations with powers to inspect the books of all businesses engaged in interstate commerce. Even this limited measure was resisted by leading Republican conservatives; the President secured its passage only by promising not to ask for any further regulatory measures. But this bargain did not keep Roosevelt from further executive actions, he revived the all-but-forgotten Sherman Anti-Trust Act by

²²¹ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 279 - 292, 313 - 320. Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt And His Time: Shown In His Own Letters, Vol. I, 1920. pp. 109 - 139. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 208 - 209.

²²² Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 364 - 367. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 209, 212. Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt And His Time: Shown In His Own Letters, Vol. I, 1920. pp. 146 - 170.

bringing successful suit against the Northern Securities Company. Roosevelt pursued his policy of "trust-busting" by bringing suit against 43 other major corporations during the following seven years. Even though he would pursue this policy, he would leave the largest trusts alone, his policy aimed at smaller trusts.

In the fall of 1902 Roosevelt again set an important precedent by intervening in the anthracite coal strike. When the strike threatened to result in cold homes, schools, and hospitals, he requested that representatives of capital and labor meet in the White House and accept mediation. By threatening to use the army to operate the mines he won an arbitration agreement that included a modest pay increase for the miners. Never before had the federal government intervened in a labor struggle except to assure the operation of a governmental service or to protect property. Roosevelt promptly labeled his actions against industry and indirectly for labor a manifestation of a "Square Deal" between labor and capital. This was an attempt to bring a balance between labor and the oligarchs in power to reach a peaceful solution that would enable the oligarchs to remain in power while giving some concessions to the labor and socialist movements. In the long run, however, the most significant aspects of his actions were the precedents that they set for governmental intervention in the affairs of business and labor for the public interest.²²³

Roosevelt in the election of 1904 ran as a Republican and received 7,628,834 or 56% of the popular vote and 336 electoral votes, Alton B. Parker who ran as a Democrat received 5,084,401 or 38% of the popular vote and 140 electoral votes. Third parties to run were Eugene V. Debs running as a Socialist and received 402,714 or 3% of the popular vote and no electoral votes, Silas Swallow of the Prohibition Party received 258,536 popular votes and no electoral votes, Thomas Watson as a Populist received 117,183 popular votes and no electoral votes and Charles Corregan as a member of the Socialist Labor Party received 31,249. Though Roosevelt was enacting some reform to the way government and its policies affected it's citizenry, these third parties did not believe that he went far enough. The majority though accepted his middle ground and he was overwhelmingly elected in 1904 as president in his own right.

²²³ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 437 - 438, 440, 445, 452 - 457, 476, 479 - 497, 501, 575 - 589. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 209, 212.

Roosevelt immediately asked Congress for substantial powers to regulate interstate railroad rates. The Hepburn Act of 1906, giving the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to set maximum rates, created the first of the government's regulatory commissions and thus was a milestone on the long road to the modern social-service state.²²⁴

Roosevelt's pressure on Congress also led to the passage of the Pure Food and Drug and the Meat Inspection acts of 1906 which laid the basis for the modern concept of consumer protection. Responding to the rapid disappearance of the federal domain, Congress had empowered the president 15 years before to convert portions of the remaining land to national forests. Under Roosevelt's three predecessors only about 40,000,000 acres had been transferred. Roosevelt not only rapidly accelerated the pace but also broadened the powers of the act to reserve for future generations parks and mineral, oil, and coal lands, as well as waterpower sites. In seven years, 194,000,000 additional acres of the federal domain were closed to commercial development.²²⁵

In international affairs he sensed that the relatively peaceful period that had preceded his administration was being replaced by one in which force was the principal arbiter. Every year he asked for larger naval appropriations, and to induce Congress to grant him new ships and by the end of his term Roosevelt had built the U.S. Navy into a major sea force.²²⁶

Twice during Roosevelt's years in office European powers threatened intervention in Venezuela and once in the Dominican Republic, presumably to collect debts owed to their nationals. To meet a threat of possible permanent intervention the secretary of war, Elihu Root, and Roosevelt framed a policy statement in 1904 that eventually became known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. It stated that not only would the United States prohibit non-American intervention in Latin-American affairs but it would also police the area and guarantee that these countries met their international obligations. The corollary sanctioning U.S. intervention was to be applied in 1905 when, without Congressional

²²⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 449 - 452. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 213.

²²⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 408 - 436, 458 - 459.

²²⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 563 - 68.

approval, Roosevelt forced the Dominican Republic to accept the appointment of a U.S. "economic advisor," who quickly became the financial director of the small state.²²⁷

Roosevelt used what he called 'big stick' diplomacy in the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone from Colombia in 1903, in the formation of a provisional government in Cuba in 1906, and to some extent in the quarrel with Canada over the Alaskan and Canadian border. He also played a notable part in inspiring the subsequent Panamanian revolution that assured U.S. control of the zone and enabled the United States to start construction of the canal before the presidential election of 1904.²²⁸

If Roosevelt's dealings with small countries were often brusque, his negotiations with major powers were characterized by far more caution. His efforts to resolve the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 included bringing both countries to the Portsmouth Peace Conference and mediating between them. His direct motive, however, was to construct a balance of power in East Asia that might peacefully aid U.S. interests. He helped to allay the friction caused by anti-Japanese sentiment in California by introducing the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907, restricting Japanese immigration to the United States.²²⁹

By another informal executive agreement, Japan accepted the U.S. position in the Philippines while the United States recognized the Japanese conquest and occupation of Korea. Later, in 1910, Roosevelt became convinced that the Philippines were indefensible against a Japanese thrust and that there was no hope of American dominance in East Asian waters.²³⁰

During his last years as president, Roosevelt was worried by the possibility of a general European war. Because he saw British and U.S. interests generally coinciding, he was strongly inclined to support Great Britain whenever it would not jeopardize official neutrality, violation of which would have brought strong protest from Congress and the country. The secret instructions given to the U.S. representatives to the Algeciras

²²⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 519 - 543.

²²⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 492, 526 - 543.

²²⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 392 - 398, 555 - 558.

²³⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 516 - 518.

Conference of 1906, called to prevent a European war over Morocco, were therefore ambiguous. The envoys were told to maintain American neutrality but also to do nothing that would imperil the existing Franco-British understanding, the continuation of which was "to the best interest of the United States." But, for all the talk of neutrality, Roosevelt had in effect deviated from the traditional position of neutrality in non-American affairs. U.S. representatives had attended a strictly European political conference; their actions favored Great Britain and France as against Germany; and by signing the agreement the United States presumably undertook to sustain it. Algeciras pointed unerringly toward U.S. entry into World War I on the side of the Allied powers.²³¹

The end of Roosevelt's presidency was anything but calm. Especially after the financial panic of 1907, his quarrels with Congress became more vehement. His rather high-handed disciplining of a black regiment involved in a riot at Brownsville, Texas, and his suggestion that members of Congress who were opposed to increasing the secret-service funds had something to hide produced bitter controversy. But most of the trouble with Congress came from the split that had developed in his party between the Roosevelt progressives and the party's conservatives, who blamed the financial panic of 1907 on Roosevelt's attacks on big industry.²³²

After leaving the White House in March 1909, he was reluctantly drawn into politics. Though he attempted to support both his old progressive friends and President William Howard Taft, the two men soon were violently opposed over policy matters. The conflict became personal in October 1910 when Taft authorized an antitrust suit against the U.S. Steel Corporation regarding a merger to which Roosevelt as president had tacitly agreed. Personal animosity and the developing split in the Republican Party finally prompted Roosevelt to contest Taft's 1912 renomination. The resulting bitter campaign and convention practically ensured a Democratic victory. Roosevelt himself made that outcome inevitable by founding the Progressive Party and running for president as an independent after he had lost the Republican nomination. In seeking votes, the former president,

²³¹ Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt And His Time: Shown In His Own Letters, Vol. I, 1920. pp. 374, 467, 478 - 488, 490 - 495, 503. Vol. II, p. 267.

²³² Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt And His Time: Shown In His Own Letters, Vol. II, 1920. pp. 27 - 30. Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913. pp. 437 - 452.

through both logic and necessity, was forced to radical proposals. Both the Progressive platform and its candidates' campaign for a "New Nationalism" looked forward to a powerful regulatory and social-service state. The results of the campaign were as expected, with Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic candidate, winning by a large electoral vote. Because the Progressive Party had managed to elect only a handful of candidates to minor offices, Roosevelt knew immediately that it was doomed.²³³

William Howard Taft

William Howard Taft was the 27th president of the United States from 1909 to 1913 and was the tenth chief justice of the United States from 1921 to 1930.

The son of Alphonso Taft, secretary of war and attorney general (1876-77) under President Ulysses S. Grant, Taft graduated from Yale in 1878, was admitted to the bar in Ohio in 1880, and held local political offices until 1887, when he became a judge of the superior court of Ohio. He then served as solicitor general of the United States (1890-92), and judge of the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals (1892-1900). In cases relating to labor-management disputes, Taft's opinions aroused protests because of their emphasis upon the illegality of the secondary boycott and upon the obligation of the court to restrain violence through the power of the injunction; but he did uphold the legal rights of unions, and he extended the power of the injunction to enforce anti-trust laws.²³⁴

In 1900 Taft was persuaded by President William McKinley to give up his judgeship to serve as chairman of the second Philippine Commission, charged with organizing civil government in the islands following the Spanish-American War of 1898. Having achieved the end of military rule, he became the first civilian governor in 1901 and thereafter concentrated on the economic development of the islands. He served with great distinction and became very popular with the Philippine people. When, in 1904, he was named

²³³ Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt And His Time: Shown In His Own Letters, Vol. II, 1920. pp. 334 - 358. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 214 - 217.

²³⁴ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 193.

secretary of war by President Theodore Roosevelt, he left with the stipulation that he could continue to supervise Philippine affairs.²³⁵

When Roosevelt declined to run for reelection in 1908, he threw his support behind Taft, who won the Republican nomination and went on to an easy victory at the polls over the Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan. Taft running as a Republican received 7,675,320 or 52% of the popular vote and 321 electoral votes, Bryan as a Democrat received 6,412,294 or 43% of the popular vote and 162 electoral votes. Third parties to run were Eugene Debs of the Socialist Party receiving 420,793 popular votes, Eugene Chafin of the Prohibition Party receiving 253,840 popular votes, Thomas Hisgen of the Independence Party received 82,872 popular votes, Thomas Watson of the Populist Party received 29,100 popular votes, and August Gillhaus of the Socialist Labor Party received 14,021 popular votes, none of these parties received any electoral votes. We see as we move closer to the next transition the increase of third party activity and the growing instability from the presidential policy. Especially with the split of the Republican Party that is in progress starting with T. Roosevelt and becoming fully split in the next election.

Taft's lack of political astuteness was soon revealed in his indifference toward the growing rift between conservatives and progressives within Republican ranks; in fact, the split was encouraged by his failure to appoint any of the liberal wing to his Cabinet. His unspectacular administration nevertheless served the cause of honest government for four years. He took steps toward the formation of an annual budget, established the federal postal-savings system, gave impetus to conservation of natural resources, and vigorously enforced anti-trust legislation. The last months of his administration were clouded by a growing breach with Roosevelt, whose increasing radicalism alienated the incumbent. When Taft reluctantly ran for a second term in 1912 against Roosevelt, who ran as a Progressive, the Democrat Woodrow Wilson took advantage of the split and won. Taft deepening the split rather than mending it brought Roosevelt into the election, and creating another third party. The loss would bring the Democratic Party back in control of the presidency and lead to the next

²³⁵ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 193 - 195.

shift. Up to this time the Republicans were containing the labor movement, but with the election of a Democrat, this movement would start to gain strength and power.²³⁶

Woodrow Wilson

Woodrow Wilson was the 28th president of the United States from 1913 to 1921, a statesman remembered for his high-minded and sometimes inflexible idealism, who led his country into World War I and became the leading advocate of the League of Nations at the Paris Peace Conference. He suffered a nervous collapse and stroke of paralysis while vainly seeking American public support for the Treaty of Versailles from September to October of 1919.

The stern Presbyterianism of Woodrow's father, Joseph Ruggles Wilson, a minister of indomitable character and theological distinction, left an indelible impression upon the character of the future president. Wilson's early years were spent in Georgia and South Carolina, where he was deeply affected by the ravages of the Civil War and the suffering of the South during the postwar Reconstruction period. After a brief stay at Davidson College in North Carolina he entered what is now Princeton University in 1875, took a prominent part in debate, literary activities, and the administration of student athletics, and was graduated in about the middle of his class. His most notable undergraduate achievement was the publication of an article that skillfully analyzed the committee system of the U.S. Congress and foreshadowed his more mature political principles. After graduation he studied law at the University of Virginia until poor health cut short his residence. Following an unsuccessful attempt at legal practice in Atlanta, Ga., he pursued advanced studies in government and history at Johns Hopkins University, where, in 1886, he received a Ph.D.²³⁷

Wilson's doctoral dissertation, *Congressional Government*, developed his attack upon the congressional committees. In the same year he married Ellen Louise Axson, and began a

²³⁶ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 195 - 196, 199.

²³⁷ Edith Gittings Reid, *Woodrow Wilson. The Caricature, The Myth and the Man*, Oxford University Press, New York, Copyright by Oxford University Press, New York, 1934. pp. 5 - 6, 11 - 12, 17, 19 - 26, 31 - 32, 37, 39, 47.

teaching career at Bryn Mawr College as associate professor of history and political economy.²³⁸

In 1888 he became a professor at Wesleyan University in Connecticut; two years later he joined the Princeton faculty as professor of jurisprudence and political economy, in which capacity he served until 1902, when he was chosen president of the university.

At Princeton, Wilson achieved a national reputation by his addresses and articles on political questions of the day, and in September 1910 he was offered the Democratic nomination for the governorship of New Jersey. The offer came at a moment when prospects for the success of his policies at Princeton seemed most discouraging, and he readily accepted. Conducting a dynamic and fearless campaign, he won the support of progressive elements throughout the state and was elected.²³⁹

Wilson's rapid and resounding success in New Jersey brought him into the arena of national politics, and when the Democratic National Convention met in June 1912 to select a presidential candidate, Wilson was nominated. In the presidential campaign that followed, the clarity and positive quality of Wilson's domestic program won him the leadership of the Democratic Party and of the progressive movement throughout the country. In the election, Wilson would receive as a Democrat 6,286,820 or 42% of the popular vote and 435 electoral votes, Taft as a Republican received 3,483,922 or 23% of the popular vote and 8 electoral votes. Third party candidates were Roosevelt running in his newly formed Progressive Party receiving 4,126,020 or 27% of the popular vote and 88 electoral votes, Eugene Debs of the Socialist Party who received 901,255 or 6% of the popular vote but no electoral votes, Eugene Chafin of the Prohibition Party received 206,275 popular votes and no electoral votes, and Arthur Reimer of the Socialist Labor Party received 28,750 popular votes and no electoral votes.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Edith Gittings Reid, Woodrow Wilson, The Caricature, The Myth and the Man, 1934. pp. 40 - 41, 45 - 46.

²³⁹ Edith Gittings Reid, Woodrow Wilson, The Caricature, The Myth and the Man, 1934. pp. 51 - 54, 59 - 61, 78 - 82, 85 - 86, 113 - 116, 119 - 122.

²⁴⁰ Edith Gittings Reid, Woodrow Wilson, The Caricature, The Myth and the Man, 1934. pp. 123 - 132. William F. McCombs and Louis Jay Lang, ed., Making Woodrow Wilson President, Fairview Publishing Company, New York, Copyright by Corinne Hardy, 1921. pp. 174 - 177. E. M. Hugh-Jones, Woodrow Wilson and American Liberalism, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1948. pp. 271 - 273.

Once in the White House, Wilson proceeded to initiate and carry through major items of legislation he had advocated in his campaign. He delivered his first message to Congress in person, thus renewing the custom that had lapsed with John Adams. In this session and later he constantly intervened to influence individual senators and representatives on behalf of his programs. Wilson's legislative record in his first two years of office was impressive. His first major victory came with passage of the Underwood Tariff, which reduced customs levies despite the bitter opposition of varied industrial interests. To counterbalance the downward drift of tariff funds, the act levied a federal income tax, under authority of the then recently adopted 16th Amendment to the constitution. The new tariff act was followed by a broad measure of currency reform, the Federal Reserve Act, signed Dec. 23, 1913. Designed to supplant the alleged dictatorship of private banking institutions by the creation of a Federal Reserve Board, which would control the expansion and contraction of currency, it was destined to become the pediment of the national financial structure. The establishment of the Federal Trade Commission in 1914, provided for the use of federal powers to assure competitive conditions in trade. In the same year the Clayton Anti-Trust Act strengthened labor organization by prohibiting the use of injunctions in labor disputes, unless they were necessary to prevent irreparable damage, and legalizing strikes and boycotts. The achievement in these four fields helped create a new social and economic atmosphere.²⁴¹

Wilson's foreign policy was characterized, at least in principle, by a refusal to exert material power against weaker countries and by a studied respect for the rights and interests of small ones. Steps were taken, for example, to prepare the people of the Philippines Islands for self-government. At Wilson's urgent request, Congress repealed the law that exempted U.S. shipping from Panama Canal tolls, thereby greatly relieving tension with the British. Confronted with disturbing conditions in the Caribbean, the United States tightened its vigilance. By a treaty signed on Sept. 16, 1915, the United States assumed a virtual protectorate over Haiti. Precautionary visits of U.S. cruisers to Santo Domingo were followed in the summer of 1916 by the landing of marines and in November by proclamation of a military government under U.S. auspices.

²⁴¹ Edith Gittings Reid, Woodrow Wilson, The Caricature, The Myth and the Man, 1934. pp. 143, 152 - 153, 160. E. M. Hugh-Jones, Woodrow Wilson and American Liberalism, 1948. pp. 154 - 157. David C.

Revolutionary Mexico confronted Wilson with a dangerously chaotic situation. Unable to depose General Victoriano Huerta from his dictatorship, Wilson resigned himself to a policy of "watchful waiting"; he opposed the formal intervention being urged on him by U.S. and European business interests. In April 1914, following affronts to U.S. sailors for which no apology was forthcoming, and to prevent the landing of munitions from a German ship, a U.S. naval force seized terminal facilities of Veracruz.

The overthrow of Huerta brought no settlement of the civil war, which continued to threaten U.S. business interests, and Wilson's recognition of the government of Venustiano Carranza did not end the problem. The raids of the guerrilla leader Pancho Villa into U.S. territory in March 1916 led Wilson to authorize a punitive expedition under Gen. John J. Pershing. The Mexican revolution was to plague Wilson to the end of his administration.

United States foreign affairs after July 1914 were dominated by Wilson's efforts to protect the rights of the country as a neutral in World War I. A formal proclamation of neutrality was emphasized by a more personal appeal, in which he adjured Americans to remain neutral in thought as well as in behavior. Meanwhile, his offer of mediation evoked no favorable response, and his attempts to initiate secret peace negotiations failed. On Feb. 4, 1915, the government in Berlin, declaring the waters around the British Isles a war zone, threatened to sink all belligerent ships within that zone and gave warning that neutral ships might also be sunk. Wilson replied in a vigorous note on February 10, warning Germany that it would be held to "strict accountability" for the lawless acts of its submarine commanders. Destruction of a U.S. vessel or of American lives, Wilson said, would be regarded as an "undefensible violation of neutral rights." The Germans, nevertheless, maintained their position, and on May 7 the British liner "Lusitania" was sunk without warning by a German submarine; more than 1,000 persons were drowned, among them 128 Americans.²⁴²

Determined to avoid war, Wilson displayed long-suffering patience in the negotiations of the ensuing weeks, but his will to compel Germany to abide by the established rules of

Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 182 - 186.

²⁴² E. M. Hugh-Jones, *Woodrow Wilson and American Liberalism*, 1948. pp. 139, 180 - 188, 189 - 197, 201 - 203, 210, 212 - 216,

cruiser warfare was unshakable. His protest to Germany was, in fact, so strongly worded that Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan resigned rather than sign it. Following the sinking of the "Arabic" in August 1915, the German government promised that in the future liners would not be attacked without warning. In the spring of 1916, when a rupture with Germany was imminent because of the torpedoing of the steamer "Sussex," Wilson protested in terms that amounted to an ultimatum and finally drew from Berlin a more comprehensive pledge to abandon their submarine campaign altogether. For the next seven months, relations with Germany were less disturbed.

