

# Notes

## 1 Classifications: Kings and Presidents

1. James P. Pfiffner, "Ranking the Presidents: Continuity and Volatility," in Menna Bose and Mark Landis, eds., *The Uses and Abuses of Presidential Ratings* (Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Press, 2003), p. 27.
2. It is not clear in Glad's analysis whether classification would ultimately replace or coexist with the search for general theory. Betty Glad, "The Idiosyncratic Presidency," *Presidential Research Report II* (1990), pp. 8, 20.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
4. Pfiffner, "Ranking the Presidents: Continuity and Volatility," p. 28.
5. Jorge Luis Borges, "John Wilkins' Analytical Language," in Eliot Weinberger, ed., *Selected Non Fictions* (New York: Penguin, 1999), p. 230.
6. Nelson Goodman, *Fact, Fiction, and Forecast* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973), pp. 122–24; Ian Hacking, *The Social Construction of What?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 32–34, 103–8; Michael Ruse, *Philosophy of Biology* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1988), pp. 51–62.
7. See, Paul Starr, "Social Categories and Claims in the Liberal State," in Mary Douglas and David Hill, eds., *How Classification Works* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992) who focuses on the special problems involved in assigning human subjects.
8. See, Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); Robert Hollinger, "Aspects of a Theory of Classification," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 3 (March 1976): 319–38; K. E. Holsinger, "The Nature of Biological Species," *Philosophy of Science* 51 (1984): 293–307; John Dupré, *The Disorder of Things* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).
9. Philip Kitcher, *Science, Truth and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 43.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
11. Hollinger, "Aspects of a Theory of Classification"; Dupré, *The Disorder of Things*.
12. See, Dupré, *The Disorder of Things* and O. Rieppel, "Species as Individuals: A Review and Critique of the Argument," in M. Hecht and G. Prance, eds., *Evolutionary Biology* (New York: Plenum, 1986).
13. Todd S. Purdum, "MAKING HISTORY: Combing the Century for a President to Honor," *New York Times*, February 19, 1995, p. 1.

14. Thomas A. Bailey, *Presidential Greatness* (New York: Appleton-Crofts, 1966), p. 35.
15. James David Barber, *The Presidential Character* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), pp. 7–8.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 441.
17. Michael Nelson, “The Psychological Presidency,” in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1998), p. 219.
18. Peter Saccio, *Shakespeare’s English Kings* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 158.
19. All citations are from the Cambridge Shakespeare edition: Andrew Gurr, ed., *King Richard II* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 117.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
26. There has been a great deal of controversy as to whether the historical Richard was responsible for the death of the princes. Elizabeth Jenkins examines the evidence for the claim. *The Princes in the Tower* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1978). For a review of skeptics and a support of Shakespeare’s position, see, Desmon Seward, *Richard III: England’s Black Legend* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1984).
27. Elizabeth Jenkins contends that Richard III’s dark humor is a Shakespearean invention. “No trace can be found in the records” except a “tense and repressed disposition.” *The Princes in the Tower*, p. 205.
28. All citations are from the Cambridge Shakespeare edition: Janis Luss, ed., *King Richard III* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 85.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
36. Bryan Bevan concludes Richard II was a “highly intelligent man” who “held bold and original ideas of kingship” and who “pursued an enlightened foreign policy.” *Richard II* (London: Rubicon Press, 1990), p. 67.
37. Samuel Schoenbaum, “Richard II and the Realities of Power,” in Kirby Farrell, ed., *Critical Essays on Richard II* (New York: G. K. Hall and Co., 1999), p. 54. Richard’s decision can be read as even more astute if, as Shakespeare hints, Mowbray was involved in the assassination of the Duke of Gloucester at the king’s request.

38. John Dover Wilson, "Introduction to Richard II," in Jeane T. Newlin, ed., *Richard II: Critical Essays* (New York: Garland, 1984), p. 15.
39. See Irving Ribner who compares Bollingbroke's actions to those recommended by Machiavelli in *The Prince*. "Bolingbroke, a True Machiavellian," *Modern Language Quarterly* 9 (June 1948): 177-84.
40. Saccio, *Shakespeare's English King*, p. 17.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.
42. Gurr, ed., *King Richard II*, pp. 134-35.
43. E. M. Tiyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (London: Chatto and Windos, 1948), pp. 244-63.
44. R. Morgan Griffllin, "The Critical History of Richard II," in Kirby Farrell, ed., *Critical Essays on Richard II* (New York: G. K. Hall and Co. 1999), p. 25.
45. Petr Ure, "Introduction," *King Richard II* (London: Methuen, 1961), p. lxxi.
46. Luss, ed., *King Richard III*, p. 157.
47. William Butler Yeats, *Ideas of Good and Evil* (London: A. H. Bullen, 1903), p. 142.
48. Luss, ed., *King Richard III*, pp. 198-99.
49. Mark Van Doren, *Shakespeare* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), p. 89.
50. Murray Krieger, "The Dark Generations of Richard II," in Kirby Farrell, ed., *Critical Essays on Richard II* (New York: G. K. Hall and Co., 1999), p. 152.
51. Ernest H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 32.
52. For discussion of these and similar reactions, see, Deborah T. Curren-Aquino, "King John Resurgent," in Deborah T. Curren-Aquino, ed., *King John: New Perspectives* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press), pp. 11-24.
53. See Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Westein, eds., *King John* (New York: Washington Square Press, 2002), pp. 31-36. All citations of *King John* are from this edition.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
56. Margaret Webster, *Shakespeare without Tears* (Minneola, NY: Dover Publication, 1955), p. 181.
57. Mowat and Westein, eds., *King John*, p. 203.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 191, 165.
61. See, for example, Michael Manheim, "The Four Voices of the Bastard," in Deborah T. Curren-Aquino, ed., *King John: New Perspectives* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1989), pp. 126-35; Deborah T. Curren-Aquino, "King John: A Modern Perspective," in Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Westein, eds., *King John* (New York: Washington Square Press, 2000), p. 72.
62. Webster, *Shakespeare without Tears*, p. 181.

