

# Notes

## Chapter One Succession and Democratic Theory

1. Bertrand de Jouvenal, *Sovereignty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 98–99.
2. C. H. Dood, “Political Succession in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey,” in Peter Calvert, ed., *The Process of Political Succession* (London: Macmillan, 1987), p. 82.
3. Robbins Burling, *The Passage of Power: Studies in Political Succession* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), p. 214.
4. See, for example: Peter Calvert, “The Theory of Political Succession” in Calvert, ed., *The Process of Political Succession*, pp. 245–65; Robert Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); Michael Saward, *Democracy* (London: Polity Press, 2003); Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1943).
5. For a review of this phenomenon in theory and a critique of practice, see Richard A. Brody, *Assessing the President* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 27–44.
6. Philip Abbott, Marjorie Sarbaugh-Thompson, and Lyke Thompson, “The Social Construction of a Legitimate Presidency,” *Studies in American Political Development* (Fall 2002), pp. 208–230.
7. Martin Van Buren, *Inquiry into the Origin and Cause of Political Parties in the United States* (New York, 1876), p. 290.
8. Sergio Bertelli, *The King’s Body* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 214–30.
9. James E. Campbell divides presidential elections into four categories (near dead heats, close contests, moderate competitive elections, and landslides). One-third of the elections constitute landslides. *The American Campaign: US Presidential Elections and the National Vote* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), pp. 163–85.
10. Robert Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics* (New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 119–31. The inclusion problem, of course, is coterminal for the entire history of presidential elections with respect to African Americans and was prominent in the 2000 election recount.
11. Calvert, “The Theory of Political Succession,” p. 246.
12. Juan J. Linz argues parliamentary systems are noticeably superior to presidential ones in this regard. “Presidential or Parliamentary

- Democracy: Does It Make a Difference?” in Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp. 3–87.
13. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., “On Presidential Succession.” *Political Science Quarterly* 89 (1974), pp. 475–505.
  14. 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), 2:537. 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.
  15. Morris suggested the chief justice of the Supreme Court, a frequently mentioned member of the Executive Council, be the designated successor. Farrand, *The Records of the Constitutional Convention*, p. 427.
  16. Farrand, *The Records of the Constitutional Convention*, p. 427.
  17. *Ibid.*, p. 537.
  18. See Ruth C. Silva, *Presidential Succession* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 13.
  19. “Federalist No. 68” in Edward Mead Earle, ed., *The Federalist* (New York: Modern Library, 1937), p. 445.
  20. *The Debate on the Constitution* (New York: Modern Library, 1993), pp. 347, 359.
  21. Richard P. McCormick reviews these “uncertain rules for a hazardous game” in *The Presidential Game: The Origin of Presidential Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1882).
  22. Henry Adams, ed., *The Writings of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), 1:51.
  23. 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.
  24. Jody C. Baumgartner, *The American Vice President Reconsidered* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), pp. 14–16.
  25. Hearings on Presidential Inability and Vacancies in the Office of Vice President before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 88th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 19, 240.
  26. *Congressional Record* 111, April 1, 1965, p. 7960.
  27. See chapter 10. For a general appraisal, see John D. Feerick, *The Twenty-Fifth Amendment* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), pp. 193–239.
  28. Although the period is relatively limited, the Twentieth Amendment would seem to aid vice presidents since they can be constitutionally assured of a vacancy.