This diplomatic victory not only postponed U.S. intervention in the war but was of political value in Wilson's reelection campaign of 1916. It gave strength to the argument that he had vindicated the rights of the country successfully and had "kept us out of war." The slogan had strong popular appeal, especially west of the Mississippi. The Republicans, who nominated Charles Evans Hughes, denounced Wilson as hesitating and cowardly, both in his dealing with Germany and in his handling of the Mexican problem. They criticized his legislative reforms as demagogic and cited the Adamson Act, which Wilson had urged upon Congress to avert a railroad strike, as an untimely surrender to labor. On the eastern seaboard and in most of the industrial centers of the Midwest the reunited Republican party could count on success, but in the farming districts west of the Mississippi and on the Pacific coast Wilson showed great strength drawing largely from the Progressives, who refused to follow Theodore Roosevelt back into the Republican fold. The result of the election was so close that for hours Republican victory was generally conceded. Only as returns from the west came in was it determined that Wilson had been reelected receiving as a Democrat 9,127,695 or 49% of the popular vote with 277 electoral votes, and his Republican opponent who came so close to defeating him, Charles Hughes, received 8,533,507 or 46% of the popular vote and 254 electoral votes. Third parties to run were Allan Benson of the Socialist Party, receiving 585,113 popular votes, Frank Hanly of the Prohibition Party receiving 220,506 popular votes, and Arthur Reimer of the Socialist Labor Party receiving 13,403 popular votes.²⁴³

²⁴³ E. M. Hugh-Jones, *Woodrow Wilson and American Liberalism*, 1948. pp. 218 - 224. David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 187 - 188.

Wilson's drive for peace negotiations was frustrated by the German decision on Jan. 9, 1917, to renew the unrestricted submarine campaign. Wilson was willing to negotiate everything except the sinking without warning of passenger and merchant ships, but the Germans showed no sign of weakening. Opinion in the United States was exasperated by the formal declaration of the renewal of the submarine warfare and especially by the virtual blockade of cargoes in U.S. ports held there by fear of submarine attacks. It was infuriated by publication of the so-called Zimmermann Telegram that suggested a German-Mexican-Japanese alliance and a Mexican reconquest of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona and by the sinking of the "Laconia" with the loss of American lives. Unable to resist longer the pressure of events and public opinion, Wilson asked Congress on April 2 for a declaration of war, which was passed by an overwhelming majority.²⁴⁴

The United States was ill prepared for war, a condition for which Wilson carried a heavy share of responsibility, but once in the war he displayed outstanding qualities of leadership. In a speech on Jan. 8, 1918, he enumerated the Fourteen Points that he regarded as being an essential basis of a just and lasting peace, and in the course of the following eight months he elaborated on them. When the Germans faced complete defeat in early October 1918, they naturally turned to Wilson and offered to accept his Fourteen Points and later speeches as the basis of peace. Though the British and French were by no means prepared to accept the peace, the Fourteen Points, with certain exceptions, were accepted by the Allied chiefs and Germany as the basis of the forthcoming settlement. This strategic advantage to Wilson in the coming peace negotiations was offset by the congressional elections in November 1918 whereby his party lost control of the Senate and his adversaries gained control of the important Senate Foreign Relations Committee.²⁴⁵

Wilson was determined to go himself to the peace conference at Paris and to lead the battle for the principles he had been advocating. These principles constituted a threefold and interlocking concept: the liberation of peoples, justice to friend and enemy alike, and the assurance of peace through the establishment of a League of Nations. Wilson arrived at Brest, France, on Dec. 13, 1918. He was received in France, England, and Italy with

²⁴⁴ E. M. Hugh-Jones, Woodrow Wilson and American Liberalism, 1948. pp. 225 - 226.

²⁴⁵ E. M. Hugh-Jones, Woodrow Wilson and American Liberalism, 1948. pp. 224 - 242. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 188 - 189.

enthusiasm, but his prestige became clouded when he confronted the nationalistic aspirations of individual peoples. The president won acceptance of the principle that a League of Nations should be an integral part of the treaties, but his success in the establishment of the League was obscured by the concessions he was forced to make to national territorial and economic demands. The peace of reconciliation which he had preached was not achieved. On every debatable issue, Germany and its wartime allies got the worst of it. The unilateral disarmament imposed on Germany made a mockery of the program outlined in the Fourteen Points. But the overall settlement, if it could actually be carried into effect, promised the security that everyone demanded. It recognized the claims of the smaller nationalities to a degree hitherto never approached. It provided for a working partnership of the new world with the old. On June 28, 1919, the Versailles Treaty with Germany was signed, and on the following day Wilson sailed for home.

The strain of the conference had told upon the president's physical and nervous strength, and he was not well equipped to carry on the contest with his opponents in the Senate that was to develop upon his presentation of the treaty. In search of popular support that would overwhelm the Senate, he set forth on a crusade in behalf of the treaty and the League. In Colorado, on Sept. 25, 1919, after 34 major addresses and scores of interviews, parades, and rear platform talks, he was compelled to give up his tour. He returned to Washington, D.C., in a state of collapse and shortly suffered a thrombosis that impaired control over the left side of his body.

No one else was capable of leading the fight for ratification, and efforts to arrange a compromise proved fruitless. With something of his physical health regained, with his mind nervously active, but with his grasp of affairs unrealistic, Wilson drafted a far-fetched plan to submit the issue to popular vote at a special election, "a great and solemn referendum." Efforts to achieve agreement made in a bipartisan conference of the Senate foundered on the bitter-end opposition of Republican irreconcilables. On March 19, 1920, the final vote was taken on the ratifying resolution that again contained a strong enough reservation on Article X, providing for collective security, to evoke Wilson's condemnation. Once more he urged his followers to vote against ratification and 23 of them did so. The United States was thus ironically kept out of the League of Nations at the behest of the man who had done more than any other to create it.

Wilson's physical condition in 1920 prevented him from taking an active role in the presidential campaign. The Democrats chose Governor James M. Cox of Ohio as their presidential candidate. Wilson's hope that the election would serve as a popular referendum settling the issues between himself and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, leader of the opposition to the League of Nations, was not fulfilled. Indeed, many influential advocates of the League supported the Republican candidate, Warren G. Harding, and the election proved an overwhelming victory for the Republicans. The bitterness of Wilson's disappointment over the election was to some extent alleviated by the 1919 Nobel Prize for Peace awarded him in December 1920.²⁴⁶

Warren G. Harding

Warren G. Harding was the 29th president of the United States from 1921 to 1923, who was elected on a Republican platform pledging a nostalgic "return to normalcy" following World War I. He died during his third year in office and was succeeded by Vice President Calvin Coolidge.

In his 20s Harding embarked on a barely successful newspaper venture in Marion, Ohio, but, after he married Florence Kling DeWolfe in 1891, she took charge and the Marion Daily Star prospered. Harding became a director in many local corporations and prominent in fraternal orders. An able public speaker with an impressive manner, he participated in Republican Party campaigns, allying himself with the Ohio political machine.²⁴⁷

He was elected a state senator (1899-1902), lieutenant governor (1903-04), and U.S. senator (1915-21). His terms in office were undistinguished and marked by conservatism. When three outstanding presidential contenders became deadlocked at the Republicans' nominating convention of June 1920 in Chicago, they decided on Harding as a compromise candidate. Harding eschewed a speaking tour for a "front porch" campaign; the image of the unassuming, undemanding Midwesterner who did not press for domestic reform or international involvement was a welcome relief to war-weary, disillusioned Americans.

²⁴⁶ E. M. Hugh-Jones, Woodrow Wilson and American Liberalism, 1948. pp. 239, 242 - 243, 246 - 250, 254 - 259, 270 - 271, 283. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 188 - 189.

²⁴⁷ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 160 - 161.

Harding as a Republican was voted into office by the widest popular margin, 61 percent, 16,152,200 to James M. Cox as a Democrat receiving 9,147,353 or 35%, recorded to that time. Third parties to run in this election were Eugene Debs as a Socialist and received 919,799 popular votes, Parley Christensen in the Farmer-Labor Party received 265,411 popular votes, A. S. Watkins of the Prohibition Party received 189,408 popular votes, James Ferguson of the American Party received 48,000 popular votes, W. W. Cox of the Socialist Labor Party received 31,715 popular votes. Another Republican to run against Harding was Calvin Coolidge who would become his vice-president in his administration.²⁴⁸

Harding does in this election what Charles Hughes almost did to Wilson which was to transfer the presidency back into the hands of the Republican Party.

On Harding's recommendation, Congress established a budget system for the federal government, passed the highly protective Fordney-McCumber Tariff, revised wartime taxes, and approved an act restricting immigration. His administration also convened the Washington Conference of 1921.²⁴⁹

Harding's greatest weakness lay in his loosely selected and largely unsupervised cabinet and in his lesser appointments, which included many patronage appointees and personal friends who were either unqualified for public office, politically naive, or plainly dishonest.²⁵⁰

By the spring of 1923, rumors of corruption were circulating in Washington, and Senator Thomas J. Walsh was gathering evidence to expose the Oil Reserves, or Teapot Dome Scandal. In the midst of the investigation, Harding set out on June 20th for a transcontinental tour. He arrived in San Francisco in a state of exhaustion and died amid conflicting rumors as to the cause of his illness.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 161 - 163, 165.

²⁴⁹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 166 - 167. At which treaties limiting and reducing naval strength among the world powers were negotiated.

²⁵⁰ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 165 - 166. In which federal oil reserves had been secretly leased by Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall to associates in the business world.

²⁵¹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 167, 171.

Though Harding's personal integrity was not questioned after his death, his political naïveté and lax administrative standards were apparent after the exposure of gross misconduct by a number of his most trusted appointees, some of whom drew long prison terms for fraud.²⁵²

Calvin Coolidge

Calvin Coolidge the 30th president of the United States from 1923 to 1929, whose conservative Republican policies of government inaction toward domestic and international problems came to symbolize the era between World War I and the Great Depression.

Coolidge began the practice of law in 1897 at Northampton and entered politics two years later as city councilman. He then rose through a series of political posts, including mayor of Northampton, state senator, and lieutenant governor, and in 1918 he was elected governor. The following year in September of 1919, he was catapulted into the national spotlight when he called out the state guard to quell two days of rioting and disorder resulting from a Boston police strike. When labor leaders called upon him to help enforce their demands for reinstatement of policemen who had struck, Coolidge refused with a typically succinct phrase: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time."²⁵³

At the Republican National Convention of 1920, delegates nominated Coolidge for vice-president on the first ballot, in a spontaneous gesture of retaliation against the party bosses who had chosen Warren G. Harding to run for president.²⁵⁴

Acceding to the presidency upon the unexpected death of Harding on Aug. 2, 1923, Coolidge inherited a divided party, a fractious Congress, a national administration discredited by scandals, and pressing problems of domestic and foreign policy. Cautiously, quietly, and with skill, he brought about an executive reformation, restored integrity at the seat of government, and gained control of his party so that he easily won renomination in 1924. By minimizing problems and pointing with pride to traditional institutions for security

²⁵² David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 172.

²⁵³ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 147, 149.

²⁵⁴ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 150.

and faith, Coolidge became a fondly accepted symbol of calm, practical leadership. He easily won the 1924 election after a campaign directed mainly against the "dangerous radicalism" of the third-party Progressive candidate, Robert La Follette.²⁵⁵

Coolidge retaining the Republican hold on the presidency received 15,718,211 or 54% of the popular vote, and 382 electoral votes, John Davis of the Democratic Party received 8,385,283 or 29% of the popular vote and 136 electoral votes. Third parties to run were Robert La Follette running as a Progressive received 4,831,289 or 17% of the popular vote and 13 electoral votes, Herman Faris of the Prohibition Party received 57,520 popular votes and no electoral votes, Frank Johns of the Socialist Labor Party received 36,428 popular votes and no electoral votes, William Foster of the Workers Party received 36,386 popular votes and no electoral votes, and Gilbert Nations of the American Party received 23,967 popular votes and no electoral votes. The strength of the third parties and their effect on presidential policy growing, the number of votes they receive as well as the number of parties representing different factions expands to the point that the instability has to be corrected. A third party receiving this amount of support had not happened since the last transition during the election of Cleveland's administration that began this period of oligarchy.

The Coolidge era was distinguished by absence of crises, lack of spectacular political leadership, and the expansion of apparent prosperity. An outstanding presidential policy was noninterference in the affairs of business and industry. Regulatory agencies became institutions for the assistance of business, a program of tax reductions favored capital, and a high protective tariff was maintained. Coolidge firmly opposed proposals for effective farm relief and the payment of a bonus to World War I veterans, though Congress passed the bonus measure over his veto in 1924. He twice vetoed the McNary-Haugen farm relief bills in 1927 and 1928. He reflected general public sentiment by pursuing a foreign policy of aloofness, theoretically favoring good relations, peace, and disarmament, but without entanglements. Coolidge refused renomination in 1928 and retired to Northampton.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 150, 152.

²⁵⁶ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 152, 155, 157.

End of the Oligarchs

With the demise of the economic system through the Depression and its aftermath, the oligarchs lost their money and power. This brought on a surge of reforms that would lead to the democratization of presidential policy. This period had been dominated by the Republicans as the period before had been dominated by the Democrats. This would change with Hoover and the Republicans bearing the blame for this economic collapse.

Herbert Hoover

Herbert Hoover was the 31st president of the United States from 1929 to 1933, whose humanitarian image, earned as chief Allied relief administrator during World War I, was tarnished when his Republican administration was accused of failing policies during the Great Depression.

Orphaned before he was nine, Hoover was reared by an uncle in Oregon. He graduated as a mining engineer in Stanford University's first class of 1895 and gained broad experience during the next 18 years as administrative engineer on industrial projects on four continents.²⁵⁷

Caught in China during the Boxer Rebellion in June of 1900, Hoover was active in directing relief work for foreigners. In London at the outbreak of World War I in 1914, he was made head of Allied relief operations and later chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. With the U.S. entry into the war in April of 1917, Hoover was appointed national food administrator to stimulate production and conserve supplies. In a 12-month period of 1918-19, his food administration furnished 18,500,000 tons of food to the Allies and to famine areas of Europe. His operations spread over 30 European countries and distributed \$100,000,000 worth of aid. Later, he headed Mississippi flood-relief activities in 1927 and also participated in post-World War II famine-relief work in Europe.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 130, 132. Eugene Lyons, Herbert Hoover: A Biography, Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, Copyright by Author, 1964. pp. 56 - 74.

²⁵⁸ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 132 - 134. Eugene Lyons, Herbert Hoover: A Biography, 1964. pp. 75 - 138.

Appointed secretary of commerce in 1921, Hoover undertook the reorganization of the department, in addition to organizing new divisions to cover radiobroadcasting, commercial aviation, better housing, and greater highway safety. His endeavors as chairman of the Colorado River Commission and of the St. Lawrence Waterways Commission culminated in the construction of Hoover Dam and the St. Lawrence Seaway.²⁵⁹

When President Calvin Coolidge decided not to run again in 1928, Hoover received his party's presidential nomination, though his independent views alienated many Republican bosses. In the ensuing campaign, he held the traditional Republican vote while attracting many Southerners, who were reluctant to support the Democratic nominee, Alfred E. Smith, who was a Roman Catholic.²⁶⁰ Hoover as the last Republican in this period received 21,391,993 or 58% of the popular vote and 444 electoral votes, while Smith of the Democratic Party received 15,016,169 or 41% of the popular vote and 87 electoral votes. Third parties to run were Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party who received 267,835 popular votes, Verne Reynolds of the Socialist Labor Party received 21,603 popular votes, William Foster of the Workers Party received 21,181 popular votes, and William Varney of the Prohibition Party received 20,106 popular votes, none of these third parties received any electoral votes.

Once in office, Hoover's hopes for a "New Day" geared to America's scientific potential were soon overwhelmed, when the stock-market crashed on October 29th, 1929, it propelled the country into the worst depression in its history. Five days before on October 24th, Black Thursday, the stock market took a deep fall that was temporarily shored up by a group of investment bankers through their purchases of large blocks of stocks, but it finally collapsed to a low from 381 down to 41 by 1932. By the spring of 1930, four million people were unemployed, tripling by 1933, creating an unemployment rate of 25 percent in 1933. 25 percent of all the banks failed in the United States during 1929 to 1932. Believing in trickle down economics, Hoover chose to depend mainly on private charity to ameliorate suffering. Failing to prod the business community into assuming leadership, he finally supplied a degree of federal relief to beleaguered farmers and financial institutions through

²⁵⁹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 134.

²⁶⁰ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 134 - 135, 137.

the Federal Farm Board and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Which had loaned nearly 2 billion to the banks, insurance companies, and other financial institutions. But he was adamant against federal aid to the unemployed urban masses, feeling such aid would lead to corruption and waste. He vetoed a bill that would have created a federal unemployment agency and he mobilized congressional opposition to another bill for public works and direct aid to the unemployed.²⁶¹

Renominated in 1932, he was overwhelmingly defeated by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Throughout the rest of the 1930s, Hoover opposed every substantive measure for depression relief, particularly attacking "radical influences" in Washington. After World War II, he headed two federal commissions (1947-49 and 1953), one on the elimination of waste and another on inefficiency in government.²⁶²

Beginning of Transition to Democracy

With the Republican era over and Hoover only serving one term, FDR would be put into office bringing back the presidency to Democratic control. This transition would bring the democrats to power while the oligarchs wane along with their wealth and power. The policies that follow in this transition bring about a complete about face of previous attempts to deal with the financial inequities by incorporating a lot of the ideas put forth previously by third parties and new programs that lead to a more socialized state than ever before. A socialized state that the Republicans had been trying to stave off.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Franklin D. Roosevelt the 32nd president of the United States, held office from 1933 to 1945 during the New Deal era and World War II. The modern role of the United States government, in both its domestic and foreign policies, owes much to the changes that Roosevelt helped bring about. To counter the Great Depression of the 1930s he enlisted the powers of the federal government to promote the economic welfare of the U.S. people.

²⁶¹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 137, 140. William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, Wings Books, New York, Copyright by Author, 1993. pp. 472 - 473.

²⁶² David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 140 - 143.

He was a leader in the Allied struggle against the Axis powers in World War II, preparing the way for the United States to assume a continuing role in world security. He was the only president to be reelected three times.

He was the only son of James and Sara Delano Roosevelt. The Roosevelts lived in unostentatious and genteel luxury, dividing their time between the Hudson River Valley and European resorts. They often took young Franklin to Europe and he was taught privately at home and was reared to be a gentleman, responsible toward those less fortunate. At 14, Roosevelt, a rather shy youth, entered Groton School, modeled after the great public schools of England, where wealthy young men were trained to exercise Christian stewardship through public service.²⁶³

After he entered Harvard in 1900, Franklin Roosevelt threw himself into undergraduate activities. His strenuous extracurricular and social life left him relatively little time for his academic studies, in which his record was undistinguished. He was, however, influenced by his economics professors, who modified traditional laissez-faire views with advocacy of government regulation of economic activities, but, even more, Roosevelt fell under the spell of the progressive president, his glamorous distant relative Theodore Roosevelt, a fifth cousin.²⁶⁴

During his final year at Harvard, Franklin became engaged to Theodore Roosevelt's niece, Eleanor Roosevelt, who was then active in settlement work in New York City; they were married on March 17, 1905. Eleanor helped open young Roosevelt's eyes to the deplorable living conditions of the underprivileged in the slums.

New York social life interested Roosevelt more than did his studies at Columbia University School of Law. As soon as he passed the New York bar examination, he discontinued his schooling. This attitude of indifference toward the legal profession carried over into

²⁶³ Kenneth S. Davis, FDR: The Beckoning Of Destiny, 1882 - 1928, A History, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, Copyright by Author, 1971. pp. 60 - 64, 69 - 88.

²⁶⁴ Kenneth S. Davis, FDR: The Beckoning Of Destiny, 1882 - 1928, A History, 1971. pp. 129 - 167 passim.

Roosevelt's years as a clerk with the distinguished Wall Street firm of Carter, Ledyard & Milburn, defense counsel in several spectacular antitrust cases.²⁶⁵

His admiration for his cousin Theodore, who continued to urge young men of substance to enter public service, led Roosevelt toward politics. His opportunity came in 1910 when the Democratic leaders of Dutchess County, New York, persuaded him to undertake an apparently futile campaign for the state senate. Roosevelt, whose branch of the family had always been Democratic, hesitated only long enough to make sure his distinguished Republican relative would not speak against him.

He campaigned so strenuously that, with the aid of a Republican schism and his famous name, he won the election. Roosevelt, not quite 29, quickly won statewide and even some national attention by leading a small group of Democratic insurgents who refused to vote for the nominee of Tammany Hall, the New York City organization. For three months Roosevelt helped hold the insurgents firm, until Tammany switched to another candidate.²⁶⁶

Before the end of 1911, Roosevelt supported the presidential boom for Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, the leading Democratic progressive. An attack of typhoid fever kept Roosevelt from participating in the 1912 campaign, but, even without making a single public appearance, he was reelected to the state senate. This was because of publicity by an Albany newspaperman, Louis McHenry Howe, who saw in the tall, handsome young Roosevelt a promising politician. Howe served Roosevelt for the rest of his life with a jealous loyalty.²⁶⁷

For his work on behalf of Wilson, Roosevelt was rewarded in March 1913 with an appointment as assistant secretary of the navy under Josephus Daniels. Roosevelt loved the sea and naval traditions, and he knew more about them than did his superior, with whom he was frequently impatient. Roosevelt tried with mixed success to bring reforms to the navy yards, which were under his jurisdiction, meanwhile learning to negotiate with labor unions

²⁶⁵ Kenneth S. Davis, *FDR: The Beckoning Of Destiny, 1882 - 1928, A History*, 1971. pp. 171 - 174, 188 - 196, 208 - 216.