## 2 The First Bad President?: John Tyler

1. John Mayfield, *Rehearsal for Republicanism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1980), p. 8.
2. Dan Monroe, *The Republican Vision of John Tyler* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University, 2003), p. 63.
3. Several supporters of Clay declined the vice-presidential nomination before the convention turned to Tyler. Delegates recalled that he had “shed tears over Clay’s defeat.” Robert V. Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman of the Union* (New York: Norton, 1991), p. 552.
4. So too did Whigs subsequently claim, on the basis of Tyler’s response, that he was obligated to support a recharter. Monroe, *The Republican Vision of John Tyler*, p. 80.
5. “Inaugural Address,” in John D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), vol. IV, p. 37.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
7. For narratives of Tyler’s first months as the first accidental president, see, Robert J. Morgan, *A Whig Embattled: The Presidency under John Tyler* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), pp. 1–21; Monroe, *The Republican Vision of John Tyler*, pp. 78–86.
8. For exploration of governing strategies available to accidental presidents, see, Philip Abbott, *Accidental Presidents: Death, Assassination, Resignation and Democratic Succession* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
9. Jeffrey Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).
10. Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 142.
11. Monroe, *The Republican Vision of John Tyler*, p. 137.
12. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 148.
13. “Second Annual Message,” in Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. IV, p. 194.
14. The fact that Van Buren and Clay published letters opposing annexation on the same day aroused suspicion, especially among Democrats, that a deal had been struck between the two putative presidential nominees. Jackson immediately withdrew his support of Van Buren and gave support to Polk. Walter R. Boreman, *Polk* (New York: Random House, 2008), pp. 82–83.
15. “Special Message,” in Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. IV, pp. 318–19.
16. Justin H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas* (New York: AMS Press, 1971), p. 189.
17. “To the Senate of the United States,” in Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the President*, p. 308.

18. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "On Presidential Succession," *Political Science Quarterly* 89 (1974): 475–505.
19. Hugh Williamson of North Carolina explicitly made this point. Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Constitutional Convention* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), vol. II, p. 537. Joel K. Goldstein, however, contends that there was no compelling reason for the creation of the office on these terms. *The Modern Vice Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 5.
20. Morris suggested the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, a frequently mentioned member of an Executive Council, be the designated successor. Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Constitutional Convention*, p. 427.
21. *Ibid.*
22. See, Ruth C. Silva, *Presidential Succession* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 13.
23. "Federalist #68," in Edward Mead Earle, ed., *The Federalist* (New York: Modern Library, 1937), p. 445.
24. Bernard Bailyn, ed., *The Debate on the Constitution* (New York: Modern Library, 1993), pp. 347, 359.
25. Richard P. McCoemick reviews these "uncertain rules for a hazardous game" in *The Presidential Game: The Origin of Presidential Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1882).
26. Henry Adams, ed., *The Writings of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), vol. I, p. 51.
27. Donald Lutz, Philip Abbott, Barbara Allen, and Russell Hansen, "The Electoral College in Historical and Philosophical Perspective," in Paul D. Schumaker and Burdett A. Loomis, eds., *Choosing a President: The Electoral College and Beyond* (New York: Chatham House, 2002), pp. 35–40.
28. Jody C. Baumgartner, *The American Vice President Reconsidered* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), pp. 14–16.
29. See, Ruth C. Silva, *Presidential Succession* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 27; Akhil Reed Amer, *America's Constitution: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 2005), p. 448.
30. Richard M. Pious, "John Tyler," in James M. McPherson, ed., *To the Best of My Ability": The American Presidents* (New York: Dorling Kindersley, 2000), p. 82.
31. David Zaretsky, "John Tyler and the Rhetoric of the Accidental Presidency," in Martin J. Medhurst, ed., *Before the Rhetoric of Presidency* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M Press, 2008), p. 64.
32. Wilfred E. Brinkley, *President and Congress* (New York: Knopf, 1947), p. 99.
33. Edward P. Crapol, *John Tyler the Accidental President* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), pp. 3, 6.
34. "To the House of Representatives of the United States," in Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the President*, pp. 68–69.
35. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 128.

36. Monroe, *The Republican Vision of John Tyler*, p. 112. Morgan's characterization of Tyler as "Jacksonian Whig" may be closer to the mark but overlooks the enormous contradictions in this position. *A Whig Embattled*.
37. Tyler to Silas Reed. January 11, 1861, John Tyler Papers, Library of Congress.
38. Crapol, *John Tyler the Accidental President*, p. 260.
39. George H. Reese, ed., *Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861* (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1965), vol. I, p. 653.
40. Fillmore, pictured leaving the table, said, "As positive councils are now readily available, and as I am not in that line, I'll leave." *Vanity Fair*, May 11, 1861.

### 3 The Compromise: Millard Fillmore

1. Jean H. Baker, *James Buchanan* (New York: Times Books, 2004), p. 146.
2. "Speech Delivered at Springfield. Illinois," in Philip Van Doren Stern, ed., *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Modern Library, 1947), pp. 429–38.
3. Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 522; Jean Baker, "Millard Fillmore," in James M. McPherson, ed., *"To the Best of My Ability": The American Presidents* (New York: Dorling, Kinderley, 2000), p. 102.
4. Philip Shriver Klein, *President James Buchanan: A Biography* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962), p. 21.
5. Elbert B. Smith, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1988), pp. 192–98.
6. W. L. Barre, *The Life and Public Services of Millard Fillmore* (Buffalo: Wansee, McKim and Co., 1856), p. 124. Interestingly, the observer later questioned whether the young Fillmore had the "self confidence and assurance" to be a "political chieftain."
7. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 522.
8. Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), pp. 210–11.
9. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 523. Weed, a supporter of Fillmore for vice president, soon broke with him and joined the Seward faction. See his recollections in Thurlow Weed, *The Life of Thurlow Weed* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1884), p. 182–200.
10. In 1854, Fillmore announced that he decided to favor the compromise within two weeks after assuming the presidency. "Speech at Louisville," in Frank H. Severance, ed., *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* (Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Historical Society, 1907), vol. 10, p. 432.
11. See, Glenn A. Phelps's *George Washington and American Constitutionalism* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993).