29. Vance R. Kincaide, Jr. reviews these cases in *Heirs Apparent: Solving the Vice presidential Dilemma* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000).
30. On the gift relationship between president and vice president, see, Marie D. Natoli, *American Prince, American Pauper* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 102–22. Richard Neustadt characterizes the value of the vice president to the president in recent years as one emanating from a relationship of once equal political strength and current reliable dependence. “Vice Presidents as National Leaders: Reflections, Past, Present and Future” in Timothy Walch, ed., *At the President’s Side: The Vice Presidency in the Twentieth Century* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1997), p. 185.
31. Albert Eisele, *Almost to the Presidency* (Minnesota: Piper, 1972), p. 372.
32. Theodore Roosevelt failed to obtain renomination for a second elected term in 1912 and ran for president on a third-party ticket. Ford received his party’s nomination but lost the election in 1976.
33. Presidential rankings of Tyler, Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, and Coolidge show very little volatility across the Schlesinger, Maranelli, *Chicago Tribune*, Murray, Federalist Society, and Siena Research Institute polls while Truman’s does. James P. Pfiffner, “Ranking the Presidents: Continuity and Volatility,” *White House Studies* 3 (Winter 2003), pp. 23–36.
34. James David Barber, *The Presidential Character* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 9.
35. Steven J. Rubenzer and Thomas R. Faschingbauer, *Personality, Character, and Leadership in the White House* (Potomac books: Washington, DC, 2004), pp. 22, 25.
36. Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 47–48.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 259. For Skowronek, TR is also a difficult case since his policies bore some resemblance to reconstructive politics and his campaign for the presidency in 1912 promised major departures.
38. For problems with classification models of the presidency, see Philip Abbott, “Borges’ Encyclopedia and Classification in Presidential Studies,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (December 2004), pp. 709–31.

## Chapter Two John Tyler

1. John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843), 10:463.
2. 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.
3. Edward P. Crapol, *John Tyler: The Accidental President* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), p. 278.

4. Wilfred E. Brinkley, *President and Congress* (New York: Knopf, 1947), p. 99.
5. 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.
6. Dan Monroe, *The Republican Vision of John Tyler* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University, 2003), p. 63.
7. 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.
8. "Inaugural Address" in John D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), 4:37.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
10. 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.
11. Jeffrey Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).
12. Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 142.
13. Monroe, *The Republican Vision of John Tyler*, p. 137.
14. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 148.
15. "Second Annual Message" in Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. 4, p. 194.
16. "Special Message" in Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 4:318–19.
17. Justin H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas* (New York: AMS Press, 1971), p. 189.
18. "To the Senate of the United States" in Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the President*, 4:308.
19. James David Barber, *The Presidential Character* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1985), p. 9.
20. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 128.
21. Monroe, *The Republican Vision of John Tyler*, p. 112. Morgan's characterization of Tyler as "Jacksonian Whig" (*Whig Embattled: The Presidency under John Tyler*) may be closer to the mark but overlooks the enormous contradictions in this position.
22. Crapol, *John Tyler: The Accidental President*, p. 282.
23. "To the House of Representatives of the United States" in Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the President*, 4:68–69.

## Chapter Three Millard Fillmore

1. Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 523.

2. Ibid., p. 524.
3. Ibid., p. 522; Jean Harvey Baker, "Millard Fillmore" in James M. McPherson, *To the Best of My Ability* (New York: Dorling, Kinderley, 200), p. 102.
4. John C. Waugh, *On the Brink of Civil War: The Compromise of 1850 and How It Changed the Course of American History* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), pp. 168–69.
5. W. L. Barre, *The Life and Public Services of Millard Fillmore* (Buffalo: Wansee, McKim, 1856), p. 124. Interestingly, the observer later questioned whether the young Fillmore had the "self confidence and assurance" to be a "political chieftain."
6. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 522.
7. Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), pp. 210–11.
8. In 1854, Fillmore announced that he decided to favor the compromise within two weeks after assuming the presidency. "Speech at Louisville," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, Frank H. Severance, ed. (Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Historical Society, 1907), 10:432.
9. See: Glenn A. Phelps's *George Washington and American Constitutionalism* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993).
10. Elber 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 and initial Southern skepticism about Fillmore's motives. Perhaps they are also 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.
11. 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.
12. Waugh, *On the Brink of Civil War*, p. 179.
13. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 535.
14. Smith, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore*, p. 195.
15. In Boston, Fillmore noted that while Washington's journey from Virginia to Massachusetts took eleven days, he had made the trip in as many hours. *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, p. 424.
16. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 5:165–66.
17. Raybick, *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President*, p. 253.
18. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 596.
19. Waugh, *On the Brink of Civil War*, p. 183.
20. "Letter to Daniel Webster, October 23, 1850," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, p. 335.
21. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the Whig Party*, p. 598.