²⁶⁶ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, Simon and Schuster, New York, Copyright by Ted Morgan, 1985. pp. 112 - 138.

²⁶⁷ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 131 - 136, 299.

among the civilian employees. After war broke out in Europe, Roosevelt became a vehement advocate of preparedness; following U.S. entrance, he built a reputation as an effective administrator. In the summer of 1918 he made an extended tour of naval bases and battlefields overseas. During much of his seven years as assistant secretary, he had been less than loyal to Daniels, but in the end he came to appreciate his superior's skill in dealing with Southern congressmen and his solid worth as an administrator.²⁶⁸

At the 1920 Democratic convention Roosevelt was nominated for vice president. He campaigned vigorously with the presidential nominee, James M. Cox, on behalf of U.S. entrance into the League of Nations. After a Republican landslide, Roosevelt became a vice president of the Fidelity & Deposit Company of Md., a bonding company, entered into numerous business, and remained active in Democratic politics.²⁶⁹

Suddenly, in August 1921, while on vacation at Campobello Island, New Brunswick, Roosevelt was severely stricken with poliomyelitis. He suffered intensely and for some time was almost completely paralyzed, but he soon began predicting that he would quickly regain the use of his legs. His mother wished him to retire to Hyde Park, but his wife and his secretary, Louis Howe, felt it essential to his morale that he remain active in his career and in politics. Because Roosevelt could not himself go to political gatherings, his wife attended for him, acting as his eyes and ears. Under the tutelage of Howe, she overcame her shyness and became an effective political worker and speaker. Because he could not run for office for the time being, Roosevelt was able to function effectively as a sort of premature "elder statesman," trying to promote unity between the urban and rural wings of the Democratic Party. Himself a rural Democrat, he nominated Governor Al Smith of New York, the favorite of the city faction, at the 1924 and 1928 Democratic conventions.²⁷⁰

Smith urged Roosevelt to run for governor of New York in 1928 to strengthen the ticket. Roosevelt was reluctant; he still could not walk without braces and assistance.

²⁶⁸ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 142 - 143, 145, 147, 152 - 153, 161 - 162, 192 - 193.

²⁶⁹ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 218 - 219, 224 - 233.

²⁷⁰ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 247 - 262.

Nevertheless, despite these concerns and his feeling that 1928 was not a propitious year to run on the Democratic ticket, Roosevelt succumbed to strong persuasion and accepted the nomination. When he began campaigning by automobile, he demonstrated that he had retained his youthful buoyance and vitality; he also showed that he had matured into a more serious and human person. Opponents raised the question of his health, but his vigorous campaigning effectively disposed of the issue. Smith was defeated in Herbert Hoover's landslide, and he failed to carry New York state; but Roosevelt won by 25,000 votes.²⁷¹

Succeeding Smith as governor, Roosevelt decided he must establish his own type of administration. He did not keep Smith's closest adviser nor did he depend upon Smith for advice. Smith, already stung by his defeat for the presidency, was hurt and alienated. Whereas Smith had built his reputation on administrative reform, Roosevelt concentrated upon a program to give tax relief to farmers and to provide cheaper public utilities for consumers. The appeal of this program in upstate New York, coupled with the effects of the deepening Depression, led to Roosevelt's reelection in 1930 by the overwhelming plurality of 725,000 votes.²⁷²

During his first term as governor, Roosevelt's policies, except on the power issue, were scarcely further to the left than those of President Hoover in Washington, D.C.. But during Roosevelt's second term, as the Depression became more catastrophic in its effects, he acted to mobilize the machinery of the state government to aid the economy. In the fall of 1931 he obtained legislation establishing the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, the first of the state relief agencies. Throughout his four years, he was successful in most of his bouts with the Republican legislature, sharpening skills that would prove vital in the future. And, increasingly, beginning with some slight speculation in November 1928, he was being talked of as the most likely Democratic presidential nominee in 1932. After his spectacular victory in 1930, he was so conspicuous a target for the Republicans and for rival Democratic aspirants that he had no choice but to begin immediately and quietly to obtain support for the convention. Because it then took a two-thirds vote in the Democratic convention to nominate, a leading contender could be stopped with relative ease. It soon

²⁷¹ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 289 - 296.

²⁷² Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 297 - 300, 320 - 333.

became apparent that Roosevelt's strongest opposition would come from urban and conservative Eastern Democrats still loyal to Smith; his strongest support was in the South and the West.²⁷³

Progressives and intellectuals found Roosevelt's overall program attractive, but many feared that he was weak because he sidestepped Republican challenges to oust corrupt Democratic officials in New York City. The opposition became stronger when John Nance Garner of Texas, speaker of the House of Representatives, won the California primary.

At the 1932 convention Roosevelt had an early majority of the delegates but seemed blocked by a combination of the Smith and Garner forces. On the third ballot, Garner allowed his delegates to be thrown to Roosevelt; in return, Garner was nominated for the vice presidency.

In the campaign of 1932 the Depression was the only issue of consequence. Roosevelt, displaying smiling confidence, campaigned throughout the country, outlining in general terms a program for recovery and reform that came to be known as the New Deal. In a series of addresses carefully prepared by a team of speech writers, popularly called the Brain Trust, he promised aid to farmers, public development of electric power, a balanced budget, and government policing of irresponsible economic power. He declared in his most notable speech in San Francisco: "Private economic power is . . . a public trust as well." His program appealed to millions who were nominally Republicans, especially Western progressives. Roosevelt received 22,822,000 or 57% of the popular votes in the election to Hoover's 15,762,000 or 40%; the electoral vote was 472 to 59. The Democrats also won substantial majorities in both houses of Congress. Third parties to run were Norman Thomas as a Socialist receiving 881,951 popular votes, William Foster as a Communist receiving 102,785 popular votes, William Upshaw in the Prohibition Party receiving 81,869 popular votes, William Harvey of the Liberty Party receiving 53,425 popular votes, and Verne Reynolds of the Socialist Labor Party receiving 33,276 popular votes, none of these received electoral votes.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 322 - 333, 338, 340 - 341, 351 - 354, 356 - 357.

²⁷⁴ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 322 - 333, 338, 340 - 341, 351 - 354, 356 - 357, 361 - 364.

Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933. Following the election, President Hoover had sought Roosevelt's cooperation in stemming the deepening economic crisis that culminated in the closing of banks in several states during February 1933. But Roosevelt refused either to accept responsibility without the accompanying power or to subscribe to Hoover's proposals for reassuring business; Hoover himself granted that his proposals would mean "the abandonment of 90 per cent of the so-called new deal."

When Roosevelt took office, most of the nation's banks were closed, industrial production was down to 56 percent of the 1929 level, 13,000,000 or more persons were unemployed, and farmers were in desperate straits. Even the congressional leaders were so shaken that for the time being they were ready to follow Roosevelt's recommendations.

In his inaugural address Roosevelt promised prompt, decisive action and somehow conveyed to the nation some of his own unshakable self-confidence. "This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper," he asserted, ". . . the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." For the moment, people of all political views were Roosevelt's allies, and he acted swiftly to obtain enactment of the most sweeping peacetime legislative program in U.S. history.

Through a broad array of measures, Roosevelt first sought quick recovery and then reform of the malfunctions in the economic system that he thought had caused the collapse. He tried to aid each of the main interest groups in the U.S. economy and, at a time when the Democrats were the minority political party, to hold the backing of many who were previously Republicans. His choice of Cabinet members indicated his efforts to maintain a consensus; it was geographically and politically balanced, containing both liberal and conservative Democrats, three Republicans, and, for the first time, a woman, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins.²⁷⁵

He also directed his legislative program toward a broad constituency. The prelude was the enactment of several conservative measures, to inspire confidence among businessmen and bankers. First Roosevelt ended depositors' runs on banks by closing all banks until Congress, meeting in special session on March 9, could pass a cautious measure allowing

²⁷⁵ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 367 - 375.

those in a sound condition to reopen. In March, Roosevelt redeemed one of his most important campaign pledges by introducing a program of drastic government economy. He firmly believed in economy and never became a convert to the Keynesian views so often attributed to him. The emergency banking and economy acts brought him the enthusiastic support of an overwhelming proportion of the electorate but, he pointed out at the time, could do little to bring real recovery.²⁷⁶

Roosevelt was already preparing, and he soon sent to Congress, a series of messages and draft bills proposing the program that comprised the early New Deal. Roosevelt first obtained from Congress federal funds for the relief of human suffering. Congress established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), which granted funds to state relief agencies for direct relief. It also established a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which at its peak employed 500,000 young men in reforestation and flood-control work; it was a favorite project of Roosevelt's and remained popular through the New Deal. Mortgage relief aided other millions of persons, both farmers and homeowners. The key loan agency of the New Deal was the previously established Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), the powers of which were broadened so that it could make loans to small enterprises as well as to large. Although at the time Roosevelt did not envisage public spending as the primary role of these relief agencies, the agencies poured so much money into the economy that within several years they were stimulating recovery.

The two key recovery measures of the New Deal were acts to restore farm prosperity and to stimulate business enterprise. The first act, in 1933, established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), the objective of which was to raise farm prices and increase the proportion of the national income going to farmers. The principal means was through subsidies given to growers of seven basic commodities in return for their willingness to reduce production. The subsidies were to be paid from a processing tax on the commodities. Roosevelt accepted this scheme as a temporary expedient, which Congress would enact because a majority of farm organization leaders favored it. He also hoped to raise farm prices through mild inflation. Roosevelt envisaged a program, following farm recovery, of extensive rural planning, moving farmers from submarginal to better lands

²⁷⁶ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 377 - 378, 399 - 400.

and luring some of the unemployed from metropolises to rural and village life. In 1935 Roosevelt obtained the Resettlement Administration, which gave some aid to smaller, poorer farmers. When the Supreme Court invalidated the processing tax in 1936, he switched the AAA program to one of soil conservation. Nevertheless, throughout the New Deal, farm leaders and Congress succeeded in maintaining an agricultural program the major emphasis of which was to raise farm prices. Thanks to this legislation and several years of drought, production fell, and farm income gradually improved. But not until 1941 did it reach even the inadequate level of 1929.²⁷⁷

The demand of businessmen for government stabilization and of labor for a shorter workweek led Roosevelt to recommend to Congress the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933. It was a two-pronged program. On one side was a \$3,300,000,000 appropriation for public works. Had this money been poured into the economy rapidly, it would probably have done much to bring recovery, but Roosevelt wanted to be sure it would be spent soundly on self-liquidating public works, through the Public Works Administration (PWA). Because careful planning took time, the PWA did not become an important factor until late in the New Deal. On the other side of the NIRA was a National Recovery Administration (NRA), to administer codes of fair practice within given industries. At first under a "blanket code," then under specific codes negotiated by representatives of each industry and labor, minimum wages, maximum hours, and fair trade practices were established within each industry. The codes were designed to stabilize production, raise prices, and protect labor and consumers. Consumers received scant protection, but labor received guarantees on wages and hours and also the right to bargain collectively. During the summer of 1933 there was a quick flurry of recovery as manufacturers produced goods in anticipation of sale at higher prices under the codes; the boom collapsed by fall because prices had risen faster than purchasing power.²⁷⁸

By February 1934 the code making was over, but far too many, 557 basic codes and 208 supplementary ones, had come into existence, containing innumerable provisions that were difficult to enforce. By 1935 the business community, which had demanded the NRA at the

²⁷⁷ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 346, 361 - 362, 379 - 384.

²⁷⁸ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 311 - 312, 387 - 390, 396, 401 - 406, 409, 413, 417 - 420.

outset, was becoming disillusioned with it and blaming Roosevelt for its ineffectiveness. In May the Supreme Court, in the Schechter decision, invalidated the code system. Despite shortcomings, however, the NRA had aided several highly competitive industries, such as textiles, and brought reforms that were re-enacted in other legislation: federal wages-and-hours regulation, collective-bargaining guarantees, and abolition of child labor in interstate commerce.²⁷⁹

In the fall of 1933 Roosevelt had already turned to other expedients for bolstering the economy. He experimented with "managed currency," driving down the gold content of the dollar and tripling the price of silver through large purchases. These efforts brought only small price increases at home, but they improved the position of the United States in foreign trade by making dollars cheaper abroad. In January 1934 Roosevelt stabilized the gold content of the dollar at 59.06 percent of its earlier value. Managed currency created a significant precedent, even though it did little to bring recovery at the time.²⁸⁰

Altogether, by the fall of 1934 Roosevelt's program was bringing a limited degree of recovery, but it was alienating conservatives, including many businessmen. They contended that much of the program was unconstitutional, that it created uncertainties for business that hampered recovery, and that the lowering of the gold content of the dollar had deprived holders of government obligations of their just return. At the same time, many of the underprivileged who were still in serious difficulties felt that the New Deal had not gone far enough. They were ready to listen to demagogic leaders offering still more. In the 1934 mid-term election they voted overwhelmingly for Democratic candidates for Congress; but there was a danger that in the 1936 presidential election they might vote for a third-party candidate to the left of Roosevelt.²⁸¹

To meet the threat to his political coalition from the left, Roosevelt emphasized reform in his annual message to Congress in January 1935. This was less a shift from a first to a second New Deal than it was a rush to enact reform measures that Roosevelt had long been

²⁷⁹ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 421 - 423.

²⁸⁰ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. p. 400.

²⁸¹ Kenneth S. Davis, *FDR: The New Deal Years, 1933 - 1937, A History*, Random House, New York, Copyright by Author, 1986. pp. 397 - 401, 421 - 423.

planning. In 1933 he had obtained the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), to provide flood control, cheap hydroelectric power, and regional planning for an impoverished region. At his recommendation also, Congress had enacted two laws to protect investors: the Truth-in-Securities Act of 1933 and an act establishing the regulatory Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 1934.²⁸²

Additional legislation in 1935 did much to undermine the appeal of demagogues to the needy, especially the Social Security Act, which included unemployment insurance and old-age insurance. For workers still unemployed, Congress created the Works Progress Administration (WPA), to provide relief that would stem the erosion of their skills and self-respect. For workers who were employed, the National Labor Relations Act or the Wagner Act, only belatedly accepted by Roosevelt, strengthened the government guarantees of collective bargaining and created a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to adjudicate labor disputes. The Public Utility Holding Company Act, also of 1935, regulated the control holding companies had over operating public utility companies. A new 1935 tax measure, labeled by its opponents the "soak-the-rich" tax, raised the levies on persons with large incomes and on big corporations and became a significant factor in redistributing U.S. income."

These measures effectively undercut the left-wing opposition to Roosevelt, but they further alienated conservatives. He ran for reelection in 1936 with the firm support of farmers, laborers, and the underprivileged; and the epithets that the extreme right hurled at him merely helped unify his following. The Republican nominee, Gov. Alfred Mossman Landon of Kansas, a moderate, could do little to stem the Roosevelt tide. Roosevelt received as a Democrat 27,752,000 or 61% of the popular votes to Landon's 16,680,000 or 37% and carried every state except Maine and Vermont with 523 electoral votes to 8.²⁸³ Third parties running in this election were William Lemke of the Union Party with 882,479 popular votes, Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party with 187,720 popular votes, Earl Browder of the Communist Party with 80,159 popular votes, D. Leigh Colvin of the Prohibition Party with

²⁸² Kenneth S. Davis, FDR: The New Deal Years, 1933 - 1937, A History, 1986. pp. 90 - 94, 362 - 371, 428 - 430.

²⁸³ Ted Morgan, FDR: A Biography, 1985. pp. 406, 417 - 428, 440 - 441, 463. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 121 - 122.

37,847 popular votes, and John Aiken of the Socialist Labor Party with 12,777 popular votes, none of these received any electoral votes.

The only hope of conservatives to thwart the New Deal was for the Supreme Court to invalidate its key measures. Following the Schechter decision, the court in 1936 ruled against the AAA processing taxes, and cases challenging the Social Security Act and the Wagner Act were also pending. Roosevelt, beginning his second term with a massive mandate, was determined to remove this threat. Believing that the measures were well within the scope of the Constitution and that the reasoning of the justices was old-fashioned and at fault, he proposed early in 1937 the reorganization of the court, including the appointment of as many as six new justices. The proposal, labeled by opponents as a courtpacking scheme, touched off a vehement debate in which many of Roosevelt's previous supporters in and out of Congress expressed their opposition. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1937, the Supreme Court upheld both the Wagner Act and the Social Security Act. With the need for the court plan dissolving, its enemies managed by summer to bring about its defeat. This was a severe political blow for Roosevelt, even though the new decisions by the court opened the way for almost unlimited government regulation of the economy.²⁸⁴

Roosevelt's prestige dropped further in the summer of 1937, when much of the public blamed him for labor difficulties that grew out of organizing drives in the steel, automobile, and other mass-production industries. Operating under the protection of the Wagner Act, the unions engaged in strikes that often resulted in violence. Roosevelt himself preferred paternalistic government aid to all workers, such as the wages-and-hours guarantees of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. But union membership jumped to about 9,500,000 by 1941, while most middle class people returned to the Republican Party.²⁸⁵

A sharp economic recession in the fall of 1937 added to Roosevelt's troubles. There had been substantial recovery by 1937; but Roosevelt, wishing to balance the budget, had curtailed government spending drastically, sending the economy plummeting back toward 1932 levels. Businessmen blamed the New Deal spending policies; Roosevelt blamed the

²⁸⁴ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 420 - 423, 431 - 432, 434, 440 - 441, 467 - 480.

²⁸⁵ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 419 - 423, 470, 474, 477, 482, 494, 537 - 538.

businessmen and inaugurated an antimonopoly program. In October 1937 massive government spending began again, and by June 1938 the crisis was past.

From 1938 on, many of the conservative Southern Democrats heading key congressional committees openly opposed the New Deal. In 1938 Roosevelt tried unsuccessfully to defeat several of them in the primaries and was inveighed against as a dictator trying to conduct a purge. Democrats won the November elections, but the Republicans gained 80 seats in the House and seven in the Senate, permitting a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats that could thwart the President.²⁸⁶

Nevertheless, the second Roosevelt administration saw the passage of some notable reform legislation, extending and improving earlier legislation and moving into some new fields. The development of soil conservation to stem erosion and the large-scale construction of public works, including public housing and slum clearance, also occurred during these years. Many New Deal innovations, such as social security, the agricultural program, the TVA, and the SEC, had now become accepted as permanent functions of the federal government.²⁸⁷

By 1939, foreign policy was overshadowing domestic policy. Even before taking office, Roosevelt had endorsed Hoover's refusal to recognize Japanese conquests in Manchuria. From the outset of his administration, Roosevelt was deeply involved in foreign-policy questions, mostly relating to the Depression. In the early summer of 1933 he refused to support international currency stabilization at the London Economic Conference, but by 1934 he had stabilized the dollar and had begun helping France and Great Britain to keep their currencies from being undermined by dictator nations. In November 1933 Roosevelt recognized the government of the Soviet Union in the mistaken hope that he could thus promote trade. Greater opportunities seemed to exist in negotiating reciprocal trade agreements with numerous nations, a program that began in 1935, and in fostering more cordial relations with Latin American nations. In his first inaugural address Roosevelt had pledged himself to the "policy of the good neighbor." Secretary of State Cordell Hull had interpreted this to mean no unilateral U.S. intervention in Latin America; but, gradually, as

²⁸⁶ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 479 - 495.

²⁸⁷ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. p. 772.

European war became imminent, the Good Neighbor Policy led to collective-security and mutual-defense agreements.²⁸⁸

In the early New Deal years, Roosevelt not only pursued programs of economic nationalism but, like most Americans, was also intent upon keeping the United States out of any impending war. He thus supported a series of neutrality laws, beginning with the Neutrality Act of August 1935. Roosevelt moved toward a new policy in 1937, after Japan began a major thrust into northern China. In October, speaking in Chicago, he proposed that peace-loving nations make concerted efforts to quarantine aggressors. He seemed to mean nothing more drastic than the breaking off of diplomatic relations, but the proposal created such national alarm that during ensuing months he was slow to develop a collective-security position. He quickly accepted Japanese apologies when the U.S. gunboat "Panay" was sunk on the Yangtze River in December 1937. Relations between the United States and Japan gradually worsened, but the rapid domination of Europe by Adolf Hitler of Germany was more threatening.²⁸⁹

When World War II began in Europe in September 1939, Roosevelt called Congress into special session to revise the Neutrality Act to permit belligerents to buy arms on a "cash-and-carry" basis. With Hitler's aggressions and the fall of France in the spring and early summer of 1940, Roosevelt and Congress turned to defense preparations and "all aid short of war" to Great Britain. Roosevelt even gave Great Britain 50 overage destroyers in exchange for eight Western Hemisphere bases. Isolationists, fearing U.S. involvement in the war, debated hotly with those who felt the national self-interest demanded aid to Britain.²⁹⁰

In the 1940 presidential campaign the Republicans nominated Wendell L. Willkie, who agreed with Roosevelt's foreign policy. Both candidates pledged to keep the nation out of foreign war; but isolationists tended to support Willkie, while those favoring strong measures against Hitler swung toward Roosevelt. By a closer margin than before, 27,244,000 to 22,305,000 popular votes and 449 electoral votes to 82, Roosevelt was elected to an

²⁸⁸ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 392 - 394, 396 - 400, 367, 373 - 376.