12. Elbert B. Smith contends that Fillmore's position in regard to the compromise was not appreciably different from Taylor's and thus suggests that the new president was in fact employing some version of a homage strategy. Smith's conclusions, however, are largely based on Fillmore's Texas position. Initially Southern skepticism about Fillmore's motives perhaps too is derived from the similarity in their common republican-based governing personas. *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1988), pp. 168–69.
13. Robert J. Raybick argues that the motion was engineered by Fillmore. *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President* (Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Historical Society, 1959), pp. 247–52. Holman Hamilton, however, is skeptical. *Prologue to Conflict: The Compromise of 1850* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1964), p. 113.
14. John C. Waugh, *On the Brink of Civil War* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), p. 179.
15. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 535.
16. Smith, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore*, p. 195.
17. In Boston, Fillmore noted that while Washington's journey from Virginia to Massachusetts took 11 days, he had made the trip in as many hours. Severance, ed., *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, p. 424.
18. John D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), vol. 5, pp. 165–66.
19. Raybick, *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President*, p. 253.
20. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 596.
21. Waugh, *On the Brink of Civil War*, p. 183.
22. "Letter to Daniel Webster, October 23, 1850," in Severance, ed., *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, p. 335.
23. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 598.
24. Smith, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore*, p. 242.
25. Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict: The Compromise of 1850*, p. 186.
26. Smith argues along these lines, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore*, pp. 259–60.
27. Allan Nevins, *The Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), vol. I, pp. 5300ff.
28. See, Ariela J. Cross, *Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Courtroom* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006), pp. 151–52, for the importance of relative geographic strength.
29. Raybick, *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President*, p. 414.
30. See, John H. Aldrich, *Why Parties: The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
31. Michael Holt, *Political Parties and American Political Development* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), p. 272.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
33. Although this defense does not compute the moral impact of a delayed conflict.
34. Smith, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore*, p. 262.

## 4 The Byronic President: Franklin Pierce

1. Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1947), vol. II, pp. 41–42.
2. Stephen John Hartnett, "Franklin Pierce and the Exuberant Hauteur of an Age of Innocence," in Martin J. Medhurst, ed., *Before the Rhetorical Presidency* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M Press, 2008), pp. 113, 115.
3. Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, p. 533.
4. Roy Franklin Nichols, *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of Granite Hill* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), p. 209.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
6. Pierce's popular vote victory was much closer. He received 1,601,474 votes to Scott's 1,386,580.
7. For an analysis and review of this characterization, see Atara Stein, *The Byronic Hero in Film, Fiction and Television* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004).
8. Charles B. Strozier, *Lincoln's Quest for Union* (New York: Basic Books, 1982). For a darker interpretation, see, George B. Forgie, *Patricide and the House Divided* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979). Forgie argues that Lincoln's career and political thought were the result of a politically induced Oedipal complex. His psychologically ambivalent relationship with the founding fathers led to the pursuit and "symbolic murder" of Douglas.
9. See, Anne Norton, *The Republic of Signs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
10. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, p. 534.
11. Franklin Pierce, "Inaugural Address," in *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 104, 108.
12. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Life of Franklin Pierce* (1852) (New York: Garnet Press, 2010).
13. Hartnett, "Franklin Pierce and the Exuberant Hauteur of an Age of Innocence," p. 127.
14. "Veto Message," in James Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the United States* (Washington, DC: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1909), vol. V, p. 250.
15. Pierce, *Inaugural*, p. 109.
16. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, pp. 540–41; Larry Gara, *The Presidency of Franklin Pierce* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1991), pp. 44–48.
17. Stephen Skowronek concludes that this strategy was less an abdication than a "bold bid for leadership." *The Politics Presidents Make* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 152.
18. Gara, *The Presidency of Franklin Pierce*, p. 52.



19. Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 415.
20. For speculation about Douglas's motives, see, Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, pp. 101–5; Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*, pp. 389–91.
21. Michael F. Holt, *The Fate of Their Country: Politicians, Slavery Extension, and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), pp. 109–10.
22. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*, p. 389.
23. Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, p. 111.
24. *Evening Post*, February 10, p. 248.
25. “Third Annual Message,” “Special Message,” in Richardson, ed., *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the United States*, pp. 340, 352, 390.
26. Geary personally told the president that only a complete overhaul of the administrative structure of the territory, including the judiciary, could produce lasting peace. Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), p. 137.

## 5 Building the House?: James Buchanan

1. Michael A. Genovese, *The Power of the American Presidency* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 77; Max J. Skidmore, *Presidential Performance* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2004), pp. 122–23; Allan Nevins, *Prologue to the Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 1974), vol. 2, p. 210.
2. Michael Birkner, “Getting to Know Buchanan, Again,” in Michael Birkner, ed., *James Buchanan and the Political Crisis of the 1850s* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press), p. 17.
3. Charles F. Faber and Richard B. Faber, *The American Presidents Ranked by Performance* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2000), p. 118. Faber and Faber rank Buchanan twenty-fifth.
4. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 593; Jean H. Baker, *James Buchanan* (New York: Times Books, 2004), p. 26.
5. Baker, *James Buchanan*, p. 39. Buchanan did dissent from Polk's imperial ambitions in the war with Mexico. Polk attributed his objections to 1848 presidential ambitions.
6. Philip Shriver Klein, *President James Buchanan: A Biography* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962), p. 253.
7. George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883), vol. II, pp. 2–3.
8. Klein, *President James Buchanan*, p. 149.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