22. Smith, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore*, p. 242.
23. Raybick, *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President*, p. 414.
24. Michael Holt, *Political Parties and American Political Development* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), p. 272.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
26. Waugh, *On the Brink of Civil War*, pp. 190–91.

## Chapter Four Andrew Johnson

1. William H. Rehenquist, *Grand Inquests* (New York: William Morrow, 1992), p. 22. See David Donald, “Why They Impeached Andrew Johnson,” *American Heritage* (December, 1956), 7:21–25 for a different assessment. It should also be noted that until the 1960s, Johnson’s general reputation was rather high first as a result of negative assessments of Reconstruction and then as negative reassessments of the Civil War in the 1930s. See as examples two popular accounts: Claude Bowers, *The Tragic Era: The Revolution after Lincoln* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929); George F. Milton, *The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1930). Bowers described Johnson as one “who fought the bravest battle ever waged by an Executive” against “brutal, hypocritical and corrupt” men.
2. Brooks D. Simpson, *The Reconstruction Presidents* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998), p. 69.
3. Howard P. Nash, Jr., *Andrew Johnson, Congress and Reconstruction* (Rutherford, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), pp. 23–24.
4. John J. Craven, *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis* (New York, 1866), p. 261.
5. Hans L. Trefouse, *Andrew Johnson* (New York: Norton, 1989), pp. 35–50.
6. Trefouse, *Andrew Johnson*, p. 183.
7. See Stephen Howard Browse’s analysis: “Andrew Johnson and the Politics of Character” in Martin J. Medhurst, ed., *Before the Rhetorical Presidency* (College Station, TX; Texas A&M Press, 2008).
8. Trefouse, *Andrew Johnson*, p. 215.
9. 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.
10. W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South*, Paperback ed. (New York: Knopf, 1941).
11. LaWanda Cox and John H. Carr, *Politics, Principle and Prejudice, 1861–1866* (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 151–55.
12. Simpson, *The Reconstruction Presidents*, p. 86.
13. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, ed. LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1967), 9:466.
14. Simpson, *Reconstruction Presidents*, p. 92.

15. 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." Trefose, *Andrew Johnson*, p. 242.
16. P. Nash, Jr., *Andrew Johnson, Congress and Reconstruction*, p. 67.
17. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, ed. LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins et al. (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1967).
18. Howard P. Nash, Jr., *Andrew Johnson, Congress and Reconstruction*, pp. 94–96.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
20. *New York Herald Tribune*, February 23, 1866.
21. *New York Herald Tribune*, September 11, 1866; *New York Evening Post*, February 23, 1866.
22. *Nation* (3) 1866, p. 191.
23. Martin E. Mantell, *Johnson, Grant, and the Politics of Reconstruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 68.