²⁸⁹ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 394 - 396, 427, 438 - 439, 446, 486 - 489, 499 - 501.

²⁹⁰ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 524 - 527, 580 - 583, 598 - 599.

unprecedented third term.²⁹¹ Third parties in this race were Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party receiving 99,557 popular votes, Roger Babson of the Prohibition Party with 57,812 popular votes, Earl Browder of the Communist Party with 46,251 popular votes, and John Aiken of the Socialist Labor Party with 14,892 popular votes, none of these received any electoral votes. As you can see, the number of third parties is decreasing with the Union Party dropping out.

Through 1941 the nation moved gradually closer toward actual belligerency with Germany. After a bitter debate in Congress, Roosevelt in March 1941 obtained the Lend-Lease Act, enabling the United States to finance aid to Great Britain and its allies. Preventing submarines from sinking goods en route to Europe gradually involved more drastic protection by the U.S. Navy; in the fall Roosevelt authorized the navy to shoot on sight at German submarines. Meanwhile, in August, on a battleship off Newfoundland, Roosevelt met with Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain and signed a joint press release proclaiming an Atlantic Charter to provide national self-determination, greater economic opportunities, freedom from fear and want, freedom of the seas, and disarmament.²⁹²

Yet it was in the Pacific that war came to the United States. Japan, bound in a treaty of alliance with Germany and Italy, the so-called Axis, extended its empire in East Asia. Roosevelt, viewing these moves as part of Axis world aggression, began to deny Japan supplies essential to its war making. Throughout 1941 the United States negotiated with Japan, but proposals by each side were unsatisfactory. Roosevelt did not want war with Japan in the fall of 1941, but he miscalculated in thinking the Japanese were bluffing. By the end of November he knew that Japanese fleet units and transports were at sea and that war was imminent; an attack in Southeast Asia and perhaps on the Philippines seemed likely. To Roosevelt's angered surprise, the Japanese, on December 7, 1941, struck Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. On December 8, at Roosevelt's request, Congress voted a war resolution within four hours; on December 11, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 538 - 540, 580 - 583, 598 - 599.

²⁹² Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 579 - 580, 587 - 588, 595 - 598.

²⁹³ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 603 - 619.

One of the immediate problems after Pearl Harbor was to build up massive production for war. Roosevelt had begun experimenting in 1939 with various defense agencies to mobilize the economy.

Eventually, a workable organization had evolved. At the time of Pearl Harbor, U.S. war production was already nearly as great as that of Germany and Japan combined; by 1944 it was double the total of all Axis nations. During the war, Roosevelt concentrated upon problems of strategy, negotiations with the nation's allies, and the planning of the peace. From the outset, he took the lead in establishing a grand alliance among all countries fighting the Axis. Roosevelt met with Churchill in a number of wartime conferences at which differences were settled amicably. Debate at the earlier conferences centered upon the question of a landing in France, which the British succeeded in postponing repeatedly; the great Normandy invasion was finally launched in June 1944. Meanwhile, the United States had followed the British lead in invading North Africa in November 1942, Sicily in July 1943, and Italy in September 1943. At one of the most significant of the meetings, at Casablanca, Morocco, in January 1943, Roosevelt, after previous consultation with Churchill, proclaimed the doctrine of unconditional surrender of the Axis. He seemed to want to avoid the sort of differences of opinion among the Allies and misunderstanding by the Germans that had made trouble at the time of the 1918 Armistice.²⁹⁴

Relations with the Soviet Union posed a difficult problem for Roosevelt. Throughout the war the Soviet Union accepted large quantities of lend-lease supplies but seldom divulged its military plans or acted in coordination with its Western Allies. Roosevelt, feeling that the maintenance of peace after the war depended upon friendly relations with the Soviet Union, hoped to win Joseph Stalin's confidence. Roosevelt seemed to get along well with Stalin when he and Churchill first met with the Soviet leader at Teheran, Iran, in November 1943. In their optimism, Roosevelt and Churchill seemed not to see realistically that the sort of peace being foreshadowed at Teheran would leave the Soviet Union dominant in Europe.²⁹⁵

Meanwhile, the Axis had been suffering serious defeats in both Europe and the Pacific. By February 1945, when the Big Three met again at Yalta in the Crimea, the war seemed almost

²⁹⁴ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 618 - 668 passim.

²⁹⁵ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 689 - 704.

over in Europe. As for Japan, the United States expected a last-ditch defense that might require another 18 months or more of fighting. Work in developing an atomic bomb was well advanced, but its power was expected to be only a fraction of what it actually turned out to be. Consequently, Roosevelt and his military advisers were eager to obtain Soviet aid in Asia; and, in return for Stalin's promise to enter the war against Japan, Roosevelt and Churchill offered concessions in the Far East. As for eastern Europe, earlier decisions were ratified, and plans were made for the establishment of democratic governments. Had the arrangements for eastern Europe been followed by Stalin in the manner expected by Roosevelt and Churchill, there would have been little room for criticism. But the understandings were not precise enough, and they received different interpretations in the Soviet Union. By mid-March false Soviet accusations against the United States led Roosevelt to send a sharp telegram to Stalin.²⁹⁶

Roosevelt hoped that the establishment of an effective international organization, the United Nations, could maintain the peace in years to come. He planned to attend a conference of 50 nations at San Francisco, opening April 25, 1945, to draft a United Nations charter. But, since January 1944, his health had been declining. His political opponents had tried to make much of this during the campaign of 1944, when he ran for a fourth term against Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York. A final burst of vigor on Roosevelt's part, however, seemed to refute the rumors. Roosevelt won by 25,602,000 to 22,006,000 in popular votes and 432 to 99 in electoral votes. Third parties to have candidates were the Socialist Party, with Norman Thomas receiving 80,518 popular votes, the Prohibition Party with Claude Watson receiving 74,758 popular votes, and the Socialist Labor Party with Edward Teichert receiving 45,336 popular votes, none of these received any electoral votes. Again, another third party, the Communist Party, dropped from the array of competitors narrowing the field and leading to more stability.

²⁹⁶ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 514 - 516, 630 - 631, 642, 662, 665, 742, 745 - 756, 758 - 761, 773.

But his address to Congress after he returned from Yalta had to be delivered sitting down. He went to Warm Springs for a rest, and there, on April 12, 1945, he died of a massive cerebral hemorrhage.²⁹⁷

Harry S. Truman

Harry S. Truman the 33rd president of the United States from 1945 to 1953, led his nation into international confrontation with Soviet and Chinese communism and defended the New Deal reforms.

Truman was the son of a mule trader and farmer. He attended school in Independence, Mo., completing high school in 1901. He became a bank clerk in Kansas City; then in 1906 he took over management of his maternal grandmother's farm at Grandview. He also served as local postmaster, road overseer, and national guardsman. He became a partner in a lead mine in 1915 and in an oil-prospecting business in 1916; both failed.

Truman distinguished himself in heavy action as a captain in World War I, showing bravery and other qualities of leadership. On June 28, 1919, he married Elizabeth Wallace. He became a partner in a Kansas City haberdashery store, and, when the business failed, he entered politics with the help of Thomas Pendergast, a Democratic boss of Jackson county.²⁹⁸

With the support of Pendergast's political machine and of World War I veterans, Truman won a seat as county judge in 1922. But despite excellent work, in 1924 non-Pendergast Democrats combined with the Ku Klux Klan to defeat him. Truman then sold memberships in the Kansas City Automobile Club and attended night classes for two years at the Kansas City Law School. A state bank in Englewood in which he became a partner went into bankruptcy because of the fraudulent activities of its former owner, but Truman

²⁹⁷ Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, 1985. pp. 633 - 634, 725 - 730, 738 - 740, 761 - 764, 767 - 769. David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 126 - 127.

²⁹⁸ Margaret Truman, *Harry S. Truman*, William Morrow and Company, Inc., Copyright by Author, 1972. pp. 45 - 56. David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 93 - 94.

enjoyed his first business success following his organization of the Community Savings & Loan Association in Independence.²⁹⁹

With Pendergast's backing, in 1926 he became presiding judge of the county court. As a two-term, eight-year county administrator, Truman's reputation for honesty and good management gained him Republican as well as Democratic support. Meanwhile, Pendergast was gaining dictatorial control over Jackson county; he achieved statewide power in the early 1930s, determining who would serve as Missouri's governor and as its members of the U.S. House of Representatives. That Truman was not in his inner circle was revealed in 1932 when Pendergast stifled Truman's ambition to become governor and refused to name him to the Missouri delegation to the Democratic National Convention.³⁰⁰

In 1934 Truman's political career seemed ended because of the two-term tradition attached to his job. But the machine's gangsterism in the March municipal election, in which four persons were killed at the polls, had a direct bearing on his future. After three individuals rejected Pendergast's subsequent offer of support in the coming U.S. Senate primary contest, Truman, his fourth choice, quickly accepted. Truman was elected with the help of a suspicious machine vote in Jackson County.

Truman entered the U.S. Senate in 1935 under the cloud of being the puppet of a crooked boss. But his attention to duties and his friendly personality soon won over his colleagues. He was the author of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, and his two-year committee investigation led to the Transportation Act of 1940. The outlook for Truman's reelection in 1940, however, was gloomy; the Pendergast machine lay in shambles, with Tom Pendergast in prison for having taken bribes. President Roosevelt offered Truman a face-saving place on the Interstate Commerce Commission, but he stubbornly ran for another term even though newspapers rated him a distant third in a three-man primary race. Yet because of

²⁹⁹ Margaret Truman, Harry S. Truman, William Morrow and Company, Inc., Copyright by Author, 1972. pp. 62 - 68. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 94.

³⁰⁰ Margaret Truman, Harry S. Truman, William Morrow and Company, Inc., Copyright by Author, 1972. pp. 69 - 82.

the last-minute support of Robert E. Hannegan, a young St. Louis Democratic subboss, Truman won by a slender margin.³⁰¹

The nation's growing defense and then war production programs soon launched Truman into his major senatorial endeavor. His Special Committee Investigating National Defense exposed a long list of graft, waste, and product deficiencies and brought him public praise. At the same time, he used his expanding patronage power to reward Hannegan with a series of appointments. The advancement of Hannegan to chairman of the Democratic National Committee in January 1944 led to a successful effort to have President Franklin D. Roosevelt replace Vice President Henry A. Wallace with Truman on the victorious 1944 presidential ticket. Truman's vice presidency lasted only 82 days, during which time he met with Roosevelt only twice and had little knowledge of the administration's programs and plans.³⁰²

When Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945, vital decisions had to be made at a relentless pace, despite his lack of tutelage. In swift order he made final arrangements for the San Francisco charter-writing meeting of the United Nations, helped arrange Germany's unconditional surrender on May 8, and went in July to his first and only summit meeting, at Potsdam, Germany, for inconclusive talks about a peace settlement. The Pacific war ended officially on September 2, after atomic bombs had been dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki following Truman's orders. His justification for the bombings was a report from advisers that 500,000 Americans would be lost in an invasion of Japan.³⁰³

Truman enjoyed a five-month honeymoon with Congress, which ended in September 1945 when he submitted his "Economic Bill of Rights," which included social reforms that he hoped would head off a return to economic depression. The developing vocal opposition, added to public weariness over meat shortages and inflation and the defection of Roosevelt

³⁰¹ Margaret Truman, Harry S. Truman, William Morrow and Company, Inc., Copyright by Author, 1972. pp. 84 - 89, 120 - 138. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 94 - 95.

³⁰² Margaret Truman, Harry S. Truman, William Morrow and Company, Inc., Copyright by Author, 1972. pp. 138 - 141, 144 - 148, 168 - 169, 190 - 191, 205 - 214. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 95 - 96.

³⁰³ Margaret Truman, Harry S. Truman, William Morrow and Company, Inc., Copyright by Author, 1972. pp. 216 - 225, 232. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 96, 98.

admirers when Truman installed his own choices in his Cabinet, combined to give Republicans control of Congress in 1946.³⁰⁴

Two years later many Democratic leaders believed Truman could not win election and demanded that he retire. But the 1948 convention nominated him, with Sen. Alben W. Barkley as his running mate. All public opinion polls showed that the New York governor Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican nominee, would be an easy winner. Undaunted, Truman carried out a "give 'em hell" campaign, repeatedly denouncing the "Republican do-nothing 80th Congress." In November he upset a complacent Dewey by a 114-electoral-vote margin, Truman receiving 24,105,812 or 49% of the popular vote and 303 electoral votes and Dewey receiving 21,970,065 or 45% of the popular vote and 189 electoral votes.³⁰⁵ Third parties increased again in number and popularity, signaling a transition was about to occur. One of these was a new one called the State's Rights Party whose candidate, J. Strom Thurmond received 1,169,063 or 2% of the popular vote and 39 electoral votes, and Henry Wallace next with the Progressive Party received 1,157,172 or 2% of the popular vote but gained no electoral votes. Other parties were the Socialist Party with Norman Thomas receiving 139,414 popular votes, Claude Watson of the Prohibition Party receiving 103,224 popular votes, and Edward Teichert of the Socialist Labor Party receiving 29,244 popular votes, none of these received any electoral votes.

In his State of the Union message in 1949, Truman proposed the Fair Deal, a liberal 24 plank domestic program. But despite his efforts, only a single plank was enacted into law, a low-cost public housing measure. He fared much better in foreign affairs, however, where he considered the Soviet Union the principal roadblock to world peace. To restrict Soviet territorial advances and spreading spheres of influence, he developed a "containment" policy, thus setting the course of U.S. foreign policy for decades to come.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Margaret Truman, Harry S. Truman, William Morrow and Company, Inc., Copyright by Author, 1972. pp. 286 - 291, 320 - 321. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 98 - 99.

³⁰⁵ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 99 - 100, 102.

³⁰⁶ Cabell Phillips, The Truman Presidency. The History of a Triumphant Succession, The Macmillan Company, New York, Copyright by Author, 1966. pp. 103 - 104, 162 - 165, 199 - 200, 404, 429. William F. Levantrosser, ed., Harry S. Truman, The Man from Independence, Greenwood Press, New York, Copyright by Hofstra University, 1986. pp. 111 - 112, 118, 157 - 158, 202, 373.

Among his Cold War moves were the Truman Doctrine of economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey in 1947 to reduce Communist pressures on their governments; the four-year \$17,000,000,000 Marshall Plan of 1948 for economic recovery in western Europe; and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) pact of 1949, a collective security agreement with non-Communist European nations. When China came under Communist control in 1949, Truman's containment policies were extended to include that giant nation. He also established the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1947, initiated the Berlin airlift of 1948 to bring supplies into the former German capital when the Soviets blocked surface entrances, instituted the Point Four Program of 1949 to provide aid to underdeveloped countries, and decided in 1950 to construct the hydrogen bomb in order to maintain an arms lead over the Soviets, who had recently exploded an atomic bomb.

In June 1950 Communist North Korea crossed the 38th parallel boundary and attempted to seize South Korea. Truman sent U.S. forces to Korea under General Douglas MacArthur with UN sanction. Once MacArthur had liberated the south, the administration ordered the capture of North Korea; but MacArthur's advance to the Yalu River boundary with Manchuria brought hundreds of thousands of Chinese Communist troops into the fighting. MacArthur's insistence on attacking China as well forced Truman to fire him.³⁰⁷

The unpopularity of the continuing war and the uncovering of unsavory and fraudulent activities by several federal officials made Truman's last two years in office appear chaotic. A further decline of confidence in the government was brought on by the charges of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin that the State Department and other agencies were Communist-controlled.

After Truman left office in January 1953 and returned to Independence, his popularity soared. And with the perspective of passing years the haze surrounding his presidency lifted. What remained was a man who had generally succeeded in his foreign policy.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ Cabell Phillips, The Truman Presidency. The History of a Triumphant Succession, 1966. pp. 167 - 176, 250, 262 - 275, 306, 400 - 401. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 106 - 107.

³⁰⁸ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 107, 109.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Dwight D. Eisenhower was the 34th president of the United States from 1953 to 1961, who had been supreme commander of the Allied forces in western Europe during World War II.

He was the third of seven sons of David Jacob and Ida Elizabeth Eisenhower. In the spring of 1891 the Eisenhowers returned to Abilene, Kansas, where their ancestors had settled as part of a Mennonite colony. Dwight's father worked in a creamery; the family was poor, and Dwight and his brothers were introduced to hard work and a strong religious tradition at an early age.

He graduated from Abilene High School in 1909, supported a brother's college education for a year, and then entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He excelled in football but injured a knee in his second year at the academy and was forced to stop playing. In the remarkable class of 1915, which was to produce 59 generals, he ranked 61st academically and 125th in discipline out of the total of 164 graduates.

He was commissioned a second lieutenant and was sent to San Antonio, Texas, where he met Mamie Geneva Doud, daughter of a successful Denver meat packer. They were married in 1916 and had two sons.³⁰⁹

During World War I, Eisenhower commanded a tank training center, was promoted to captain, and received the Distinguished Service Medal. The war ended just before he was to be sent overseas. From 1922 to 1924 he was assigned to the Panama Canal Zone and there came under the inspiring influence of his commander, Brigadier General Fox Conner. With Conner's assistance, Eisenhower was selected to attend the army's command and general staff school at Ft. Leavenworth. Then a major, he graduated first in a class of 275 in 1926 and two years later graduated from the Army War College. He then served in France, writing a guidebook of World War I battlefields, and in Washington, D.C., before becoming an aide to army chief of staff Gen. Douglas MacArthur in 1933. Two years later he accompanied MacArthur to the Philippines to assist in the reorganization of the commonwealth's army and while there was awarded the Distinguished Service Star of the Philippines and the rank of lieutenant colonel. He returned to the United States shortly after

³⁰⁹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 72 - 74.

Germany's invasion of Poland initiated the European phase of World War II and in March 1941 became a full colonel. Three months later he was made chief of staff of the 3rd Army and soon won the attention of army chief of staff Gen. George C. Marshall for his role in planning war games involving almost 500,000 troops.

When the United States entered World War II in December 1941, Marshall appointed Eisenhower to the army's war plans division in Washington, where he prepared strategy for an Allied invasion of Europe. He was made a brigadier general in September 1941, and he was promoted to major general in March 1942 and named head of the operations division of the War Department. In June, Marshall selected him over 366 senior officers to be commander of U.S. troops in Europe. Eisenhower's rapid advancement, after a long army career spent in relative obscurity, was due not only to his knowledge of military strategy and a talent for organization but also to his ability to persuade, to mediate, and to be agreeable. Men from a variety of backgrounds and nationalities, impressed by his friendliness, humility, and persistent optimism, liked and trusted him.

Eisenhower was promoted to lieutenant general in July 1942 and named to head Operation Torch, the Allied invasion of French North Africa. This first major Allied offensive of the war was launched on Nov. 8, 1942, and successfully completed in May 1943. Eisenhower's decision to work during the campaign with the French admiral Jean-François Darlan, who had collaborated with the Germans, aroused a storm of protest from the Allies; but his action was defended by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. A full general since February, Eisenhower then directed the amphibious assault of Sicily and the Italian mainland, which resulted in the fall of Rome on June 4, 1944.³¹⁰

During the fighting in Italy, Eisenhower participated in plans to cross the English Channel for an invasion of France. On Dec. 24, 1943, he was appointed supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, and the next month he was in London making preparations for the massive thrust into Europe. On June 6, 1944, he gambled on a break in bad weather and ordered the Channel crossed. About 1,000,000 men in nearly 4,000 ships landed in Normandy and began to fight their way into the heart of France. On August 25 Paris was

³¹⁰ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 74, 78.

liberated. After overcoming a fierce German counterattack in the Ardennes in December, the Allies crossed the Rhine on March 7, 1945. Germany surrendered on May 7, and the war in Europe was over. In the meantime, in December 1944, Eisenhower had been made a five-star general.³¹¹

He was given a hero's welcome upon returning to the United States for a visit in June 1945. His intended retirement was delayed by President Harry S. Truman when he was named in November to replace General Marshall as chief of staff. For more than two years Eisenhower directed demobilization of the wartime army and worked to unify the armed services under a centralized command. In May 1948 he left active duty, the most popular and respected soldier in the United States, to become president of Columbia University. His book *Crusade in Europe*, published that fall, made him a wealthy man.³¹²

Eisenhower's brief career as an academic administrator was not especially successful. His technical education and military experience prepared him poorly for the post, and his distrust of intellectuals made relations with faculty members difficult. In the fall of 1950 President Truman asked him to become supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and in early 1951 he flew to Paris to assume his new position. For the next 15 months he devoted himself to the task of creating a united military organization in western Europe to be a defense against the possibility of Communist aggression.³¹³

As early as 1948 Eisenhower was mentioned as a presidential candidate. His personal qualities and military reputation prompted both parties to woo him. As the campaign of 1952 neared, Eisenhower let it be known that he was a Republican, and the eastern wing of the party, headed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, made an intensive effort to persuade him to seek the Republican presidential nomination. His name was entered in several state primaries against the more conservative Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. Although the results were mixed, Eisenhower decided to run. In June 1952 he retired from the army, after 37 years of service, returned to the United States, and began to campaign

³¹¹ William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, Wings Books, New York, Copyright by Author, 1993. pp. 531 - 532.