10. Buchanan, speech, August 18, 1838; February 14, 1845, James Buchanan Papers, *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, PA.
11. Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan*, p. 185.
12. Klein, *James Buchanan*, p. 107.
13. James F. Simon, *Lincoln and Chief Justice Taney* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), p. 114.
14. See, Robert K. Carr, *The Supreme Court and Judicial Review* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942); Robert H. Jackson, *The Struggle for Judicial Supremacy* (New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 1941). Don. E. Fehrenbacher, however, demurs stating that hostility between the regions was so pronounced that the narrower decision originally drafted would not have altered subsequent events. *The Dred Scott Case* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 562. Mark Graber from a different perspective defends the decision on constitutional, though not moral terms, and implies that its rejection, particularly by Lincoln, was a violation of constitutional norms. *Dred Scott and the Problem of Constitutional Evil* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
15. Janis Lull, *King Richard III* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 85.
16. "Inaugural Address," in Irving Sloan, ed., *James Buchanan* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publication, 1968), p. 22.
17. Baker, *James Buchanan*, p. 92. Klein regards Buchanan's decision to start this "ridiculous little war" as impulsive and the expedition poorly planned. *President James Buchanan*, p. 316
18. James Buchanan, "A Proclamation," April 6, 1858, James Buchanan Papers, *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.
19. James Buchanan, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1865), pp. 232–39.
20. Baker, *James Buchanan*, p. 103.
21. Although Buchanan stated he would only serve a single term in his inaugural address, both his supporters, as well as Douglas's, thought otherwise even after he released a letter during the Charleston convention insisting he would not accept renomination "under any contingency." Klein, *President James Buchanan*, pp. 340–41.
22. Elbert B. Smith, *The Presidency of James Buchanan* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1975), p. 69.
23. Buchanan, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion*, pp. 258, 260.
24. Smith, *The Presidency of James Buchanan*, p. 79.
25. Klein, *President James Buchanan*, pp. 363–64.
26. "Fourth Annual Message," December 3, 1860, James Buchanan Papers, *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, PA.
27. "First Inaugural Address," in Philip Van Doren Stern, ed., *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Modern Library, 1940), p. 651.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 654.
29. Klein, *President James Buchanan*, p. 429.
30. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1959), vol. II, p. 360.

## 6 Lincoln in Reverse: Andrew Johnson

1. Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1929). Also see, George F. Milton, *The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1930).
2. John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage* (New York: Harpers, 1956).
3. William H. Rehenquist, *Grand Inquests* (New York: William Morrow, 1992). Although see, David Donald, "Why They Impeached Andrew Johnson," *American Heritage* VIII (December 1956): 21–25, for a different assessment. David O. Steward contends that despite the questionable constitutional grounds for Johnson's impeachment, the action did establish the precedent that there are limits to presidential discretion and was also an outlet for the violent political passions of the day. *Impeached: The Trial of Andrew Johnson and the Fight for Lincoln's Legacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009), p. 323.
4. Stephen Howard Browne, "Andrew Johnson and the Politics of Character," in Martin J. Medhurst, ed., *Before the Rhetorical Presidency* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M Press, 2008), pp. 195, 210–11.
5. Charles F. Faber and Richard B. Faber, *The American Presidents Ranked by Performance* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2000), pp. 125–30.
6. Brooks D. Simpson, *The Reconstruction Presidents* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998), p. 69.
7. For an examination of LBJ's strategy, see Philip Abbott, *Accidental Presidents: Death, Assassination, Resignation and Democratic Succession* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), Ch. 8.
8. Howard P. Nash, Jr., *Andrew Johnson, Congress and Reconstruction* (Rutherford, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), pp. 23–24.
9. John J. Craven, *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis* (New York: Carleton, 1866), p. 261.
10. Hans L. Trefousse, *Andrew Johnson* (New York: Norton, 1989), pp. 35–50.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
13. Carl Schurz to Charles Sumner, November 13, 1865, in Harold M. Hyman, ed., *The Radical Republicans and Reconstruction, 1861–1870* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), p. 294.
14. W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Knoph, 1941).
15. LaWanda Cox and John H. Carr, *Politics, Principle and Prejudice, 1861–1866* (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 151–55.

16. Simpson, *The Reconstruction Presidents*, p. 86.
17. LeRoy P. Graf et al., eds., *The Papers of Andrew Johnson* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1967–2000), vol. 9, p. 466.
18. Simpson, *The Reconstruction Presidents*, p. 92.
19. Andrew Sefton, *Andrew Johnson and the Uses of Constitutional Power* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), p. 125. Johnson's personal secretary shared this account with the press and bragged that the president upheld his honor in the face of a hostile "darkey delegation." Trefousse, *Andrew Johnson*, p. 242.
20. Nash, Jr., *Andrew Johnson, Congress and Reconstruction*, p. 67.
21. Graf et al., eds., *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*.
22. Nash, Jr., *Andrew Johnson, Congress and Reconstruction*, pp. 94–96.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
24. Jeffrey Tulis in *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 87–94, discusses the novelty of Johnson's decision to "go public."
25. *New York Herald Tribune*, February 23, 1866.
26. *New York Herald Tribune*, September 11, 1866; *New York Evening Post*, February 23, 1866.
27. *Nation* 3 (1866): 191.

## 7 The First Bad "Hidden-Hand" President: Ulysses S. Grant

1. See Brooks D. Simpson, *Ulysses S. Grant: Triumph over Adversity, 1822–1865* (Boston: Houghton: Mifflin, 2000), pp. 457–65, for a review of Grant's critics and defenders.
2. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York: Modern Library, 1918), p. 260.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
4. Ulysses S. Grant, "First Inaugural Address," in John Gabriel Hunt, ed., *The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1995), pp. 208.
5. See, for example, Sidney M. Milkis and Michael Nelson who conclude, "Grant's strategic error set the tone for his entire two terms as president: he never recovered the prestige and power that he lost in his first showdown with the Republican leaders." *The American Presidency: Origins and Development* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1994), p. 179.
6. Jean Edward Simpson, *Grant* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), p. 483; Kenneth D. Ackerman, *The Gold Ring, Jim Fisk, Jay Gould and Black Friday 1869* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1988), p. 74; Alan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1936), p. 284.