## Chapter Five Theodore Roosevelt

1. Jeffrey Tulis in *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987) discusses the novelty of Johnson's decision to "go public" and compares it to Roosevelt's.
2. Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: McCann and Geoghegan, 1979), pp. 12, 13, 20, 21; Stephen Gwynn, ed., *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 1:437; Bernard de Voto, ed., *Mark Twain in Eruption* (New York: Harpers, 1940, p. 8; Theodore Roosevelt, "National Life and Character" in *American Ideals* (New York: Putnam's, 1897), 2:93.
3. H. W. Brands, *T. R.: The Last Romantic* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), p. 339.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 357.
5. Theodore Roosevelt, "National Life and Character" in *American Ideals*, (New York: Putnam's, 1897), 2:93.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
7. *Gouverneur Morris, The Works of Theodore Roosevelt: National Edition* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1926), 7:469.
8. Elting E. Morison and John Blum, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951–54), 1:102; Morgan, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 333.
9. Morgan, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 374; *Thomas Hart Benton in Works*, 7:5, 6, 232. Two years later in volume I of *The Winning of the West*, TR expanded his account of westward migration in terms of "race expansion." *The Winning of the West* (New York: Putnam's, 1889), 1:1–27.
10. *Thomas Hart Benton in Works*, 7:233.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 75–76.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 79, 92.
14. Morison and Blum, eds., *Letters*, 2:1047.
15. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt* (McLean, VA: Indypublis.com, 2002), p. 42.
16. Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Knopf, 2002), p. 81.
17. Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 63.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61.
19. Paul Grondahl, *I Rose like a Rocket: The Political Education of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Free Press, 2004), p. 107.
20. Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 63.
21. Grondahl, *I Rose like a Rocket*, p. 223.
22. Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 140.
23. Grondahl, *I Rose like a Rocket*, p. 248.
24. Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 228–29.
25. Brands, *TR: The Last Romantic*, p. 403.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, p. 410.
28. Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt: Letters and Speeches* (New York: Library of America, 2004), p. 243.
29. Brands, *TR: The Last Romantic*, p. 421.
30. Roosevelt, *Letters and Speeches*, p. 224.
31. *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), p. 350.
32. Brands, *T.R.: The Last Romantic*, p. 417.
33. John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 52. For TR's views on Hanna's intentions as a candidate himself, see his letter to his son in January, 1904. *Theodore Roosevelt: Letters and Speeches*, pp. 307–8.
34. Theodore Roosevelt, "First Annual Message," in *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 14:6642–43.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 6641, 6642, 6645.
36. Harbaugh, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Collier, 1961) p. 172.
37. *Autobiography*, p. 468.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
39. Harbaugh, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 179.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 372, 373; John Morton Blum places major blame on Taft and his advisors for antagonizing this spirited man. *The Republican President* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 145.
41. Harbaugh, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 398.
42. At the close of his administration, TR compared America to the French Second Republic with "Bryanites" and "Debsites" cast in the role of radicals who, given the opportunity, would act like their alleged French



counterparts who “adopted every kind of impossible policy, including the famous national workshops for the unemployed.” He cast himself as the heroic alternative to a Louis Napoleon whose regime rested on “force, corruption, and repression.” Morison and Blum, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 6:954.

43. “Fifth Annual Message,” *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 14:6985–66.

## Chapter Six Chester A. Arthur

1. *In Memoriam: Gems of Poetry and Song on James A. Garfield* (Columbus, OH: J. C. McClenhan, 1881), pp. 12–13, 79.
2. Thomas C. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss: The Life of Chester Alan Arthur* (New York: Knopf), pp. 245–46.
3. Tennyson was Garfield’s favorite author.
4. Justus D. Doenecke, *The Presidencies of James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1981), p. 54.
5. The comment was made by Senator James McDougall of California. Zachary Karabell, *Chester Alan Arthur* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004), p. 20.
6. On Conkling’s career, see David Jordan, *Roscoe Conkling of New York* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971).
7. Karabell, *Chester Alan Arthur*, p. 20.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
9. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss*, p. 319.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 179–80.
11. Kenneth D. Ackerman, *Dark Horse* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2003), p. 133.
12. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss*.
13. Ackerman, *Dark Horse*, pp. 407–8.
14. Allan Perkins, *Garfield* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1978), p. 250.
15. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss*, p. 255.
16. James C. Clark, *The Murder of James A. Garfield: The Last Days and the Trial and Execution of His Assassin* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1993), p. 133.
17. John A. Garrity, *The New Commonwealth: 1877–1890* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 252.
18. Philip Abbott, *The Challenge of the American Presidency* (Chicago: Waveland Press), p. 66.
19. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss*, p. 271.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 320
21. “Second State of the Union Address,” December 4, 1882 in John D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. 8. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897).

22. Doenecke notes Arthur's role as founder of the modern American navy. Doenecke, *The Presidencies of James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur*, p. 147.
23. Doenecke, *The Presidencies of James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur*, p. 135.
24. Karabell, *Chester Alan Arthur*, p. 131.
25. James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (London: Macmillan, 1891), 2:131–34.