³¹² David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 78.

³¹³ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 78 - 79.

actively. At the party convention in July, after a bitter fight with Taft supporters, Eisenhower won the nomination on the first ballot. His running mate was Senator Richard M. Nixon of California. Democrats nominated Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for president and Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama for vice president.

Despite his age, Eisenhower campaigned tirelessly, impressing millions with his warmth and sincerity. He urged economy and honesty in government and promised to visit Korea to explore the possibilities for ending the Korean War, which had broken out in 1950 between Communist North Korea and pro-Western South Korea and soon involved United Nations and Communist Chinese forces. Many Republicans, including Nixon, spoke of pro-Communist disloyalty within the Truman administration and called for stringent anti-subversive measures. The Eisenhower-Nixon ticket won handily, carrying 39 states, winning the electoral vote, 442 to 89, and collecting 33,936,234 or 55% of the popular votes while his opponent Adlai Stevenson representing the Democratic Party received 27,314,992 or 44% of the popular vote. Third parties in this election were Vincent Hallinan of the Progressive Party and received 140,023 popular votes, Stuart Hamblen of the Prohibition Party received 72,949 popular votes, Eric Hass of the Socialist Labor Party received 30,267 popular votes, Darlington Hoopes of the Socialist Party received 20,203 popular votes, and Douglas McArthur with the Constitution Party received 17,205 popular votes. None of the third parties received any electoral votes. The Republican Party won control of Congress by a slim margin but lost both houses two years later.³¹⁴

Unlike his two Democratic predecessors, Eisenhower did not believe in strong executive leadership of the federal government. Because of his military background and limited knowledge of government, he delegated authority to his advisers and Cabinet members and did not participate actively in the detailed work of the executive departments. His assistant, former New Hampshire governor Sherman Adams, was a powerful figure in the administration.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 78 - 82.

³¹⁵ Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan. Salem Press, Pasadena, Ca., Copyright by Frank N. Magill, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 661, 670 - 671.

Eisenhower's basically conservative views on domestic affairs were shared by his secretary of the treasury, George M. Humphrey. The administration's domestic program, which came to be labeled "modern Republicanism," called for reduced taxes, balanced budgets, a decrease in government control over the economy, and the return of certain federal responsibilities to the states. Controls over rents, wages, and prices were allowed to expire, and in 1954 there was a slight tax revision. At Eisenhower's insistence, Congress transferred title to valuable tideland oil reserves to the states. But there was no sharp break with policies inherited from previous Democratic administrations. The needs of an expanding population, from 155,000,000 to 179,000,000 during the Eisenhower era, and the country's overseas commitments caused budget deficits during five out of eight years. The minimum wage was increased to \$1 per hour, the Social Security System was broadened, and in the spring of 1953 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was created.³¹⁶

The right wing of his party clashed with the President more often than did the Democrats during his first term. In part to preserve party unity, he refused to condemn publicly Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's irresponsible charges of Communist influence within the government. Although privately Eisenhower expressed his distaste for the Senator, at times he seemed to encourage the attacks of McCarthyites. Hundreds of federal employees were fired under his expanded loyalty-security program. With his approval, Congress passed a law designed to outlaw the American Communist Party. Following the sensational hearings on McCarthy's charges against army and civilian officials, televised nationally for five weeks in the spring of 1954, McCarthy's popularity waned, as did the anti-Communist hysteria.³¹⁷

Foreign affairs drew much of Eisenhower's attention; he and his secretary of state John Foster Dulles worked hard at achieving peace and constructing collective defense agreements designed to check the spread of Communism. Eisenhower visited Korea shortly after his inauguration. Partly, perhaps, because of Joseph Stalin's death in March, the President was able to negotiate a truce for the Korean War in July 1953. In December of

³¹⁶ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993. pp. 537 - 538. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 80. Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 669 - 673.

³¹⁷ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 81 - 82. Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 673 - 675.

that year, he proposed that the countries of the world pool atomic information and materials under the auspices of an international agency. This "Atoms for Peace" suggestion bore fruit in 1957, when 62 countries formed the International Atomic Energy Agency.³¹⁸

In July 1955 the President met with leaders of Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union at a summit conference in Geneva. His "open-skies" proposal, by which the United States and the Soviet Union would permit continuous air inspection of each other's military installations, was welcomed by world opinion but was rejected by the U.S.S.R. In September 1954, Eisenhower and Dulles succeeded in creating the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) to prevent further Communist expansion in that part of the world. It was composed of the United States, France, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan. NATO was strengthened in 1955 by the inclusion of West Germany.³¹⁹

Critics contended that there were frequent disparities between the administration's words and deeds in the field of foreign relations. While threatening to "unleash" Nationalist Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek, the United States signed a defense treaty with Nationalist China in December 1954 that inhibited Chiang's ability to attack the Communist Chinese. Dulles spoke of "liberating" captive peoples in Communist countries, but the administration limited itself to protests when uprisings occurred in East Germany in 1953 and Hungary in 1956. While the Secretary of State promised "massive retaliation" against Communist aggression, the President made the decision to limit America's role in the Indochina crisis between France and Ho Chi Minh's guerrillas to financial and military aid.³²⁰

A heart attack in September 1955 and an operation for ileitis in June 1956 raised considerable doubt about Eisenhower's ability to serve a second term. But he recovered quickly, and the Republican Convention unanimously endorsed the Eisenhower-Nixon

³¹⁸ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 79 - 81. Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., *The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan*, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 677 - 678.

³¹⁹ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. p. 80. Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., *The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan*, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 679 - 684. William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993. p. 539.

³²⁰ David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 84, 86. Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., *The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan*, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 678 - 686. William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993. p. 539.

ticket on the first ballot. Democrats again selected Adlai E. Stevenson and named Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee as his running mate. Eisenhower's great personal popularity turned the election into a landslide victory, the most one-sided race since 1936. The Democrats, however, once more captured both houses of Congress, a feat they were to duplicate in 1958. Eisenhower was the first president to serve with three Congresses controlled by the opposition party.

The election campaign of 1956, however, had been complicated by a crisis in the Middle East over Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal. The subsequent attack by Great Britain, France, and Israel on Egypt and Egypt's support by the Soviet Union prompted the President to go before Congress in January 1957 to urge adoption of what came to be called the Eisenhower Doctrine, a pledge to send U.S. armed forces to any Middle Eastern country requesting assistance against Communist aggression.³²¹

In the election, Eisenhower received as the Republican candidate 35,590,472 or 57% of the popular vote and 457 electoral votes. His opponent, Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic candidate, received 26,022,752 or 42% of the popular vote and 73 electoral votes. Third party activity in this election was limited to two, T. Coleman Andrews of the States' Rights Party receiving 107,929 popular votes and Eric Hass of the Socialist Labor Party receiving 44,300 popular votes with neither receiving any electoral votes.

When the U.S. Supreme Court, on May 17, 1954, declared racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional, controversy and violence broke out, especially in the South. In September 1957 Eisenhower dispatched 1,000 federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, to halt an attempt by Governor Orval E. Faubus to obstruct a federal court order integrating a high school. This action was the most serious challenge of his presidency. On several occasions Eisenhower had expressed distaste for racial segregation, though he doubtless

³²¹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 82. Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 683 - 684. William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993. pp. 538 - 539.

believed that the process of integration would take time. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first such law passed since 1875.³²²

On Oct. 4, 1957, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I, the first man-made satellite to orbit the Earth. Americans were shocked by the achievement, and many blamed Eisenhower for the administration's insistence on low military budgets and its failure to develop a space program. Steps were taken to boost space research and to provide funds to increase the study of science. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was created in July 1958. The administration again came under fire in the fall of 1957 for an economic recession that lasted through the following summer. Eisenhower refused to lower taxes or increase federal spending to ease the slump for fear of fueling inflation.³²³

Following the death of Dulles in the spring of 1959, Eisenhower assumed a more personal role in the direction of American foreign policy. He traveled to Europe, Africa, and Asia in December 1959 and toured Latin America in February and March 1960. To improve relations with the Soviet Union, he invited Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev to visit the United States. Khrushchev toured parts of the country in September 1959 and held private talks with Eisenhower. Another summit meeting was planned, and a new era of personal diplomacy seemed at hand. But when a United States U-2 reconnaissance plane was shot down over the U.S.S.R. in May 1960, Khrushchev scuttled the talks and angrily withdrew his invitation to Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union. Eisenhower admitted that the flights had gone on for four years and shouldered much of the blame for the ill-timed affair. In January 1961, during the last weeks of the Eisenhower administration, the United States broke diplomatic relations with Cuba, which for two years had been under the control of Fidel Castro.³²⁴

³²² David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 80. Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 675 - 677. William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993. pp. 539 - 540.

³²³ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 84. Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 672 - 673, 695 - 696, 701.

³²⁴ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 84 - 86, 88 - 89.

Democracy

"He lives from day to day indulging the appetite of the hour; and sometimes he is lapped in drink and strains of the flute; then he becomes a water-drinker, and tries to get thin; then he takes a turn at gymnastics; sometimes idling and neglecting everything, then once more living the life of a philosopher; often he is busy with politics, and starts to his feet and says and does whatever comes into his head; and, if he is emulous of anyone who is a warrior, off he is in that direction, or of men of business, once more in that. His life has neither law nor order; and this distracted existence he terms joy and bliss and freedom; and so he goes on."

As we make the transition into Democracy a pattern emerges through the democratic period, that of increased third party activity throughout. Unlike previous periods where the increase in activity is due to changes from one period to the next, the end of the transition into democracy and the democratic period as a whole has a dramatic increase in the number of third parties and the vote they receive. This could be due to what Plato considers to be the flippancy of the electorate.

"And if there be any ally which aids the oligarchical principle within him, whether the influence of a father or of kindred, advising or rebuking him, then there arise in his soul a faction and an opposite faction, and he goes to war with himself. And there are times when the democratical principle gives way to the oligarchical, and some of his desires die, and others are banished; a spirit of reverence enters into the young man's soul, and order is restored. And then, again, after the old desires have been driven out, fresh ones spring up, which are akin to them, and because he their father does not know how to educate them, wax fierce and numerous."

If these parties arise because of the electorate's inability to focus or choose, following whomever happens to have them by the nose at the moment, then as Plato says, "Because of the liberty which reigns there, they have a complete assortment of constitutions; and he who has a mind to establish a State, as we have been doing, must go to a democracy as he would to a bazaar at which they sell them, and pick out the one that suits him; then, when he has made his choice, he may found his State," then many ideas can render many parties

for the Democratic people to follow, unsure of what it is they follow, their attention jumping from one pursuit to another too fast to care about their government or its actions.

“ See, too, I said, the forgiving spirit of democracy, and the "don't care" about trifles, and the disregard which she shows of all the fine principles which we solemnly laid down at the foundation of the city--as when we said that, except in the case of some rarely gifted nature, there never will be a good man who has not from his childhood been used to play amid things of beauty and make of them a joy and a study—how grandly does she trample all these fine notions of ours under her feet, never giving a thought to the pursuits which make a statesman, and promoting to honor anyone who professes to be the people's friend.”

This being the case, our society, decaying from equality to non-equals, from a lack of caring about government, will continue on its path, unable to hear the truth. “Neither does he receive or let pass into the fortress any true word of advice; if anyone says to him that some pleasures are the satisfactions of good and noble desires, and others of evil desires, and that he ought to use and honor some, and chastise and master the others, whenever this is repeated to him he shakes his head and says that they are all alike, and that one is as good as another.” Unable to discern truth from opinion, the people and political parties develop ideas that are not only divergent from each other but from truth as well.

John F. Kennedy

John F. Kennedy the 35th president of the United States from 1961 to 1963, who faced a number of foreign crises, especially in Cuba and Berlin, but managed to secure such achievements as the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty and the Alliance for Progress. He was assassinated while riding in a motorcade in Dallas.

John, the second of nine children born to Joseph Patrick and Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy, was reared in a family that demanded intense physical and intellectual competition among the children and was schooled in the religious teachings of the Roman Catholic church and the political precepts of the Democratic Party. A graduate of Harvard University in 1940, Kennedy expanded his senior thesis on Great Britain's military unpreparedness into a best-selling book, *Why England Slept* (1940). For six months in 1938 he served as secretary to his father, then U.S. ambassador to Great Britain.

In the fall of 1941 Kennedy joined the U.S. Navy and two years later was sent to the South Pacific. By the time he was discharged in 1945 his older brother, Joe, who their father had expected would be the first Kennedy to run for office, had been killed in the war, and the family's political standard passed to John, who had planned to pursue an academic or journalistic career.

John Kennedy himself had barely escaped death in battle. Commanding a Navy motor torpedo boat, he was gravely injured when a Japanese destroyer sank it in the Solomon Islands. Marooned far behind enemy lines, he led his men back to safety. He was awarded the Navy and U.S. Marine Corps medal for heroism and returned to active command at his own request. But his back, which had bothered him since his teens, never really healed. He also suffered from Addison's disease. Despite operations in 1944, 1954, and 1955, he was in pain for much of the rest of his life. None of the Kennedys, however, including him, ever thought that John might choose a career less strenuous than politics. He was expected to run for office and to win.³²⁵

He did win; indeed, he never lost an election. His first opportunity came in 1946, when he ran for Congress. Though still physically weak, he campaigned aggressively, bypassing the Democratic organization in the Massachusetts 11th congressional district and depending instead upon his family, college friends, and fellow navy officers. In the Democratic primary he received nearly double the vote of his nearest opponent; in the November election he overwhelmed the Republican candidate. He was only 29.

Kennedy served three terms in the House of Representatives (1947-53) as a bread-and-butter liberal. He advocated better working conditions, more public housing, higher wages, lower prices, cheaper rents, and more Social Security for the aged. In foreign policy he was an early supporter of Cold War policies. He backed the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan but was sharply critical of the Truman administration's record in Asia. He accused the State Department of trying to force Chiang Kai-shek into a coalition with Mao Zedong.

³²⁵ Theodore C. Sorensen, *Kennedy*, Harper & Row, Publishers, New York, Copyright by Author, 1965. pp. 4, 14 - 18. David C. Whitney, *The Graphic Story of the American Presidents*, 1973. pp. 50 - 52. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days. John F. Kennedy in the White House*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Copyright by Author, 1965. pp. 19, 80 - 82, 95 - 96, 343 - 344, 349, 352.

His congressional district in Boston was a safe seat. Had he remained there, eventually he could have become a power in the House, perhaps even its speaker. But instead, in 1952 he ran for the U.S. Senate against the popular incumbent, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. His mother, Rose, and sisters Eunice, Patricia, and Jean held "Kennedy teas" across the state. Thousands of volunteers flocked to help, and 27-year-old Robert managed his brother's campaign. That fall the Republican presidential candidate, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, carried Massachusetts by 208,000 votes; but Kennedy defeated Lodge by 70,000 votes. Less than a year later, on Sept. 12, 1953, John enhanced his electoral appeal by marrying Jacqueline Lee Bouvier.³²⁶

Senator Kennedy quickly won a reputation for responsiveness to requests from constituents, except on certain occasions when the national interest was at stake. In 1954 he was the only New England senator to approve an extension of President Eisenhower's reciprocal-trade powers, and he vigorously backed the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway, despite the fact that over a period of 20 years no Massachusetts senator or congressman had ever voted for it.³²⁷

He was not as sensitive as liberal Democrats wished, however, to the demagogic excesses of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, who in the early 1950s conducted witch-hunting campaigns against government workers accused of being Communists. John's father, Joseph Kennedy, liked McCarthy; he contributed to his campaign and even entertained him in the family's compound at Hyannis Port on Cape Cod in Massachusetts. John disapproved of McCarthy, but as he once observed, "Half my people in Massachusetts look on McCarthy as a hero."³²⁸

Back in the Senate, Kennedy led a fight against a proposal to abolish the electoral college, crusaded for labor reform, and became increasingly committed to civil rights legislation. As a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in the late 1950s, he advocated

³²⁶ Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy, 1965. pp. 43 - 69. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 52 - 53, 56 - 57.

³²⁷ Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy, 1965. pp. 58 - 59, 76, 136. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 52 - 53, 56 - 57.

³²⁸ Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy, 1965. pp. 17, 34 - 35, 45 - 48, 135 - 136. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 53, 56 - 57.

extensive foreign aid to the emerging nations in Africa and Asia, and he surprised Washington, D.C., by calling upon France to grant Algerian independence.³²⁹

During these years his political outlook was moving leftward. Possibly because of their father's dynamic personality, the sons of Joseph Kennedy matured slowly. Gradually John's stature among Democrats grew, until he had inherited the legions that had once followed Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, the two-time presidential candidate who by appealing to idealism had transformed the Democratic Party and made Kennedy's rise possible.³³⁰

John had nearly become Stevenson's vice presidential running mate in 1956. The handsome, young New Englander's near victory and his speech of concession on television brought him into about 40,000,000 American homes. Overnight he had become one of the most famous political figures in the country. Already his campaign for the 1960 nomination had begun. Kennedy felt that he had to redouble his efforts because of the widespread conviction that no Roman Catholic candidate could be elected president. He made his 1958 race for reelection a test of his popularity in Massachusetts. His margin of victory was 874,608 votes, the largest ever in Massachusetts politics and the greatest of any senatorial candidate that year.³³¹

In January 1960 John F. Kennedy formally announced his presidential candidacy. His chief rivals were the senators Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas. Kennedy knocked Humphrey out of the campaign and dealt the religious taboo against Roman Catholics a blow by winning the primary in Protestant West Virginia. He tackled the Catholic issue again, by avowing his belief in the separation of church and state in a televised speech before a group of Protestant ministers in Houston. Nominated on the first ballot, he balanced the Democratic ticket by choosing Johnson as his running mate.

³²⁹ Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy, 1965. pp. 62, 66. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House, 1965. pp. 553 - 561.

³³⁰ Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy, 1965. pp. 62, 66. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House, 1965. pp. 22 - 24. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 57.

³³¹ Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy, 1965. pp. 74 - 78. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 57.

Kennedy won the general election, narrowly defeating the Republican candidate, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, by a margin of 118,550 out of the total of 68,335,642 votes cast receiving 34,221,531 or 49.7% of the popular vote and 303 electoral votes to Republican Richard Nixon's 34,108,474 or 49.5% and 219 electoral votes. Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, not a party candidate received 15 electoral votes. Third party candidates were Orval Faubus of the National States Rights Party receiving 227,881 popular votes, Eric Hass of the Socialist Labor Party receiving 48,031 popular votes, and Rutherford B. Decker of the Prohibition Party receiving 46,197 popular votes, none of these received any electoral votes.

Nixon had defended the Eisenhower record; Kennedy, whose slogan had been "Let's get this country moving again," had deplored unemployment, the sluggish economy, what he called a missile gap, a presumed Soviet superiority in the number of nuclear-armed missiles the two countries respectively held, and the newly Communist government in Havana. A major factor in the campaign was a unique series of four televised debates between the two men; an estimated 85,000,000-120,000,000 Americans watched one or more debates. Both men showed a firm grasp of the issues, but Kennedy's good looks and his superior physical poise while on camera convinced many viewers that he had won the debate.³³²

John F. Kennedy was the youngest man and the first Roman Catholic ever elected to the presidency of the United States. His administration lasted 1,037 days. From the onset he was concerned with foreign affairs. In his memorable inaugural address he called upon Americans "to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle . . . against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself."³³³

The administration's first brush with foreign affairs was a disaster. In the last year of the Eisenhower presidency, the Central Intelligence Agency had equipped and trained a brigade of anti-Communist Cuban exiles for an invasion of their homeland. The Joint Chiefs of

³³² Paul Harper and Joann P. Krieg, eds., John F. Kennedy, The Promise Revisited, Greenwood Press, New York, Copyright by Hofstra University, 1988. pp. 7 - 11. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 57 - 58.