7. Josiah Bunting, *Ulysses S. Grant* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2004), p. 98.
8. *New York World*, March 23, 1869.
9. Nark Wahlgreen Summers, *The Era of Good Stealings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 1–92.
10. Simpson, *Grant*, p. 593; Joan Waugh, *U. S. Grant* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), p. 148.
11. Bunting, *Ulysses S. Grant*, p. 131, presents this defense.
12. See, Sean Denning Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age* (New York: New York University Press, 1993) who concludes, “Natives and immigrants alike were more interested in the stars in their eyes than the stripes on their backs” (p. 30).
13. See James Bryce who also compared Grant favorably to Lincoln in *The American Commonwealth* (London: Macmillan, 1891), vol. I, p. 85; vol. II, pp. 125–34.
14. See, Summers, *The Era of Good Stealings*, p. 71.
15. This defense is widely shared by contemporary supporters of Grant. See especially, Frank J. Scaturro, *President Grant Reconsidered* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), pp. 155–58; Brooks D. Simpson, *Reconstruction Presidents* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998), p. 162; Alvin S. Felzenberg, *The Leaders We Deserve* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), pp. 283–84.
16. See William B. Heseltine’s early influential biography, *Ulysses S. Grant: Politician* (New York: Ungar, 1935), pp. vii–viii.
17. See, Michael Korda, *Ulysses S. Grant* (New York: Harpercollins, 2004), pp. 124–25.
18. Albert O. Hirschman, *Shifting Involvements: Private Interest and Public Action* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982).
19. John Russell Young, *Around the World with General Grant* (New York: American News Company, 1879), p. 336.
20. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays* (New York: Henry Holt, 1886), p. 135.
21. Mark Twain, note to *The Gilded Age* in Jack Beatty, *The Age of Betrayal* (New York: Knopf, 2007), p. xiv.
22. *New York Sun*, April 17, 1869.
23. *New York Sun*, March 23, 1869.
24. Bunting, *Ulysses S. Grant*, p. 131.
25. Young, *Around the World with General Grant*, pp. 263–65.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 211–13.
27. Simpson, *Grant*, p. 588.
28. See, Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: The Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), p. 488; Scaturro, *President Grant Reconsidered*, p. 75.
29. Simpson, *Grant*, p. 546.
30. Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondences and Political Papers of Carl Schurz* (New York: Putnam), vol. 1, pp. 211–13.

31. Simpson, *Reconstruction Presidents*, p. 176.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
33. Smith, *Grant*, pp. 519–20.
34. For a review of this ensemble of critiques, see Waugh, *U. S. Grant*, pp. 104–8.
35. This assessment has reemerged despite the numerous positive reevaluations of Grant. Dean Keith Simonton ranks him lowest on three of four IQ estimates. “Presidential IQ, Openness, Intellectual Brilliance, and Leadership Estimates and Correlations of 41 Presidents,” *Political Psychology* 27 (2006): 511–26.
36. Maquis Child, *Eisenhower Captive Hero* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958), p. 286.
37. *New York World*, November 28, 1863.
38. Korda, *Ulysses S. Grant*, p. 124.
39. Summers considers this hypothesis, only to dismiss it for lack of evidence. *The Era of Good Stealings*, p. 186.
40. Fred I. Greenstein, *The Hidden Hand Presidency: Eisenhower a Leader* (New York: Basic books, 1982), p. 235.
41. William S. McFeely, *Grant: A Biography* (New York: Norton, 1982), p. xi. Brooks Simpson challenges this interpretation in his “Butcher? Racist? An Examination of William McFeely’s *Grant: A Biography*,” *Civil War History* 33 (1987): 63–83.

## 8 The Booster: Warren G. Harding

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Address at Columbus Ohio,” in Samuel I. Roseman, ed., *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (1928–1932) (New York: Macmillan, 1938), p. 672.
2. Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Address at Oglethorpe University,” in Samuel I. Roseman, ed., *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (1928–1932) (New York: Macmillan, 1938), pp. 639–40.
3. William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity 1914–1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 103; Ronald Allen Goldberg, *America in the Twenties* (Syracuse, NY: University of Syracuse Press, 2003), p. 61; Elliot A. Rose, *Hoover, Roosevelt, and the Brains Trust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), p. 53.
4. Donald McCoy, *Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 420.
5. Herbert Hoover, “Inaugural Address,” in John Gabriel Hunt, ed., *The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents* (New York: Gramercy, 1995), p. 364.
6. *Atlanta Constitution*, August 3, 1923.
7. Robert K. Murray, *The Harding Era: Warren G. Harding and His Administration* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press), p. 458.

8. Philip G. Payne, *Dead Last: The Public Memory of Warren G. Harding's Scandalous Legacy* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009), p. 17.
9. See Richard Lingeman's cultural history, *Small Town America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980).
10. Sherwood Anderson, *Poor White* (New York: Modern Library, 1926), p. 36.
11. Thomas Wolfe, *Of Time and the River* (New York: Scribner, 1935), p. 898.
12. Randolph C. Downes, *The Rise of Warren Gamaliel Harding* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1970), p. 201.
13. Speech to Marion Teachers' Association, August 28, 1920; Speech, to Harding and Coolidge Theatrical League, August 22, 1920, Harding Papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, OH.
14. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity*, p. 90; H. L. Mencken, *A Carnival of Buncombe: Writings on Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 39.
15. Speech, Waldorf Astoria, New York, 1920, Harding Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
16. Back to Normal Address, Home Market Club, Boston, MA, May 14, 1920, Harding Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
17. Andre Sinclair, *The Available Man: The Life behind the Masks of Warren Gamaliel Harding* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 136–54.
18. For an account emphasizing the dark side of the 1920s, see, Geoffrey Perrett, *America in the Twenties: A History* (New York: Simon and / Schuster, 1982).
19. Speech, July 31, 1920, Harding Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
20. Goldberg, *America in the Twenties*, p. 24.
21. Mencken, *A Carnival of Buncombe: Writings on Politics*, p. 25.
22. William Allen White, *Masks in a Pageant* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. 409.
23. Eugene P. Trani and David L. Wilson, *The Presidency of Warren G. Harding* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1977), p. 182.
24. Carl Sferrazza Anthony, *Florence Harding: The First Jazz Age and the Death of America's Most Scandalous President* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1998), pp. 24–25.
25. Payne, *Dead Last: The Public Memory of Warren G. Harding's Scandalous Legacy*, p. 154.
26. Robert Sobel, *Coolidge: An American Enigma* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 1998), p. 234.
27. Harding supported Taft in 1912, arguing that he, not Roosevelt, represented the legacy of McKinley and was as progressive. Speech, June 22, 1912, Harding Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
28. Robert K. Murray, *The Harding Era* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press).
29. Sinclair, *The Available Man*, p. 262.
30. Robert K. Murray reaches this conclusion. *The Harding Era*, p. 123.

31. Sinclair, *The Available Man*, pp. 293–94. For Harding’s absence of defenders, see especially Payne, *Dead Last: The Public Memory of Warren G. Harding’s Scandalous Legacy*, pp. 192–96.
32. Trani and Wilson, *The Presidency of Warren G. Harding*, p. 192.