## Chapter Seven Harry S. Truman

1. Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman: Year of Decisions* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955), p. 19.
2. John Morton Blum, ed. *The Price of Vision: The Diary of Henry A. Wallace, 1942–1946* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), p. 448. Truman's reciprocated this distrust. He told Maury Maverick, the problem with "the so-called FDR people" was that they all wanted to lead because they started at the top and "never polled a precinct or became elected in their lives...at least they're great on ballyhoo." Robert H. Ferrell, *Harry S. Truman: A Life* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1994), p. 186.
3. Henry A Wallace, "The Challenge of 1947." *New Republic* (January 6, 1947), p. 23.
4. "Report from Britain," *New Republic* (April 28, 1947), p. 45; also see Wallace's review of Scandinavian politics: "Scandinavia in Two Worlds," *New Republic* (May 26, 1947), pp. 12, 13–44.
5. William E. Leuchtenburg, *In the Shadow of FDR* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 15.
6. On FDR's populist turn, see Philip Abbott, *The Exemplary Presidency: FDR and the American Political Tradition* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), pp. 110–31.
7. Robert H. Ferrell, *Truman and Pendergast* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1999), p. 19.
8. Merle Miller, *Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman* (New York: Putnam's, 1973), pp. 196, 384.
9. William E. Pemberton, *Harry S. Truman: Fair Dealer and Cold Warrior* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), p. 27.
10. Richard Lawrence Miller, *Truman: The Rise to Power* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1986), pp. 282–83.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 349–50.
12. Alonzo L. Hamby, *Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 249.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 260.
14. Robert H. Ferrell argues that Truman played his cards quite well. Knowing that FDR disliked ambitious politicians, he always feigned

- reluctance in seeking the office. *Choosing Truman: The Democratic Convention of 1944* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1994), pp. 93–95.
15. Miller, *Plain Speaking*, pp. 196–97.
  16. *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 209.
  17. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
  18. Address before a Joint Session of the Congress, April 16, 1945, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library (HSTPL).
  19. Miller, *Plain Speaking*, p. 249.
  20. Roy Jenkins offers an astute analysis of Truman's view of FDR. *Truman* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), pp. 67–68.
  21. Hamby, *Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman*, p. 295.
  22. Leuchtenburg, *In the Shadow of FDR*, pp. 11–12.
  23. Truman, *Memoirs*, p. 482. Rosenman's recollection matches the president's. Oral History, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, p. 58.
  24. Donald R. McCoy, *The Presidency of Harry S. Truman* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1984), p. 48.
  25. Truman, *Memoirs*, pp. 482–83.
  26. Robert J. Donovan, *Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1945–1948* (New York: Norton, 1977), p. 115.
  27. "Candidate Truman's Magic Brew," *Saturday Evening Post*, December 31, 1949, p. 12.
  28. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, J. P. Mayer, ed. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), pp. 531–32.
  29. In his classic work, Louis Hartz contends that New Deal programs were fundamentally liberal ones although they might have appeared to both supporters and opponents to be social democratic. In *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace 1955). Allan Brinkley contends that the New Deal reached its disintegrating point as early as 1937. See also his *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Vintage, 1995), pp. 270–71. For a different view that largely reiterates Wallace's critique, see Jonathan Bell, *The Liberal State on Trial: The Cold War and American Politics in the Truman Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 272–73.
  30. McCoy, *The Presidency of Harry S. Truman*, p. 51.
  31. Notes, Speech File, October 14, 1945, HSTPL.
  32. Jenkins, *Truman*, p. 85.
  33. Draft, Railway Strike Speech, Clark Clifford Papers, HSTPL Although Robert J. Donovan regards the draft as "one of the most astonishing documents in the history of the presidency," he concludes that Truman had no intention of delivering it. *Conflict and Crisis*, p. 212. Jenkins agrees. (*Truman*, pp. 86–87). Clifford was a bit less certain. Clark Clifford, *Counsel to the President* (New York: Random House, 1991), p. 89.
  34. Harold L. Ickes, *Diaries of Harold L. Ickes* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1955), p. 204.