³³³ Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy, 1965. p. 248. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House, 1965. p. 4. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 50.

Staff unanimously advised the new president that this force, once ashore, would spark a general uprising against the Cuban leader, Fidel Castro. But the Bay of Pigs invasion was a fiasco; every man on the beachhead was either killed or captured. Kennedy assumed "sole responsibility" for the setback.³³⁴

The Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev, thought he had taken the young president's measure when the two leaders met in Vienna in June 1961. Khrushchev ordered a wall built between East and West Berlin and threatened to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany. The president activated National Guard and reserve units, and Khrushchev backed down on his separate peace threat. In October 1962 a buildup of Soviet short-and intermediate-range nuclear missiles was discovered in Cuba. Kennedy demanded that the missiles be dismantled; he ordered a "quarantine" of Cuba—in effect, a blockade that would stop Soviet ships from reaching that island. For 13 days nuclear war seemed near; then the Soviet premier announced that the offensive weapons would be withdrawn. Ten months later Kennedy scored his greatest foreign triumph when Khrushchev and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of Great Britain joined him in signing the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty.³³⁵

Because of his slender victory in 1960, Kennedy approached Congress warily, and with good reason; Congress was largely indifferent to his legislative program. It approved his Alliance for Progress in Latin America and his Peace Corps, which won the enthusiastic endorsement of thousands of college students. But his two most cherished projects, massive income tax cuts and a sweeping civil rights measure, were not passed until after his death.³³⁶

President Kennedy believed that his Republican opponent in 1964 would be Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. He was convinced that he could bury Goldwater under an avalanche of votes, thus receiving a mandate for major legislative reforms. One obstacle to his plan was a feud in Vice President Johnson's home state of Texas between Governor John B. Connally, Jr., and Senator Ralph Yarborough, both Democrats. To present a show of unity,

³³⁴ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days. John F. Kennedy in the White House, 1965. pp. 243, 247 - 297, 315.

³³⁵ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days. John F. Kennedy in the White House, 1965. pp. 303, 344 - 350, 370 - 373, 375 - 376, 379, 381, 394 - 397, 630, 796 - 797, 803 - 804, 902 - 911, 978 - 979.

³³⁶ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days. John F. Kennedy in the White House, 1965. pp. 168, 193 - 197, 204 - 205, 604 - 609, 650 - 651, 950 - 978.

the President decided to tour the state with both men. On Friday, Nov. 22, 1963, he and Jacqueline Kennedy were in a motorcade riding slowly through downtown Dallas in an open limousine. At 12:30 PM a sniper opened fire.

Two rifle bullets struck the president, at the base of his neck and in the head. He was dead upon arrival at Parkland Memorial Hospital. Governor Connally, though gravely wounded, recovered. Vice President Johnson took the oath as president at 2:38 PM, John Kennedy was dead.³³⁷

Lyndon B. Johnson

Lyndon B. Johnson was 36th president of the United States from 1963 to 1969. A moderate Democrat and vigorous U.S. Senate leader, he was elected vice president in 1960 and acceded to the presidency upon the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963. During his administration he signed into law the most comprehensive civil-rights legislation since Reconstruction, initiated major social service programs, and bore the brunt of national opposition to his administration's actions in Vietnam.

Though both his father and grandfather had served in the Texas legislature, the Johnson ranch along the Pedernales River was barren and the family very poor. As a young man he resisted college, preferring to hitchhike around the country taking odd jobs for a living. Eventually he enrolled at Southwest Texas State Teachers College at San Marcos, where he trained as a teacher in three years.

An early teaching job, at Sam Houston High School in Houston, Texas, introduced him to Mexican-Americans and, through them, to the problems of minorities. Working strenuously as a volunteer in state politics, he reaped considerable political benefit as a champion of that

³³⁷ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House, 1965. pp. 1019 - 1026. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 68 - 69. Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy, 1965. pp. 749 - 752. The President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, The Warren Report, United States Government Printing Office, 1964. Pp. 1 - 5.

minority. In 1932 he went to Washington, D.C., as legislative assistant to Representative Richard M. Kleberg, whose congressional campaign he had aided.³³⁸

Johnson was befriended by the powerful Sam Rayburn, soon to become speaker of the House, and his political career blossomed rapidly. Following two years as director of the National Youth Administration in Texas from 1935 to 1937, he ran successfully for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives at a time when the New Deal administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt was under heavy conservative attack. Impressed by Johnson's loyalty and astuteness, Roosevelt made him his political protégé, and for the next 12 years Johnson represented the 10th congressional district of Texas.³³⁹

In 1941 Johnson failed in a bid for elevation to the U.S. Senate in a special election. But in 1948 he tried again, and, in a vicious campaign that included vote fraud on both sides in the deciding Democratic primary, he narrowly won his seat in the Senate, where he remained for 12 years, becoming Democratic whip in 1951. During those years he developed his talent for negotiating and reaching accommodation among dissident political forces. By methods sometimes tactful but often ruthless, he created a remarkably disciplined group of Senate Democrats. As majority leader (1955-61), he stressed consensus, and his skilled leadership was largely responsible for passage of the civil-rights bills of 1957 and 1960, the first in the 20th century.³⁴⁰

By 1960 Johnson's prodigious political talents had made him something of a legend in national politics, and many were surprised when he accepted Kennedy's invitation to join the national Democratic ticket as a vice presidential candidate. However, he campaigned energetically, and many observers felt that his presence on the ticket was essential to the

³³⁸ Rowland Evans & Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, The New American Library, Inc. New York, Copyright by Authors, 1966. pp. 6 - 9. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 30 - 32.

³³⁹ Rowland Evans & Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, 1966. pp. 9 - 11. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 32 - 33.

³⁴⁰ Rowland Evans & Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, 1966. pp. 23 - 26, 223 - 304. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 33 - 34.

Democratic victory. Johnson endured without complaint the relative obscurity of his new office.³⁴¹

It was during a political tour of Johnson's own Texas in November 1963 that President Kennedy was assassinated, thrusting Johnson into the most difficult role of his long political career. In the tempestuous days after the death of Kennedy, Johnson helped to calm national hysteria and ensure continuity in the presidency. In his first few months in office the new president succeeded in getting Congress to pass highly important legislation that had been previously stalled concerning civil rights, tax reduction, an antipoverty program, and conservation.³⁴²

In the 1964 election, Lyndon B. Johnson won reelection as a Democrat with a popular vote of 43,126,218 or 61% and an electoral vote of 486. His Republican opponent Barry Goldwater received 27,174,898 or 39% of the popular vote and 52 electoral votes. Third party candidates were Eric Hass of the Socialist Labor Party receiving 45,186 popular votes, Clifton DeBerry of the Socialist Workers Party received 32,705 popular votes, and E. Harold Munn, Sr. Of the Prohibition Party received 23,267 popular votes, none received any electoral votes.

In November 1964 Johnson won reelection with an unprecedented popular majority of more than 15,000,000 votes, which he interpreted as an extraordinary mandate to pursue his domestic reform program aimed at creating what he called the "Great Society." Altogether, he succeeded in pushing through the most impressive mass of social legislation since the New Deal of the 1930s. Among these measures were the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which attacked racial segregation in public accommodations and schools and racial discrimination in employment; the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which outlawed the literacy tests used to prevent blacks from voting; and the Medicare bill of 1965, which provided a system of health insurance for the elderly under the Social Security program. Johnson undertook other important initiatives in education, housing and urban development, transportation,

³⁴¹ Rowland Evans & Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, 1966. pp. 305 - 332. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 33 - 35.

³⁴² Rowland Evans & Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, 1966. pp. 332 - 337. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 36 - 37.

environmental conservation, and immigration. But the effect of these accomplishments was vitiated by increasing U.S. military involvement in the war in Indochina, which had begun under the previous administration.³⁴³

Despite specific campaign pledges not to extend hostilities, the president and his advisers, fearful that South Vietnam would fall before communist aggression, steadily increased U.S. intervention until 500,000 American troops were in Indochina by 1967. As each new escalation met with fresh enemy response and as no end to the combat appeared in sight, the president's public support diminished markedly. His gravest criticism came from the "doves," those who favored an early negotiated settlement of the war. Strident student opposition to both the war and the draft system spread to include liberals, intellectuals, and civil-rights leaders, while the administration's budget, once geared to the abolition of poverty and racial injustice, buckled under the strain of wartime spending.³⁴⁴

On March 31, 1968, after three of the most turbulent years in U.S. political history, Johnson startled television viewers with a national address that included three announcements: that he had just ordered major reductions in the bombing of North Vietnam, that he was requesting peace talks, and that he would neither seek nor accept his party's renomination to the presidency.³⁴⁵

Richard M. Nixon

Richard M. Nixon was the 37th president of the United States from 1969 to 1974, who, faced with almost certain impeachment, became the first U.S. president to resign from office. He also was vice president 1953 to 1961 under President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The son of a grocer, Nixon graduated from Whittier College in 1934 and from Duke University Law School, in 1937. He entered law practice in Whittier in 1937 and served briefly in the Office of Price Administration in Washington, D.C., soon after the outbreak

³⁴³ Rowland Evans & Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, 1966. pp. 426 - 436, 465, 480 - 483, 493, 497, 558 - 560, 571 - 572.. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 37 - 39, 42, 44 - 45.

³⁴⁴ Rowland Evans & Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, 1966. pp. 530 - 574 passim. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 45 - 46.

³⁴⁵ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 47.

of World War II. In August 1942 he joined the navy and served as an aviation ground officer in the Pacific. Following his return to civilian life in California, he was twice elected to the U.S. House of Representatives (1947, 1949). During this period, Nixon served on the House Un-American Activities Committee, taking a leading role in the investigation of Alger Hiss, a former State Department official who had been accused of spying for the Soviet Union.³⁴⁶

In 1950 Nixon was elected to the U.S. Senate after a campaign in which he claimed his opponent had communist sympathies; Nixon's reputation as an anticommunist made him a desirable running mate for Eisenhower in the 1952 campaign, which emphasized that issue. Nixon served two terms as vice president under Eisenhower. He was narrowly defeated by the Democrat John F. Kennedy in the 1960 presidential election, and after losing the California gubernatorial election in 1962, Nixon announced his retirement from politics and moved to New York City to practice law.³⁴⁷

Nixon reentered politics as a candidate in the 1968 presidential election. He initiated what came to be known as the "southern strategy," in which the Republican Party sought the support of conservative voters in southern and western states, often neglecting the interests of Americans, particularly blacks, in northern and northeastern cities. The campaign took place amidst severe social and political turmoil; protests against U.S. participation in the Vietnam War were widespread. Nixon defeated the Democratic nominee, Hubert H. Humphrey, in a close vote.³⁴⁸

The vote in the election was Nixon, 31,770,237 or 43.4% of the popular vote with 301 electoral votes, Hubert Humphrey 31,270,533 or 42.7% of the popular vote with 191 electoral votes. Third party candidates were George Wallace as a member of the American Independent Party, receiving 9,906,141 or 13.5% of the popular vote and 46 electoral votes, Hennings Blomen of the Socialist Labor Party received 52,588 popular votes but no electoral votes, Dick Gregory of the New Party received 47,097 popular votes but no

³⁴⁶ Roger Morris, Richard Milhous Nixon: The Rise of an American Politician, Henry Holt and Company, New York, Copyright by Author, 1990. pp. 67 - 68, 78, 151 - 161, 182 - 185, 234 - 247, 271, 368, 383 - 386. David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 5 - 7.

³⁴⁷ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 7 - 10.

³⁴⁸ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 11 - 12.

electoral votes, Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party received 41,300 popular votes but no electoral votes, Eldridge Cleaver of the Peace & Freedom Party received 36,385 popular votes but no electoral votes, and Eugene J. McCarthy of the New Party received 25,858 popular votes but no electoral votes.

After his inauguration in January 1969, Nixon adjusted the U.S. strategy in Vietnam. A gradual withdrawal of U.S. forces was undertaken, and U.S. field commanders were ordered to minimize casualties. Under a policy known as "Vietnamization," the U.S. troops' combat role was progressively taken over by South Vietnamese troops, who nevertheless remained heavily dependent on American supplies and air support. This policy was part of the so-called Nixon Doctrine of reducing U.S. military forces abroad by assisting smaller nations to defend themselves through military and economic aid.³⁴⁹

At the same time, Nixon escalated U.S. air attacks against North Vietnam. He also ordered secret bombing campaigns against North Vietnamese supply centers and staging areas in the neutral nations of Laos and Cambodia. In the spring of 1970, U.S. and South Vietnamese forces attacked North Vietnamese sanctuaries in Cambodia. This action caused widespread protest in the United States, notably at Kent State University in Ohio, where four students were killed by national guardsmen during an antiwar demonstration. Nixon ordered government agencies to collect intelligence on prominent antiwar organizations and sought to discredit individuals who were critical of his Vietnam strategy.³⁵⁰

Renominated in 1972, Nixon defeated his Democratic challenger, the liberal Senator George S. McGovern, in one of the largest landslide victories in U.S. presidential history. Nixon receiving 46,740,323 or 61% of the popular vote and 520 electoral votes and McGovern receiving 28,901,598 or 38% of the popular vote and 17 electoral votes. Third party candidates were John Schmitz of the American Party and received 993,199 popular votes, Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party received 96,176 popular votes, Benjamin Spock

³⁴⁹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 13. Richard Nixon, In The Arena: A Memoir Of Victory, Defeat, And Renewal, Simon and Schuster, New York, Copyright by Author, 1990. pp. 341 - 344.

³⁵⁰ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 14 - 17. Richard Nixon, In The Arena: A Memoir Of Victory, Defeat, And Renewal, 1990. pp. 333 - 335, 432.

of the People's Party received 77,080 popular votes, and Louis Fisher of the Socialist Labor Party received 53,617 popular votes.

His second term began with the effective ending of U.S. participation in the war in January 1973 after his national-security adviser, Henry Kissinger, had conducted intensive negotiations with the North Vietnamese. U.S. bombing raids on Cambodia continued, however, until August, and the administration was heavily criticized when the 1969-70 secret bombing of Laos and Cambodia was revealed and investigators discovered that the U.S. Air Force and the Department of Defense had falsified reports to conceal the bombing.³⁵¹

In domestic affairs, inflation was President Nixon's most persistent economic problem. Initially, he tried to cut federal expenditures; but the annual budget deficits of his administration grew to become the largest in history up to that time. In 1971 and 1973 the administration devalued the dollar in an attempt to achieve a balance of trade. Despite his well-known aversion to government controls, Nixon initiated on August 15, 1971 his New Economic Policy, which included unprecedented peacetime controls on wages and prices. With the opportunity to appoint four Supreme Court justices, the president sought, with mixed success, to redirect the court toward the "strict constructionism" he espoused.³⁵²

In foreign affairs, Nixon's most significant action may have been the reopening of direct communications with the People's Republic of China after a 21-year estrangement. In February 1972 he paid a state visit to China. This rapprochement in East Asia gave Nixon a stronger position during his visit to Moscow in May, the first by a U.S. president. At its conclusion the United States and the Soviet Union announced the SALT I nuclear arms limitation agreements as well as a bilateral-trade accord and plans for joint scientific and space ventures.³⁵³

³⁵¹ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 19 - 21. Richard Nixon, In The Arena: A Memoir Of Victory, Defeat, And Renewal, 1990. pp. 272, 339 - 344.

³⁵² David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. p. 17. Richard Nixon, In The Arena: A Memoir Of Victory, Defeat, And Renewal, 1990. p. 364. Roger Morris, Richard Milhous Nixon: The Rise of an American Politician, 1990. p. 176 - 177.

³⁵³ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 117 - 18.

The president's second term, however, was dominated by the so-called Watergate Scandal, which resulted from illegal activities by Nixon and his aides during the 1972 election campaign.

By mid-1974, several of the president's closest aides, including two former cabinet officers, had been indicted on criminal charges, and several had been convicted. The release during July 1974 of the audio tapes of Nixon's conversations, which demonstrated that Nixon had obstructed justice and had made false and misleading public statements after the break-in, resulted in a dissolving of support from his own party, both in Congress and throughout the country. In that month the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives voted three articles of impeachment against Nixon.³⁵⁴

Nixon announced his resignation on the evening of August 8, effective August 9, and was succeeded by Vice President Gerald R. Ford. Nixon was not convicted for his alleged involvement in the Watergate scandal but was granted a pardon by President Ford in September 1974.³⁵⁵

Gerald R. Ford

Gerald R. Ford was the 38th president of the United States from 1974 to 1977, who, as 40th vice president, succeeded to the presidency on the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon.

³⁵⁴ David C. Whitney, The Graphic Story of the American Presidents, 1973. pp. 21 - 27. Richard Nixon, In The Arena: A Memoir Of Victory, Defeat, And Renewal, 1990. pp. 33 - 44, 90.

On June 17, 1972, five men hired by the Republican Party's Committee to Re-elect the President had been arrested while burglarizing and wiretapping the national headquarters of the Democratic Party at the Watergate office complex in Washington, D.C. In the days following the break-in, Nixon had directed the White House counsel, John Dean, to oversee a "cover-up" to conceal the administration's involvement, obstructed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its inquiry, and authorized cash payments to the Watergate burglars in an effort to prevent them from implicating the administration.

A number of major newspapers, led by The Washington Post, undertook investigations of the White House's involvement with the burglary, and in February 1973 a special Senate committee was established to investigate the affair. In televised public hearings, Dean accused the president of involvement in the cover-up, and others testified to illegal activity by the administration and the campaign staff. In July the committee learned that in 1969 Nixon had installed a recording system in the White House and that all of the president's conversations had been recorded; Nixon then began a long and ultimately futile effort to conceal these recordings from investigators.

³⁵⁵ Richard Nixon, In The Arena: A Memoir Of Victory, Defeat, And Renewal, 1990. pp. 15 - 24.

In 1948 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Republican and was reelected successively thereafter, becoming House minority leader in 1965. After the resignation of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, President Nixon, on Oct. 12, 1973, nominated Ford to fill the vacant vice-presidential post. He was sworn in on December 6, the first vice president to take office in the middle of an administration.³⁵⁶

Ford's succession to the presidency on Aug. 9, 1974, after Nixon's resignation, marked the first time in U.S. history that the holder of the presidential office had not been elected either as president or as vice president. On September 8 Ford granted a full pardon to Nixon "for all offenses against the United States" that he might have committed while in office. The pardon effectively squelched any criminal prosecutions that Nixon might have been liable to in connection with the Watergate Scandal. To counter a widespread negative reaction to the pardon, Ford voluntarily appeared before a subcommittee of the House of Representatives on October 17 to explain his reasoning, the first time an incumbent president had formally testified before a committee of Congress.³⁵⁷

Ford's administration coped gradually but successfully with the high rate of inflation inherited from the Nixon administration. Ford's relations with the Democratic controlled Congress were perhaps typified by his more than 50 vetoes of legislation by the end of 1976; more than 40 were sustained.³⁵⁸

In the final days of the Vietnam War in April 1975, Ford ordered an airlift of anticommunist Vietnamese refugees that totaled 237,000, most of whom were taken to the United States. Later that year two attempts were made on Ford's life.³⁵⁹

In a close contest at the Republican convention in August 1976, Ford won his party's nomination, despite a serious challenge by Ronald Reagan. That fall he became the first

³⁵⁶ Jerald F. terHorst, Gerald Ford: and the Future of the Presidency, The Third Press, Joseph Okpaku Publishing Company, Inc., New York, Copyright by Author, 1974. pp. 49 - 51, 53, 89 - 90, 139 - 142.

³⁵⁷ Jerald F. terHorst, Gerald Ford: and the Future of the Presidency, 1974. pp. 184 - 185. John Robert Greene, The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford, University Press of Kansas, Copyright by the University of Kansas, 1995. pp. 52, 56 - 57.

³⁵⁸ John Robert Greene, The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford, 1995. pp. 29, 68 - 81, 84.

³⁵⁹ John Robert Greene, The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford, University Press of Kansas, Copyright by the University of Kansas, 1995. pp. 34, 140 - 141.

incumbent president to agree to public debates with a challenger, Jimmy Carter, the Democratic nominee. Running substantially behind from the beginning of the campaign, Ford was defeated in the November election.³⁶⁰

Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter was the 39th president of the United States from 1977 to 1981.