## 9 The Minimalist: Calvin Coolidge

1. Walter Lippman, *Men of Destiny* (1927) (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003), p. 11.
2. Michael P. Riccards, *The Ferocious Engine of Democracy* (New York: Madison Books, 1995), vol. II, p. 102.
3. For Coolidge’s minimalism as a strategy to establish the legitimacy of his accidental presidency, see Philip Abbott, *Accidental Presidents: Death, Assassination, Resignation and Democratic Succession* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), Ch. 9. Paul Johnson explores Coolidge’s minimalist approach to governing in general. “Calvin Coolidge and the Last Acadia,” in John Earl Haynes, ed., *Calvin Coolidge and the Coolidge Era* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1998), pp. 1–13.
4. Robert H. Ferrell, *The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998), p. 18.
5. Calvin Coolidge, *Have Faith in Massachusetts* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), p. 80.
6. *Nation*, August 15, 1923, p. 153.
7. Robert Sobel, *Calvin Coolidge: An American Enigma* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 1998), p. 133. Coolidge’s biographers offer differing assessments of the future president’s role in the strike. Claude M. Fuess offers a sympathetic account in *Calvin Coolidge: The Man from Vermont* (Boston: Little Brown, 1940) while Donald McCoy is more critical. McCoy concludes, “He who had been the last in acting had become the first in receiving credit.” *Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 94. Thomas B. Silver vigorously defends Coolidge and compares his action to Lincoln’s during the Fort Sumter crisis. *Coolidge and the Historians* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1982), p. 57.
8. Calvin Coolidge, *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1931), p. 147.
9. Ferrell, *The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge*, p. 40.
10. Coolidge, *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge*, pp. 176–77.
11. Sobel, *Calvin Coolidge: An American Enigma*, p. 260.
12. Ferrell, *The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge*, p. 52.
13. Thomas Stokes, *Chip Off My Shoulder* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1940), p. 139.
14. For a descriptions of Coolidge’s press conferences, see, Jule Abels, *In the Time of Silent Cal* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1969), pp. 45–46;



- Arthur F. Finer, *A Rhetorical Study of the Speaking of Calvin Coolidge* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), pp. 91–100.
15. John L. Blair, “Coolidge the Image Maker: The President and the Press, 1923–1929,” *New England Quarterly* 43 (December 1973): 504.
  16. *New Republic*, 44 (October 10, 1927).
  17. James E. Watson, *As I Knew Them* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1936), p. 239.
  18. Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., “Coolidge and Presidential Leadership,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 21 (Summer 1957): 267.
  19. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
  20. Daniel J. Lear, “Coolidge, Hays, and 1920s Movies: Some Aspects of Image and Reality,” in John Earl Haynes, ed., *Calvin Coolidge and the Coolidge Era* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1998), p. 101.
  21. On Coolidge jokes, see especially, Abels, *In the Time of Silent Cal*, pp. 9–46.
  22. Paul Johnson explores Coolidge’s minimalist approach to governing in general. “Calvin Coolidge and the Last Acadia,” in John Earl Haynes, ed., *Calvin Coolidge and the Coolidge Era* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1998), pp. 1–13.
  23. See, Robert E. Gilbert, *The Tormented President* (Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2003).
  24. Sobel, *Coolidge: An American Enigma*, p. 327.
  25. Ferrell, *The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge*, pp. 115–16.
  26. See, David J. Goldberg, *Discontented America: The United States in the 1920s* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).
  27. W. B. Riley, “The Faith of the Fundamentalists,” *Current History* 26 (June 1927): 438.
  28. Coolidge, *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge*, p. 204.
  29. Grace Coolidge remarked after her husband’s death that the president had concluded, “The country would undergo the most serious economic and financial convulsion which had occurred since 1875.” Sobel, *Calvin Coolidge: An American Enigma*, pp. 370–71. Robert H. Ferrel concludes, on the contrary, that Coolidge was oblivious to economic problems. *The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge*, p. 207.
  30. Walter Lippman, *Men of Destiny* (1927) (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003), pp. 11, 16–17.
  31. Sobel, *Calvin Coolidge: An American Enigma*, p. 411.
  32. Reagan also cited Coolidge’s actions in the Boston police strike in support of his firing of air controllers. *An American Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), pp. 244, 282.

## 10 Weathering the Storm: Herbert Hoover

1. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order 1919–1933* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1953), pp. 241, 243.

2. Elliot Rosen, *Hoover, Roosevelt, and the Brains Trust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), p. 41.
3. Albert U. Romasco, "Herbert Hoover's Policies for Dealing with the Great Depression: The End of the Old Order or the Beginning of the New?," in Martin Fausold and George T. Mazuzan, eds., *The Hoover Presidency: A Reappraisal* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1974), p. 74; Carl Degler, "The Ordeal of Herbert Hoover," *Yale Review* 32 (September 1963): 563.
4. Martin L. Fausold, *The Presidency of Herbert Hoover* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1985), p. 25.
5. Joan Hoff Wilson, *Herbert Hoover, Forgotten Progressive* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975).
6. William Appleman Williams, *Contours of American History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1961), p. 426.
7. Ellis W. Hawley, "Herbert Hoover and American Corporativism, 1929–1933," in Martin L. Fausold and George T. Mazuzan, eds., *The Hoover Presidency: A Reappraisal* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1974), p. 102.
8. Murray N. Rothbard, *America's Great Depression* (Los Angeles: Nash Publishers, 1972).
9. Fausold, *The Presidency of Herbert Hoover*, p. 245.
10. Donald McCoy, *Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 33.
11. Fausold, *The Presidency of Herbert Hoover*, p. 21.
12. William E. Leuchtenburg, *Herbert Hoover* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2009), pp. 58–59.
13. Herbert Hoover, *American Individualism* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1923), pp. 1–2, 6–7, 12.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54, 59.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 30.
17. Herbert Hoover, *The New Day: Campaign Speeches of Herbert Hoover* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1938), p. 156.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.
19. Gerald D. Nash, *United States Oil Policy 1890–1964* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968), p. 20.
20. Fausold, *The Presidency of Herbert Hoover*, pp. 126–27.
21. Leuchtenburg, *Herbert Hoover*, pp. 69–70.
22. Herbert Hoover, *The State Papers and Other Public Writings of Herbert Hoover* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1934), 2:264, 250, 470.
23. Herbert Hoover, *Addressees upon the American Road* (New York: Scribner, 1938), p. 333.
24. James D. Barber, *Presidential Character* (New York: Pearson / Longman, 2009), p. 58.
25. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order 1919–1933*, p. 243.
26. Herbert Hoover, *Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson* (Washington, DC: Kessinger Press, 2010), p. 247.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
28. Barber, *Presidential Character*, p. 65.
29. John D. Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy 1921–1933* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. x.