35. Hamby, *Man of the People*, p. 42.
36. *Chicago Tribune*, June 11, 1946.
37. “The Twilight of the Thirties” (1939) and “The Unfuture of Utopia” (1949) in Philip Rahv, ed., *Literature and the Sixth Sense* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), pp. 324, 332.
38. Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade: The Stalinist Penetration of America* (New York, 1941), p. 129.
39. Address to Congress, March 12, 1947, HSTPL.
40. Margaret Truman, *Harry S. Truman* (New York: William Morrow, 1973), p. 330.
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7. Stephen E. Ambrose reviews Nixon's options in "The Nixon-Ford Relationship," in Bernard J. Firestone and Alexj Uginsky, eds., *Gerald R.*



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  10. Seymour M. Hersh, “The Pardon,” *Atlantic Monthly* (August 1983), p. 56.
  11. Ford, *A Time to Heal*, p. 120.
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  13. “Transition Team Report,” Gerald Ford Presidential Library, pp. 16–17.
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  16. Stanley Kutler, among others, has concluded “no deal” was made although the meeting helped to reassure Nixon’s expectation that a pardon was inevitable. *The Wars of Watergate* (New York: Knopf, 1990), p. 409. For Haig’s account, see: *Inner Circles* (New York: Warner, 1992), pp. 481–83. Haig insists that Nixon had no knowledge of the options he presented to Ford.
  17. “Remarks on Taking the Oath of Office as President,” GFPL.
  18. Ford, *A Time to Heal*, p. 126.
  19. *Time Magazine*, September 2, 1973.
  20. Ford, *A Time to Heal*, p. 148; Philip Buchen, A. James Reichley Transcripts, GFPL.
  21. *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 148.
  22. Greene, *The Presidency of Gerald Ford*, pp. 30–31.
  23. Reagan rejected a vice presidential offer in 1976 but may have been more amenable in 1974.
  24. Cannon, *Time and Chance*, p. 388.
  25. *Ibid.*, p. 389.
  26. “Statement by the President,” October 17, 1974, p. 8, GFPL.
  27. “Appearance by the President before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice,” October 17, 1974, p. 35, GFPL.
  28. The effort to reopen the investigation failed by a 4–3 with two Democrats voting in the negative.
  29. See, for example, Stephen E. Ambrose, “The Nixon-Ford Relationship,” pp. 21–22; Cannon, *Time and Change*, pp. 413–14; Greene, *The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford*, pp. 192–93; Yanek Mieczkowski, *Gerald Ford and the Challenges of the 1970s* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), p. 352. Mark Rozell reviews criticisms and defenses of Ford’s pardon decision in “President Ford’s Pardon of Richard M. Nixon: Constitutional and Political Considerations,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Winter 1994), pp. 121–37. Eulogies at the Ford’s death treated the pardon as the defining moment of his presidency. *New York Times*, January 5, 2007.
  30. Kutler suggests that Ford believed that Nixon would eventually admit guilt in gratitude for the pardon. *The Wars of Watergate*, pp. 562–63.

31. Rozell, *The Press and the Ford Presidency*, pp. 195–98; Mieczkowski, *Gerald Ford and the Challenges of the 1970s*, pp. 48–49.
32. Buchen to James E. Brown, June 11, 1975; President Ford's Day 1975: A Proclamation; Buchen to Warren Rustand, July 14, 1975; Buchen to Ford, July 23, 1975; *Washington Post*, August 10, 1975.
33. Norman Mailer, "The Search for Jimmy Carter," *New York Times Magazine*, September 26, 1976, p. 19.
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## Chapter Eleven Conclusion: Refounding Succession

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2. Appearance by the President before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, October 17, 1974, p. 35. Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.
3. For a sympathetic treatment of Garner, see Bascom Timmons, *Garner of Texas* (New York: Harpers, 1948).
4. See Stephen F. Hayes, *Cheney* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007).
5. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "On Presidential Succession." *Political Science Quarterly* 89 (1974), p. 503.
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10. See, for example, Joel K. Goldstein, *The Modern American Vice Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 278.
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