The son of a peanut warehouseman and Georgia state legislator, Carter graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1946. He served in the navy for seven years, five of them on submarines, working with Adm. Hyman G. Rickover on the nuclear submarine program. At his father's death in 1953 he resigned his commission and returned to Georgia to manage the family peanut farm operations. He won election as a Democrat to the Georgia State Senate in 1962 and was reelected in 1964. Carter won the governorship of Georgia in 1970. In his inaugural address he announced that "the time for racial discrimination is over" and proceeded to open Georgia's government offices to blacks and women. He reorganized the existing maze of state agencies and consolidated them into larger units while introducing stricter budgeting procedures for them.³⁶¹

Carter announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president in 1974, just before his term as governor ended. Though lacking a national political base or major backing, Carter managed through tireless and systematic campaigning to assemble a broad constituency whose votes enabled him to win the Democratic nomination in July 1976. Carter chose the liberal U.S. senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota as his running mate and defeated the incumbent Republican president, Gerald R. Ford, in November 1976, winning 40,828,587 or 51 percent of the popular vote and garnering 297 electoral votes to Ford's 39,147,613 or 48% and 240 electoral votes.³⁶² Third parties were Eugene J. McCarthy

³⁶⁰ John Robert Greene, The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford, University Press of Kansas, Copyright by the University of Kansas, 1995. pp. 158 - 172, 187.

³⁶¹ Jimmy Carter, Turning Point, Published by Times Books, a Division of Random House, Inc., New York, Copyright by Author, 1992. Pp. 54 - 57, 168 - 169, 181 - 182, 205 - 211.

³⁶² John Robert Greene, The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford, University Press of Kansas, Copyright by the University of Kansas, 1995. p. 187. Martin Schram, Running for President 1976: The Carter Campaign, Stein and Day, Publishers, New York, Copyright by Author, 1977. pp. 63, 204 - 217, 239 - 250, 271, 273, 309.

as an Independent received 751,728 popular votes, Roger MacBride as a Libertarian received 172,750 popular votes, Lester G. Maddox as an American Independent received 170,780 popular votes, Thomas Anderson in the American Party received 160,600 popular votes, Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party received 91,226 popular votes, Gus Hall of the Communist Party received 59,114 popular votes, and Margaret Wright of the People's Party received 49,024 popular votes.

During his administration, Carter tried to reinforce his image as a man of the people. He adopted an informal style of dress and speech in public appearances, held frequent press conferences, and reduced the pomp of the presidency. Carter's ambitious programs for social, administrative, and economic reform, however, met with opposition in Congress despite the Democratic majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. By 1978 Carter's initial popularity had dissipated in the face of his inability to convert his ideas into legislative realities.³⁶³

In foreign affairs, although Carter's championship of international human rights received prominent attention, his major achievements were on the more pragmatic level of patient diplomacy. In 1977 he obtained two treaties between the United States and Panama that would give the latter control over the Panama Canal at the end of 1999 and would guarantee the neutrality of that waterway thereafter. On Jan. 1, 1979, Carter established full diplomatic relations between the United States and China and simultaneously broke official ties with Taiwan. In 1978 Carter brought Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin together at Camp David and secured their agreement to the Camp David Accords, which ended the state of war that had existed between the two countries since Israel's founding in 1948. The accords provided for the establishment of full diplomatic and economic relations between them on condition that Israel return the occupied Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. In 1979, Carter also signed with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in Vienna a new bilateral strategic arms limitation treaty, SALT II, that would

³⁶³ Betty Glad, *Jimmy Carter: In Search of the Great White House*, W. W. Norton and Company, New York, Copyright by W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1980. pp. 353 - 355, 437 - 449.

establish parity in strategic nuclear weapons delivery systems between the two superpowers on terms that could be adequately verified.³⁶⁴

These substantial foreign policy successes were soon overshadowed by a serious crisis in foreign affairs and by a groundswell of popular discontent over Carter's economic policies. On Nov. 4, 1979, a mob of Iranian students stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took the diplomatic staff there hostage. Their actions were soon sanctioned by Iran's revolutionary government, and a standoff developed between the United States and Iran over the issue of the captive diplomats. Carter's response was to temporize and try to negotiate the hostages' release while avoiding a direct confrontation with the Iranian government. This stance initially met with public approval, but by the time a secret U.S. military mission in April 1980 failed to rescue the hostages, Carter's inability to obtain the hostages' release had become a major political liability for him. He responded more forcibly to the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 when he placed an embargo on the shipment of American grain to that country and pressed for a U.S. boycott of the 1980 summer Olympics due to be held in Moscow.³⁶⁵

On the home front, Carter's management of the economy was arousing widespread concern. The inflation rate had climbed higher each year since he took office, rising from 6 percent in 1976 to more than 12 percent by 1980. Unemployment remained high at 7.5 percent, and volatile interest rates reached a high of 20 percent or more twice during 1980.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ Charles O. Jones, The Trusteeship Presidency: Jimmy Carter and the United States Congress, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, Copyright by Louisiana State University Press, 1988. pp. 155 - 160, 169 - 174, 203, 214. Ronnie Dugger, On Reagan: The Man & His Presidency, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, Copyright by Author, 1983. pp. 237 - 238, 374. Carter removed the treaty from consideration by the Senate in January 1980 after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan.

³⁶⁵ Charles O. Jones, The Trusteeship Presidency: Jimmy Carter and the United States Congress, 1988. pp. 174 - 199 passim. Betty Glad, Jimmy Carter: In Search of the Great White House, 1980. pp. 443 - 446, 458 - 472.

³⁶⁶ Charles O. Jones, The Trusteeship Presidency: Jimmy Carter and the United States Congress, 1988. pp. 174 - 199 passim. Betty Glad, Jimmy Carter: In Search of the Great White House, 1980. pp. 443 - 446, 458 - 472. Ronnie Dugger, On Reagan: The Man & His Presidency, 1983. pp. 326 - 327, 337 - 338. Lou Cannon, President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime, Simon & Schuster, New York, Copyright by Author, 1991. pp. 106 - 107.

Despite the apparent failure of his domestic reform and economic policies and the diplomatic crises of 1979, Carter won the Democratic presidential nomination in 1980. But public confidence in Carter's executive abilities had fallen to an irretrievable low, and in the elections held that November he was overwhelmingly defeated by Republican nominee Ronald W. Reagan, winning only 41 percent of the popular vote.³⁶⁷

Ronald W. Reagan

Ronald W. Reagan was the 40th president of the United States from 1981 to 1989, noted for his conservative Republicanism.

The son of a shoe salesman, Reagan graduated from Eureka College, Illinois, in 1932. He then became a radio sports announcer in Iowa. In 1937 he began a long career as a motion-picture actor, eventually appearing in about 50 films, notably including Knute Rockne—All American (1940), Kings Row (1942), and The Hasty Heart (1950). From 1947 to 1952 and again during 1959-60, he served as president of the Screen Actors Guild, cooperating with efforts to combat alleged communist influences in the American motion-picture industry.³⁶⁸

When his movie career declined in the 1950s, Reagan became a traveling spokesman for the General Electric Company as well as the host of General Electric Theater on television (1954-62). During that time he changed from a liberal and a Democrat to a conservative Republican.³⁶⁹

In 1966 he ran for governor of California as a Republican. He won the election and was reelected in 1970. During his two terms (1967-74), he had only moderate success in promulgating his programs.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Michael Tomasky, Left For Dead, The Life, Death, and Possible Resurrection of Progressive Politics in America, The Free Press, Division of Simon and Schuster Inc., New York, Copyright by Author, 1996. pp. 4 - 6, 99. Appendix 1.

³⁶⁸ Anne Edwards, Early Reagan, William Morrow and Company Inc., New York, Copyright by Author, 1987. pp. 37, 112, 206 - 208, 213 - 214, 241 - 244, 297 - 299, 307, 309 - 310, 321 - 322, 326, 332 - 335, 341 - 342, 344, 343, 346 - 348, 350 - 352, 362 - 367, 396, 406, 409, 418, 441, 459, 461, 467, 491.

³⁶⁹ Anne Edwards, Early Reagan, 1987. pp. 417 - 418, 452 - 458, 461, 472 - 473.

³⁷⁰ Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 824 - 826. William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993. pp. 641 - 642.

Reagan made a bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968 and seriously, but unsuccessfully, attempted to take the nomination away from President Gerald Ford in 1976. In 1980 he won the Republican presidential nomination. In the ensuing campaign he combined a conservative platform with an optimistic and genial celebration of traditional American values. He achieved a landslide victory over Jimmy Carter. Reagan received 43,899,248 or 51% of the popular vote and 489 electoral votes to 35,481,435 or 41% of the popular vote and 49 electoral votes for Carter.³⁷¹ Third party candidates were John B. Anderson as an Independent receiving 5,719,437 popular votes, Ed Clark as a Libertarian receiving 920,859 popular votes, Barry H. Commoner with the Citizens' Party receiving 230,377 popular votes, Gus Hall with the Communist Party receiving 43,871 popular votes, John Rarick representing the American Independent Party receiving 41,172 popular votes, Clifton DeBerry and the Socialist Workers Party receiving 40,105 popular votes, and Ellen McCormack with the Respect for Life Party receiving 32,319 popular votes.

Reagan fell victim to an assassination attempt shortly after taking office. On March 30, 1981, a 25-year-old named John W. Hinckley, Jr., shot and seriously wounded the president, but Reagan made a complete recovery.³⁷²

Adopting supply-side economic policies, Reagan proposed to greatly increase military expenditures and sharply reduce nondefense spending while simultaneously lowering taxes, thinking that all this would produce rapid economic growth and that the resulting increase in government revenues, through expansion of the base of taxable income, would ultimately balance the federal budget. In 1981 Congress passed most of the president's proposals, drastically cutting nondefense spending and approving a reduction in personal income taxes as well as speedier business depreciation tax write-offs.

The results were mixed. A recession in 1982 was followed by several years of growth. Inflation dropped to about 3.5 percent during Reagan's tenure, but massive budget deficits

³⁷¹ Michael Tomasky, Left For Dead: The Life, Death, and Possible Resurrection of Progressive Politics in America, 1996: pp. 4 - 6, 99. Appendix 1.

³⁷² Lou Cannon, President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime, 1991. pp. 198 - 199.

resulted from the tax cuts; the national debt consequently doubled in size during the period 1981-86.³⁷³

Reagan launched the largest peacetime military buildup in American history. In 1983 he proposed the construction of a U.S. strategic defense system under a controversial program known as the Strategic Defense Initiative. In foreign affairs he took a strongly anticommunist stance. Arms-control negotiations with the Soviet Union were undertaken with reluctance and extreme caution. The major foreign-policy successes were the U.S. military invasion of the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada to oust a Marxist government in 1983 and Reagan's summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev in 1988, when they signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF Treaty) limiting intermediate-range nuclear missiles.³⁷⁴

President Reagan and his second wife, Nancy Davis Reagan, were generally popular with the American public during his terms in office. His appealing personality reinforced his evident talent for communicating with the public.

Reagan ran for reelection in 1984 against the liberal Democrat Walter Mondale. Reagan achieved a landslide victory, winning 54,455,074 or 59% of the popular vote and 525 electoral votes to Mondale's 37,577,137 or 41 percent of the popular vote and 13 electoral votes. Third Parties were Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. as an Independent receiving 78,807 popular votes, David Bergland as a Libertarian receiving 228,314 popular votes, Sonia Johnson with the Citizens' Party receiving 72,200 popular votes, Bob Richards with the Populist Party receiving 66,336 popular votes, Gus Hall with the Communist Party receiving 36,386 popular votes, and Dennis L. Serrette with the Independent Alliance Party receiving 46,852 popular votes.

In 1985 he signed legislation making cuts in government spending mandatory in order to balance the federal budget by 1991. He continued to press for increases in defense spending while resisting proposals for tax increases to reduce the government's continuing deficits.

³⁷³ Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 827 - 831. William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993. pp. 652 - 653.

³⁷⁴ Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 831 - 837. William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993. pp. 657 - 658.

His proposals to simplify and overhaul the federal tax codes, drastically modified by Congress, were passed in 1985-86.³⁷⁵

In late 1986 it was learned that the Reagan administration had shipped arms to the radical Islamic fundamentalist government of Iran in an apparent effort to obtain the release of Americans being held hostage by Iranian-influenced terrorists in Beirut, Lebanon. It soon became known that high officials on the National Security Council had secretly diverted some of the profits from the Iranian arms deals to the U.S.-supported insurgency against the Marxist Sandinista government of Nicaragua. These revelations for a time significantly weakened both Reagan's popularity and his governing authority.³⁷⁶

George Bush

George Bush, politician and businessman who was vice president of the United States from 1981 to 1989 and was the 41st president of the United States from 1989 to 1993.

He was the son of Prescott Sheldon Bush, an investment banker and U.S. senator from Connecticut. The young Bush grew up in Greenwich, Conn., and attended private schools there and in Andover, Mass. Upon graduation from Phillips Academy, Andover, he joined the U.S. Naval Reserve and served from 1942 to 1944 as a torpedo bomber pilot on aircraft carriers in the Pacific during World War II, and won the Distinguished Flying Cross.³⁷⁷

Bush attended Yale University, graduating in 1948. Rejecting a position in his father's firm, he moved to Texas and became a salesman of oil-field supplies. He co-founded the Zapata Petroleum Corporation in 1953 and the Zapata Off-Shore Company in 1954. He became active in the Republican Party in Houston in 1959, and, after losing a campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1964, he was elected in 1966 to a safely Republican seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. He gave up the seat in 1970 to run again, unsuccessfully, for the Senate. President Richard M. Nixon chose Bush to serve as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations from 1971 to 1972. In 1973, as the Watergate Scandal was erupting, Bush became chairman

³⁷⁵ Frank N. Magill and John L. Loos, eds., *The American Presidents, Roosevelt to Reagan*, 1986. Vol. III, pp. 821, 839. William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993. pp. 658 - 659.

³⁷⁶ William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993. pp. 655 - 656.

³⁷⁷ William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993. pp. 664 - 672.

of the Republican National Committee, in which post he stood by President Nixon until August 1974, when he called on the president to resign. President Gerald R. Ford appointed him chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Peking later that year. He served in this capacity until he was called home to head the Central Intelligence Agency from 1976 to 1977.³⁷⁸

In 1980 Bush mounted a campaign for the Republican Party's nomination for the presidency but abandoned it in May to support Ronald W. Reagan, who chose Bush as his running mate. Reagan defeated the Democratic candidate in the 1980 presidential election. As vice president, Bush won Reagan's loyalty, and the two were reelected in 1984 for a second term.³⁷⁹

As vice president, Bush was an early and leading candidate for his party's nomination to the presidency in 1988. He secured the nomination and defeated the Democratic candidate, Michael Dukakis, in the November 1988 presidential election, winning 48,886,097 or 54% of the popular vote and 426 electoral votes to Dukakis' 41,809,074 or 46% of the popular vote and 11 electoral votes.³⁸⁰ Third parties were Ron Paul as a Libertarian receiving 432,179 popular votes, Lenora B. Fulani of the New Alliance Party receiving 217,219 popular votes, David Duke and the Populist Party receiving 47,047 popular votes, Eugene J. McCarthy and the Consumer Party receiving 30,905 popular votes, James C. Griffin with the American Independent Party receiving 27,818 popular votes, and Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. As an Independent received 25,562 popular votes. None of the above candidates in the third party status received any electoral votes.

A moderate conservative, Bush made no drastic departures from Reagan's policies as president, though at first he eschewed his predecessor's confrontational approach to the Democratic-controlled Congress. In December 1989 Bush ordered a brief military invasion of Panama, which toppled that country's leader, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, who had been indicted in the United States on drug-trafficking charges.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993, pp. 672 - 676.

³⁷⁹ William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993, pp. 676 - 679.

³⁸⁰ William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993, pp. 679 - 684.

³⁸¹ William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993, pp. 689, 691 - 692.

When Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990, Bush led a worldwide United Nations-approved embargo against Iraq to force its withdrawal. He also sent a U.S. military contingent to Saudi Arabia to safeguard that nation against Iraqi pressure and intimidation. He skillfully built up a coalition of western European and Arab states against Iraq, and, over the objections of those who favored giving the embargo more time to work, he increased the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf region to about 500,000 troops within a few months. After Iraq failed to withdraw from Kuwait, Bush authorized a U.S.-led air offensive that began on January 16-17, 1991. The ensuing Persian Gulf War culminated in an Allied ground offensive in late February that decimated Iraq's armies and restored Kuwait to independence. Bush showed much less initiative in domestic affairs, though he initially worked with Congress in efforts to reduce the federal government's continuing large deficits. Bush earned widespread praise for his leadership during the Persian Gulf War, but his popularity dissipated when an economic recession that began late in 1990 persisted into 1992. Bush lost his bid for reelection in the 1992 presidential campaign to the Democratic candidate, Bill Clinton.³⁸²

William J. Clinton

William J. Clinton, American politician who became the 42nd president of the United States in 1993. He was elected to a second term in 1996.

Bill Clinton graduated from Georgetown University in 1968 with a degree in international affairs and then attended the University of Oxford as a Rhodes scholar for two years. He graduated from the Yale University Law School in 1973 and joined the faculty of the University of Arkansas School of Law that same year. Clinton directed the presidential campaign of Democratic candidate George McGovern in 1972 for Texas and that of Jimmy Carter in 1976 in his home state, and in 1974 he ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was elected attorney general of Arkansas in 1976, and in 1978

³⁸² William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993. pp. 693 - 697.

he was elected governor, becoming at age 32 the youngest governor the nation had seen in 40 years.³⁸³

After an eventful two-year term as governor, Clinton failed in his reelection bid in 1980 but regained the governor's office in 1982, after which he was successively reelected three more times by substantial margins. A pragmatic Democrat, he reformed Arkansas' neglected educational system and encouraged the growth of industry in his state through favorable tax policies.³⁸⁴

Clinton campaigned for and won the Democratic presidential nomination in 1992 after withstanding charges early in the primary campaigns of personal impropriety. He selected Senator Al Gore as his running mate and went on to win the presidential election that November, defeating the Republican incumbent, George Bush, and independent candidate Ross Perot.³⁸⁵ Bill Clinton received 43,728,275 or 43% of the popular vote and 370 electoral votes while his main opponent George Bush received 38,167,416 or 37% of the popular vote and 168 electoral votes. The third party in this race was that of Independent challenger Ross Perot with a popular vote of 19,237,247 or 19%.

In 1993, Clinton obtained narrow Congressional approval of legislation designed to reduce the federal government's continuing large budget deficits through a combination of increased taxes on the wealthy and modest cuts in government programs. Later that year he won Congressional approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement, which created a free-trade zone between the United States, Canada, and Mexico.³⁸⁶

³⁸³ Stanley A. Renshon, ed., The Clinton Presidency. Campaigning, Governing, and the Psychology of Leadership, Westview Press, Boulder, Copyright by Westview Press, Inc., 1995. pp. 63, 138. William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993. pp. 712 - 713.

³⁸⁴ William A. Degregorio, The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents, 1993. pp. 713 - 717.

³⁸⁵ Ross Perot received more votes than any other third party candidate with 19.7 million people voting for him, and he received the largest overall percentage of votes by a third party candidate since Theodore Roosevelt's 27 percent, with 19 percent after pulling out of the race for a short time. This made Clinton's win the fourth smallest share at 43 percent. Carolyn Barta, Perot and His People. Disrupting the Balance of Power, The Summit Group, Fort Worth, Copyright by The Summit Group, 1993. pp. 170 - 171.

³⁸⁶ Colin Campbell and Bert A. Rockman, eds., The Clinton Presidency. First Appraisals, Chatham House Publishers, New Jersey, Copyright by Chatham House Publishers, Inc., 1996. pp. 318, 340 - 341, 348.

Clinton spent a considerable portion of 1994 campaigning for Congressional passage of his plan to overhaul the U.S. health-care system. But the plan, which sought to control costs while simultaneously providing universal coverage for all Americans, died in Congress. Clinton's major foreign-policy ventures included a successful effort in September-October 1994 to reinstate Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who had been ousted by the military in 1991, and a commitment of U.S. forces to a peacekeeping initiative in Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁸⁷

In the Congressional elections of November 1994, the voters registered a strong rejection of Clinton and his policies; the Democrats lost control of both the Senate and the House of Representatives to the Republican Party for the first time since 1954. Clinton subsequently sought to accommodate some of the Republican agenda—offering a more aggressive deficit reduction plan—while opposing Republican efforts to slow the growth of government spending on social programs. He was reelected in November 1996, receiving 45,628,667 or 49% of the popular vote and 379 electoral votes defeating Republican challenger Bob Dole who received 37,869,435 or 41% of the popular vote and 159 electoral votes and independent candidate Ross Perot received 7,874,283 or 8% of the popular vote and no electoral votes.³⁸⁸

Conclusion

Types of Political Change

The study of political change is difficult, for change occurs in many different ways and at many different points in the political system. One may distinguish several major types of change.

Radical revolution

First are changes of the most fundamental type—transformations not only of the structure of government but of the whole polity. Such change is not limited to political life but

³⁸⁷ Colin Campbell and Bert A. Rockman, eds., *The Clinton Presidency, First Appraisals*, 1996. pp. 274 - 277, 303 - 305, 309 - 310.