## 11 *Ex Parte Exercitii*: Richard M. Nixon

1. Frequently there was a discernible measure of class prejudice in this characterization (one that Nixon was always quick to detect). The Herblock cartoons in particular trade upon these stereotypes, frequently depicting Nixon as a street lawyer and car salesman often covered in mud. See, *Herblock's State of the Union* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972). Adlai Stevenson's observations on "Nixonland" as a place characterized by "hustling, pushing, shoving—the land of smash and grab and anything to win" also spoke by innuendo of the upper-class disdain for the ambition of the arriviste.
2. Conrad Black, *Richard M. Nixon: A Life in Full* (New York: Public Affairs, 2007), p. 1057.
3. Max J. Skidmore, *Presidential Performance* (London: McFarland and Co., 2004), p. 298. For summaries of varying assessments, see, David Greenberg, *Nixon's Shadow* (New York: Norton, 2003); Daniel Frick, *Reinventing Richard Nixon* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008).
4. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Imperial Presidency* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), p. 255.
5. Washington Post staff, *The Presidential Transcripts* (New York: Dell, 1974), pp. 84, 88.
6. Gary Wills, "Richard Milhous Nixon," in Joel Kreiger, ed., *Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 643.
7. For a review of conservative ambivalence to Nixon throughout his career, see, Sarah Kathernie Mergel, *Conservative Intellectuals and Richard Nixon* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
8. Richard Price, *With Nixon* (New York: Vintage, 1977), p. 213.
9. Richard Reeves, *President Nixon* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), p. 11. Dent laid out his agenda for the president that also included delaying Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) sanctions against segregated textile mills in a memo, "The President's Developing Image in the South," labeled "EXTREMELY CONFIDENTIAL," Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library, Dent to Haldeman and Erlichman, February 3, 1969.
10. *New York Times*, April 16, 1969. Nixon's response to Reston's column was, "Good job! But don't expect them to *remain* good!" Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library (RMNPL), Moynihan to the President, April 16, 1969.

11. RMNPL, Leonard Garment to Jim Keogh, February 17, 1969.
12. William Safire, *Before the Fall* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), p. 212.
13. Michael A. Genovese, *The Nixon Presidency* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. 136.
14. Robert Dallek, *Nixon and Kissinger* (New York: Harpercollins, 2007), pp. 455–56.
15. Nixon was puzzled by Sirica's actions. He asked Colson, "What the hell is his strategy?" and speculated that he was hoping for a Supreme Court nomination by a Democratic president. When Colson explained that Sirica was a Republican, a "very decent guy dedicated to you and to Eisenhower," the president remained unconvinced. Richard Reeves, *President Nixon* (Simon and Schuster, 2002), p. 568.
16. Richard M. Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard M. Nixon* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1978), p. 935.
17. The range of speculation itself is an indication of Nixon's ability to keep his supporters as well as his adversaries off guard. See, Deborah Hart Strober and Gerald S. Strober, *The Nixon Presidency: An Oral History of the Era* (Washington, DC: Brasseys, 2003), pp. 407–18.
18. See, especially, Bruce Mazlish, *In Search of Nixon* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1972) and Lanik Volkam, Norman Itzkowitz, and Andrew W. Dod, *Richard Nixon: A Psychobiography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) who contend that Nixon subsequently identified with his father. For a somewhat skeptical review of Nixon psychobiographies, see, Greenberg, *Nixon's Shadow*, pp. 232–69.
19. John Ehrlichman, *Witness to Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), p. 346.
20. Herbert S. Parmet, *Richard M. Nixon: An American Enigma* (New York: Pearson Longman, 1982); Rick Perlstein, *Nixonland* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008); Tom Wicker, *One of Us: Richard Nixon and the American Dream* (New York: Random House, 1991).
21. Wicker, *One of Us*, p. 686.
22. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Imperial Presidency* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), p. 212.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, p. 418.
26. Garry Wills, *The Kennedy Imprisonment: A Meditation on Power* (New York; Boston: Little, Brown, 1982); Bruce Kuklick, *The Good Ruler: From Herbert Hoover to Richard Nixon* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), pp. 100–103.
27. Joan Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), pp. 335–36.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
29. Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 43.

30. Safire, *Before the Fall*, pp. 98–99.
31. Gary Wills, *Nixon Agonistes* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), p. 547.
32. Nixon frequently repeated the secrecy critique of Wilson in his post-presidency foreign policy reviews. See, Richard Nixon, *The Real War* (New York: Warner Books, 1980), p. 253; *Seize the Moment: America's Challenge in a One-Superpower World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), p. 229; 1999: *Victory without War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), p. 175.
33. Reeves, *President Nixon*, p. 45; Walter Isaacson, *Kissinger: A Biography* (New York: Touchstone, 1992), pp. 74–77.
34. Nixon, RN, p. 271.
35. Richard Nixon, *In the Arena* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), p. 27.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
38. Safire, *Before the Fall*, p. 688.
39. RMNPL, Moynihan to the President, March 19, 1969.
40. “The Revolt of the Lower Middle Class,” *New York Magazine*, April 14, 1969.
41. Louis Hartz made the distinction between the two Thermidorian versions in his analysis of the agenda of the founding fathers. *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1955), pp. 81–82.
42. Lawrence Goodman describes this process in the Populist movement after 1900. *The Populist Moment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
43. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963).
44. Reeves, *President Nixon*, p. 24.
45. H. R. Haldeman, *The Haldeman Diaries* (New York: Putnam's, 1994), p. 73.
46. Price to the President, November 13, 1970, RMNPL; Safire, *Before the Fall*, p. 541.
47. Nixon, RN, p. 380.
48. RMNPL, “Thunder on the Right,” Buchanan to the President, January 6, 1971. Buchanan told the president he was regarded as a “liberal Democrat” by conservatives who saw themselves as the “n—s of the administration”; Butterfield to Haldeman, June 11, 1969. Butterfield was relaying a report by Harry Dent on the consequences of Reagan's anticipated victory in California; Haldeman, *Haldeman Diaries*, January 11, 1970, p. 119.
49. Nixon, RN, pp. 588–89. In retrospect, McGovern's assessment was similar to Nixon's. McGovern described the convention as a “nightmare” and lamented the “foolish” decision on the “unstructured” convention. Strober and Strober, eds., *Nixon: An Oral History of His Presidency*

(Washington, DC: Brasseys, 2003), p. 264; Ehrlichman, *Witness to Power*, p. 327.

50. *Washington Post*, August 9, 1979.

## 12 The Latest Bad President?: George W. Bush

1. *Wall Street Journal Poll*, 2005; *CSPAN Poll*, 2010; *HNN*, 2008; *Siena Research Institute Poll*, 2010.
2. Robert S. McElvaine, "Historians vs. George W. Bush," *HNN*, April 1, 2008, pp. 1–14.
3. See, for examples, Jamie Dettmer, "Bush Comparison to Hayes Is Flattering," *Insight on the News*, January 1, 2001; Said Singer, "Unlikely Compatriots," *National Review*, October 2, 2001; Stephen K Tootle, "The Return of William McKinley," *Clarmont Review of Books IV*, #3 (2004); Harold Myerson, "Bush's Final Fiasco," *Washington Post*, December 3, 2008.
4. See, Irving Ribner, "Bolingbroke, a True Machiavellian," *Modern Language Quarterly* 9 (June 1948): 177–84, who compares Bolingbroke's actions to those recommended by Machiavelli in *The Prince* and also Bruce Stirling, "Bolingbroke's Decision," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 2 (January 1951): 27–24.
5. For early generally positive assessments by political scientists, see, Gary L. Gregg and Mark J. Rozell, eds., *Considering the Bush Presidency* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004); Colin Campbell and Bert Rockman, eds., *The George W. Bush Presidency: Appraisals and Prospects* (Washington, DC: Congressional Studies Quarterly, 2004).
6. James Moore and Wayne Slater, *Bush's Brain: How Karl Rove Made George W. Bush Presidential* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2003); Robert Draper, *Dead Certain: The Presidency of George W. Bush* (New York: Free Press, 2007); Shirley Ann Warshaw, *The Co-Presidency of Bush and Cheney* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2009).
7. Richard Neustadt highlights this example in *Presidential Power* (New York: Free Press, 1991), pp. 108–23.
8. James P. Pfiffner, "The First MBA President: George W. Bush as Public Administrator," *Public Administration Review* 67 (2007): 6–20.
9. Richard T. Syles, "President Bush and Hurricane Katrina: A Presidential Leadership Study," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 604 (March 2006): 27.
10. Douglas Brinkley, *The Great Deluge* (New York: Harpercollins, 2006), pp. 542–44.
11. Alan Wolfe, *Does Democracy Still Work?* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 74.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 178–79.

13. Gary C. Jacobson, *A Divider, Not a Uniter* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007), p. 1.
14. Both supporters and critics of the unitary executive acknowledge historical precedent while highlighting Bush's contribution. See, for example, John Yoo, *Crisis and Command* (New York: Kaplan, 2010); Ryan J. Bailleaux and Christopher S. Kelly, *The Unitary Executive and the Modern Presidency* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2010); Michael Genovese and Lori Cox, eds., *The Presidency and the Challenge of American Democracy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
15. George Edwards III, *Governing by Campaigning: The Politics of the Bush Presidency* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007).
16. Gerald M. Pomper, "A Divider, Not a Uniter" (book review), *Forum* 5, #3 (2007): 1–4.
17. Stephen Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008), p. 162.
18. Gary Wills, *Bomb Power: The Modern Presidency and the National Security State* (New York: Penguin, 2010).
19. Sheldon Wolin, *Democracy Incorporated* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 116, 44.
20. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
21. Ellen B. Smith, *The Presidency of James Buchanan* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1975), pp. 192–98.
22. Bruce Miroff, "The Presidency and the Public: Leadership as Spectacle," in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2006), p. 282.
23. Philip Van Doren Stern, ed., "Letter to A. Hodges," in *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Modern Library, 1942), p. 807.

## 13 Conclusion

1. See, for example, Stephen Skowronek who asks, "How is it that a mere party regular trumped the achievements not only of Polk and Pierce but Jefferson and Jackson as well?" *The Politics Presidents Make* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 201.
2. See especially, the comments by Gouverneur Morris and Rufus King during the debates at the convention. "Records of the Federal Convention," in Philip K. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, eds., *The Founders' Constitution* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1987), vol. II, pp. 151–55.
3. "Federalist #68," in Edward Mead Earle, ed., *The Federalist* (New York: Modern Library, 1937), p. 444.
4. Note the comment by Benjamin Franklin in Kurland and Lerner, eds., *The Founder's Constitution*, p. 154.

5. Michael A. Genovese discusses this option. *A Presidential Nation: Causes, Consequences, and Cures* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013), pp. 163–64.
6. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., “On Presidential Succession,” *Political Science Quarterly* 89 (1974): 475–505. See, Philip Abbott, *Accidental Presidents: Death, Assassination, Resignation and Democratic Succession* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 198–205, for a discussion of this proposal and others concerning succession and the vice presidency.
7. On this point, see especially, Terry Moe, “The Politicized Presidency,” in John E. Chubb and Paul Peterson, eds., *The New Direction in American Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1993), pp. 235–71. Moe attributes this “quest for control” to bureaucratization of the office but Daniel Gavin and Colleen Shogan have shown that this behavior predates the modern presidency. “Presidential Politicization and Centralization across the Modern-Traditional Divide,” *Polity* 34 (2004): 479–504. Also consider the implications of the “opportunistic politician” offered by Lara Brown, *Jockeying for the American Presidency: The Political Opportunism of Aspirants* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2010).
8. Georg Simmel, “The Stranger,” in Donald Levine, ed., *On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 142–49.
9. Simmel himself was victim of anti-Semitism, which may have influenced his own work. See, Lewis Coser, “Georg Simmel’s Style of Work,” *American Journal of Sociology* 63 (May 1958): 635–41.



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