³⁸⁸ Colin Campbell and Bert A. Rockman, eds., *The Clinton Presidency, First Appraisals*, 1996. pp. 338 - 340, 365 - 370. William A. Degregorio, *The Complete Book of U. S. Presidents*, 1993. pp. 723 - 725.

transforms also the social order, the moral basis, and the values of the whole society. Drastic change of this kind occurred in the four great revolutions of the modern era--the English Revolution of the 17th century, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Russian Revolution. These movements had the most profound effect on social and political life, permanently altering the beliefs by which men live. Their consequences were felt not only in the societies in which they occurred but also in many other political systems, in which, as a result of their example, revolutions of an equally fundamental character occurred.

Each of these major revolutions was something of a world revolution, for it resulted in a basic change in the ways in which men in all political systems viewed the nature of politics and the purpose of political life. The independence movements in the colonial empires after World War II, for example, were fueled by those principles of individual liberty and representative government that were once the slogans of 18th-century American and French revolutionaries. Marxist revolutionary concepts emphasizing economic progress and radical social change have shaped the development of many of the new nations. The continuing impact of such ideas is an example of another way in which fundamental political change occurs. The nature of a political system may be transformed not suddenly or violently in the course of revolution but by the gradual, corrosive influence of ideas and by the accumulating impact of different political philosophies.

Structural revision

A second type of change involves alterations to the structure of the political system. Such change is not fundamental, in the sense of a basic transformation of the nature of the regime, but it may produce great shifts in policy and other political outcomes. Because the structure of a political system--that is, its formal and informal institutional arrangements--is a major determinant of policy outcomes, it is frequently the target of political action of various kinds. The political activist, the reformer, and the revolutionary share the recognition that the policies of a government may be effectively changed by adjusting the institutional forms through which the government acts. In some systems, structural change has been accomplished by legal means. In the United States, for example, such major institutional reforms as the direct election of the Senate and the limitation on presidential

terms were made by constitutional amendment; and in Britain the various reforms of Parliament were accomplished by statute. In other systems, structural changes are often achieved by revolution and other violence.

Change of leaders

A third type of political change involves the replacement of leaders. Again, the recognition that to change the personnel of a government may be an effective way of changing government policy prompts many kinds of political action, ranging from election contests to political assassination and various forms of coup d'etat. In some systems the existence of established means of changing political leaderships works to prevent violent types of political action. In the United States the quadrennial contests for the presidency afford a constitutional opportunity to throw the whole executive leadership out of office. At the other extreme, the coup d'etat leads to the abrupt, often violent replacement of national executives. Although it is a type of revolution, the coup d'etat usually does not involve prolonged struggle or popular participation; after seizing office, the principal aim of the leaders of the coup is usually the restoration of public order. The coup d'etat occasionally develops into much more than the replacement of one set of governmental leaders by another, and may prove to be the initial stage of a truly revolutionary process; e.g., the coups d'etat that initiated Communist rule in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and ended King Farouk I's regime in Egypt in 1952.

Change of policies

Government policy itself may be an important agency of political change. The social and economic policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal is an example. In this case, government policies resulted in far-reaching modifications to the functioning of the political system: a vast expansion in the role of government in the economy, the use of taxes to redistribute wealth, an increase in the political influence of organized labor, and the implementation of national programs of social welfare. Major policy change of this type, of course, is often a response to widespread pressures and demands that, if not satisfied by the system, may intensify and lead to various forms of violent political action. At other times, however, policy changes are imposed by a government to achieve the political, social, and

economic goals of a single class, of an elite, or of the political leadership itself. Many important questions remain as to the reasons for change, the ways in which change occurs, and the effects of change. Political scientists are still not completely certain, for example, why some systems have managed to avoid violent political change for considerable periods, while in other systems change is typically accomplished through coups d'etat, revolutions, and other forms of internal warfare. As suggested above, the explanation may have much to do with the existence in countries such as the United States of well-established political institutions that permit peaceful change, the presence in the population of widely shared attitudes toward the government, and the existence of basic agreement on the legitimacy of state authority. Clearly, however, other factors are also involved. Perhaps one of the chief goals of the study of political systems should be to determine as exactly as possible the conditions and prerequisites of those forms of change that permit the peaceful and evolutionary development of human society and government.

With these different types of changes in government and the exchange of power from one party to another or form of government to another, a balance has to be struck in what is considered acceptable to that society in regards to the type of transition it is going to allow as its government matures through the different stages in its development.

I have outlined a brief synopsis of each of these transitions to see which of these transitions seems to be that which has been employed in our political development. It seems to show that transition do take place and was necessary to show that transitions can come about in more than one way. Obviously the type, out of the choices available, would be all of the above in some shape or form and at different stages in the progression of development.

The relationship between Plato's devolution theory and American government demonstrated through this is evident and clearly has effected the maturation of the American Political structure.

Devolution and the future of America

If we follow these transitions and peer into our modern era of political development, we can and will see that the verge of the abyss of tyranny is near. To ascertain where the state of affairs are and whether the American political system is about to make another, or the

last, transition, we should look not only at some of the previous criterion, but also a deep look at the prevailing culture driving it.

The modern American culture has developed into what is today liberal chaos. As Plato described for Democracy, as stated before, when Democracy gets to the point where unequals are forced to be equal, though obvious natural criterion are going to be present to cause this inequality, society will choke itself with liberty.

This liberality, when reaching its utmost profusion within a society, our society, leads us to perverse applications of this liberality. Examples abound within our country to demonstrate this point, from the way we treat criminals in giving them a better state of living conditions than those who work hard to provide them, the dissolution of families as a restriction on individual liberty, to the blatant disregard of law, or at least a great disrespect towards it.

To make this point clearer, with president Clinton, if, the American public, knowing that there is a distinct possibility that he has broken the law, but favors him despite this, sets in motion a dangerous precedent of putting the president above the law. Once we place anyone above the law, which is contrary to the notion of our society that everyone is equal before the law, then we create a way for the tyranny that is feared to raise it's head.

As a whole, it is easy to see the effects liberality have had on our society. This degradation of structure as Stephen in his response to Mill points out breaks the dams that contain society in a well ordered and structured cohesive unit. To break these dams and give total disregard to the institutions which provide these barriers is to invite a great flood of anarchy to sweep our land and drown us in the very thing we pursue. In response to our insatiable need for freedom, we will in our blindness and equality elect one who can capitalize on our ignorance, treating the bad equal to the good, who will take on this tyrannical role, stripping us of our freedoms. It is a dangerous path we are about to embark, will we elect a Ross Perot, another Bill Clinton, yes, we are too ignorant to do otherwise, and the tide of history is against us. This final transition, like those preceding it, is not dependent on anything but the continuous drive of the people to gain more independence from the dams and dikes that government provides against ourselves, but in our continual drive to break them we are breaking our country, a transitional process that will not be deterred.

Appendix 1

Presidents of the United States and Presidential Elections*					
Year	Candidate	Party	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote	Term
1789	GEORGE WASHINGTON	--	--	69	1789-93
1792	GEORGE WASHINGTON	Federalist	--	132	1793-97
1796	JOHN ADAMS Thomas Jefferson	Federalist Democratic Republican	-- --	71 68	1797-1801
1800	THOMAS JEFFERSON Aaron Burr	Democratic Republican Democratic Republican	-- --	73 73	1801-05
	John Adams	Federalist	--	65	
	C.C. Pinckney	Federalist	--	64	
	John Jay	Federalist	--	1	
1804	THOMAS JEFFERSON C.C. Pinckney	Democratic Republican Federalist	-- --	162 14	1805-09
1808	JAMES MADISON C.C. Pinckney George Clinton	Democratic Republican Federalist Independent Republican	-- -- --	122 47 6	1809-13
1812	JAMES MADISON De Witt Clinton	Democratic Republican Coalition	-- --	128 89	1813-17
1816	JAMES MONROE Rufus King	Democratic Republican Federalist	-- --	183 34	1817-21
1820	JAMES MONROE John Quincy Adams	Democratic Republican Independent Republican	-- --	231 1	1821-25
1824	JOHN QUINCY ADAMS Andrew Jackson W.H. Crawford Henry Clay	Democratic Republican -- -- --	108,740 153,544 46,618 47,136	84 99 41 37	1825-29
1828	ANDREW JACKSON John Quincy Adams	Democrat National Republican	647,286 508,064	178 83	1829-33
1832	ANDREW JACKSON Henry Clay John Floyd	Democrat National Republican Nullification	687,502 530,189 --	219 49 11	1833-37

	William Wirt	Anti-Mason	--	7	
1836	MARTIN VAN BUREN	Democrat	765,483	170	1837-41
	William H. Harrison	Whig		73	
	Hugh White	Whig	739,795	26	
	Daniel Webster	Whig		14	
	Willie P. Mangum	Anti-Jackson	--	11	
1840	WILLIAM H. HARRISON	Whig	1,274,624	234	1841
	Martin Van Buren	Democrat	1,127,781	60	
	John Tyler	Whig	--	-	1841-45
1844	JAMES KNOX POLK	Democrat	1,338,464	170	1845-49
	Henry Clay	Whig	1,300,097	105	
	James Birney	Liberty	62,300	-	
1848	ZACHARY TAYLOR	Whig	1,360,967	163	1849-50
	Lewis Cass	Democrat	1,222,342	127	
	Martin Van Buren	Free Soil	291,263	-	
	Millard Fillmore	Whig	--	-	1850-53
1852	FRANKLIN PIERCE	Democrat	1,601,117	254	1853-57
	Winfield Scott	Whig	1,385,453	42	
	John P. Hale	Free Soil	155,825	-	
1856	JAMES BUCHANAN	Democrat	1,832,955	174	1857-61
	John C. Frémont	Republican	1,339,932	114	
	Millard Fillmore	American	871,731	8	
1860	ABRAHAM LINCOLN	Republican	1,865,593	180	1861-65
	John Breckinridge	Democrat	848,356	72	
	John Bell	Constitutional Union	592,906	39	
	Stephen Douglas	Democrat	1,382,713	12	
1864	ABRAHAM LINCOLN	Republican	2,206,938	212	1865
	George McClellan	Democrat	1,803,787	21	
	Andrew Johnson	Republican	--	-	1865-69
1868	ULYSSES S. GRANT	Republican	3,013,421	214	1869-73
	Horatio Seymour	Democrat	2,706,829	80	
1872	ULYSSES S. GRANT	Republican	3,596,745	286	1873-77
	Horace Greeley	Democrat	2,843,446	63	
	Charles O'Connor	Independent	29,489	-	
1876	RUTHERFORD B. HAYES	Republican	4,036,572	185	1877-81
	Samuel J. Tilden	Democrat	4,284,020	184	
	Peter Cooper	Greenback	81,737	-	
1880	JAMES A. GARFIELD	Republican	4,453,295	214	1881
	Winfield Hancock	Democrat	4,414,082	155	
	James B. Weaver	Greenback-Labor	308,578	-	
	Neal Dow	Prohibition	10,305	-	
	Chester Alan Arthur	Republican	--	-	1881-85

1884	GROVER CLEVELAND	Democrat	4,879,507	219	1885-89
	James G. Blaine	Republican	4,850,293	182	
	Benjamin Butler	Greenback-Labor	175,370	-	
	John P. St. John	Prohibition	150,369	-	
1888	BENJAMIN HARRISON	Republican	5,447,129	233	1889-93
	Grover Cleveland	Democrat	5,537,857	168	
	Clinton Fisk	Prohibition	249,506	-	
	Alson Streeter	Union Labor	146,935	-	
1892	GROVER CLEVELAND	Democrat	5,555,426	277	1893-97
	Benjamin Harrison	Republican	5,182,690	145	
	James Weaver	Populist	1,029,846	22	
	John Bidwell	Prohibition	264,133	-	
	Simon Wing	Socialist Labor	21,164	-	
1896	WILLIAM MCKINLEY	Republican	7,102,246	271	1897-1901
	William J. Bryan	Democrat	6,492,559	176	
	John Palmer	National Democrat	133,148	-	
	Joshua Levering	Prohibition	132,007	-	
	Charles Matchett	Socialist Labor	36,274	-	
	Charles Bentley	Nationalist	13,969	-	
1900	WILLIAM MCKINLEY	Republican	7,218,491	292	1901
	William J. Bryan	Democrat	6,356,734	155	
	John C. Wooley	Prohibition	208,914	-	
	Eugene Debs	Socialist	87,814	-	
	Wharton Barker	Populist	50,373	-	
	Joseph Malloney	Socialist Labor	39,739	-	
	Theodore Roosevelt	Republican	--	-	1901-05
1904	THEODORE ROOSEVELT	Republican	7,628,461	336	1905-09
	Alton Parker	Democrat	5,084,223	140	
	Eugene Debs	Socialist	402,283	-	
	Silas Swallow	Prohibition	258,536	-	
	Thomas Watson	Populist	117,183	-	
	Charles Corregan	Socialist Labor	31,249	-	
1908	WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT	Republican	7,675,320	321	1909-13
	William J. Bryan	Democrat	6,412,294	162	
	Eugene Debs	Socialist	420,793	-	
	Eugene Chafin	Prohibition	253,840	-	
	Thomas Hisgen	Independence	82,872	-	
	Thomas Watson	Populist	29,100	-	
	August Gillhaus	Socialist Labor	14,021	-	
1912	WOODROW WILSON	Democrat	6,296,547	435	1913-17

	Theodore Roosevelt	Progressive	4,118,571	88	
	William H. Taft	Republican	3,486,720	8	
	Eugene Debs	Socialist	900,672	-	
	Eugene Chafin	Prohibition	206,275	-	
	Arthur Reimer	Socialist Labor	28,750	-	
1916	WOODROW WILSON	Democrat	9,127,695	277	1917-21
	Charles Hughes	Republican	8,533,507	254	
	Allan Benson	Socialist	585,113	-	
	J. Frank Hanly	Prohibition	220,506	-	
	Arthur Reimer	Socialist Labor	13,403	-	
1920	WARREN G. HARDING	Republican	16,143,407	404	1921-23
	James Cox	Democrat	9,130,328	127	
	Eugene Debs	Socialist	919,799	-	
	Parley Christensen	Farmer-Labor	265,411	-	
	A.S. Watkins	Prohibition	189,408	-	
	James Ferguson	American	48,000	-	
	W.W. Cox	Socialist Labor	31,715	-	
	Calvin Coolidge§	Republican	--	-	1923-25
1924	CALVIN COOLIDGE	Republican	15,718,211	382	1925-29
	John Davis	Democrat	8,385,283	136	
	Robert La Follette	Progressive	4,831,289	13	
	Herman Faris	Prohibition	57,520	-	
	Frank Johns	Socialist Labor	36,428	-	
	William Foster	Workers	36,386	-	
	Gilbert Nations	American	23,967	-	
1928	HERBERT HOOVER	Republican	21,391,993	444	1929-33
	Alfred E. Smith	Democrat	15,016,169	87	
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	267,835	-	
	Verne Reynolds	Socialist Labor	21,603	-	
	William Foster	Workers	21,181	-	
	William Varney	Prohibition	20,106	-	
1932	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	Democrat	22,809,638	472	1933-37
	Herbert Hoover	Republican	15,758,901	59	
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	881,951	-	
	William Foster	Communist	102,785	-	
	William Upshaw	Prohibition	81,869	-	
	William Harvey	Liberty	53,425	-	
	Verne Reynolds	Socialist Labor	33,276	-	
1936	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	Democrat	27,752,869	523	1937-41
	Alfred Landon	Republican	16,674,665	8	
	William Lemke	Union	882,479	-	
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	187,720	-	
	Earl Browder	Communist	80,159	-	
	D. Leigh Colvin	Prohibition	37,847	-	

	John Aiken	Socialist Labor	12,777	-	
1940	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	Democrat	27,307,819	449	1941-45
	Wendell Willkie	Republican	22,321,018	82	
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	99,557	-	
	Roger Babson	Prohibition	57,812	-	
	Earl Browder	Communist	46,251	-	
	John Aiken	Socialist Labor	14,892	-	
1944	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	Democrat	25,606,585	432	1945
	Thomas Dewey	Republican	22,014,745	99	
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	80,518	-	
	Claude Watson	Prohibition	74,758	-	
	Edward Teichert	Socialist Labor	45,336	-	
	Harry S. Truman	Democrat	--	-	1945-49
1948	HARRY S. TRUMAN	Democrat	24,105,812	303	1949-53
	Thomas Dewey	Republican	21,970,065	189	
	J. Strom Thurmond	State's Rights	1,169,063	39	
	Henry Wallace	Progressive	1,157,172	-	
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	139,414	-	
	Claude Watson	Prohibition	103,224	-	
	Edward Teichert	Socialist Labor	29,244	-	
1952	DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER	Republican	33,936,234	442	1953-57
	Adlai Stevenson	Democrat	27,314,992	89	
	Vincent Hallinan	Progressive	140,023	-	
	Stuart Hamblen	Prohibition	72,949	-	
	Eric Hass	Socialist Labor	30,267	-	
	Darlington Hoopes	Socialist	20,203	-	
	Douglas MacArthur	Constitution	17,205	-	
1956	DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER	Republican	35,590,472	457	1957-61
	Adlai Stevenson	Democrat	26,022,752	73	
	T. Coleman Andrews	States' Rights	107,929	-	
	Eric Hass	Socialist Labor	44,300	-	
1960	JOHN F. KENNEDY	Democrat	34,221,531	303	1961-63
	Richard M. Nixon	Republican	34,108,474	219	
	Orval Faubus	National States Rights	227,881	-	
	Eric Hass	Socialist Labor	48,031	-	
	Rutherford B. Decker	Prohibition	46,197	-	
	Lyndon B. Johnson	Democrat	--	-	1963-65
1964	LYNDON B. JOHNSON	Democrat	43,126,218	486	1965-69
	Barry Goldwater	Republican	27,174,898	52	
	Eric Hass	Socialist Labor	45,186	-	
	Clifton DeBerry	Socialist Workers	32,705	-	
	E. Harold Munn, Sr.	Prohibition	23,267	-	
1968	RICHARD M.	Republican	31,770,237	301	1969-73

NIXON				
	Hubert Humphrey	Democrat	31,270,533	191
	George Wallace	American	9,906,141	46
		Independent		
	Hennings Blomen	Socialist Labor	52,588	-
	Dick Gregory	New	47,097	-
	Fred Halstead	Socialist Workers	41,300	-
	Eldridge Cleaver	Peace & Freedom	36,385	-
	Eugene J. McCarthy	New	25,858	-
1972	RICHARD M. NIXON	Republican	46,740,323	520 1973-74
	George McGovern	Democrat	28,901,598	17
	John Schmitz	American	993,199	-
	Linda Jenness	Socialist Workers	96,176	-
	Benjamin Spock	People's	77,080	-
	Louis Fisher	Socialist Labor	53,617	-
	Gerald R. Ford	Republican	--	- 1974-77
1976	JAMES E. CARTER, JR.	Democrat	40,828,587	297 1977-81
	Gerald R. Ford	Republican	39,147,613	240
	Eugene J. McCarthy	(independent)	751,728	-
	Roger MacBride	Libertarian	172,750	-
	Lester G. Maddox	American	170,780	-
		Independent		
	Thomas Anderson	American	160,600	-
	Peter Camejo	Socialist Workers	91,226	-
	Gus Hall	Communist	59,114	-
	Margaret Wright	People's	49,024	-
1980	RONALD REAGAN	Republican	43,899,248	489 1981-85
	James E. Carter, Jr.	Democrat	35,481,435	49
	John B. Anderson	(independent)	5,719,437	-
	Ed Clark	Libertarian	920,859	-
	Barry H. Commoner	Citizens'	230,377	-
	Gus Hall	Communist	43,871	-
	John Rarick	American	41,172	-
		Independent		
	Clifton DeBerry	Socialist Workers	40,105	-
	Ellen McCormack	Respect for Life	32,319	-
1984	RONALD REAGAN	Republican	54,455,074	525 1985-89
	Walter F. Mondale	Democrat	37,577,137	13
	David Bergland	Libertarian	228,314	-
	Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.	(independent)	78,807	-
	Sonia Johnson	Citizens'	72,200	-
	Bob Richards	Populist	66,336	-
	Dennis L. Serrette	Independent Alliance	46,852	-
	Gus Hall	Communist	36,386	-
1988	GEORGE BUSH	Republican	48,886,097	426 1989-93
	Michael S. Dukakis	Democrat	41,809,074	111

	Ron Paul	Libertarian	432,179	-	
	Lenora B. Fulani	New Alliance	217,219	-	
	David Duke	Populist	47,047	-	
	Eugene J. McCarthy	Consumer	30,905	-	
	James C. Griffin	American	27,818	-	
	Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.	Independent		-	
1992	BILL CLINTON	(independent)	25,562	-	
		Democrat	43,728,275	370	1993-00
	George Bush	Republican	38,167,416	168	
	H. Ross Perot	(independent)	19,237,247	-	

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