

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

BIBLIOGRAPHY

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

☆ ☆ ☆ **ABRAHAM LINCOLN** ☆ ☆ ☆

Chapter One

- Barrett, Joseph Hartwell. *Life of Abraham Lincoln, Presenting His Early History, Political Career, and Speeches in and out of Congress; Also, a General View of His Policy as President of the United States; with His Messages, Proclamations, Letters, Etc., and a History of His Eventful Administration, and of the Scenes Attendant Upon His Tragic and Lamented Demise.* Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin, 1865.
- Bartlett, David W. *The Life and Public Services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln, with a Portrait on Steel. To Which Is Added a Biographical Sketch of Hon. Hannibal Hamlin.* New York: H. Dayton, 1860.
- Basler, Roy P., ed. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln.* 8 vols. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- Black, Robert. *A Memoir of Abraham Lincoln, President Elect of the United States of America, His Opinion on Secession, Extracts from the United States Constitution, &c. To Which Is Appended an Historical Sketch on Slavery, Reprinted by Permission from "The Times."* London: Sampson Low, Son, 1861.
- Boritt, Gabor S., ed. *The Lincoln Enigma: The Changing Faces of an American Icon.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Burlingame, Michael. *Abraham Lincoln: A Life.* Vol. 1. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- . *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Carpenter, Francis B. *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Donald, David Herbert. *Lincoln.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- . *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era.* 3rd ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956; New York: Vintage Books, 2001.

- Fidler, Christine Ann. "Young Limbs of the Law: Law Students, Legal Education and the Occupational Culture of Attorneys, 1820–1860." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1996.
- Herndon, William H. "Analysis of the Character of Abraham Lincoln." *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 1, no. 7 (1941).
- Kotter, John. "What Leaders Really Do." *Harvard Business Review* (May–June 1990).
- Lamon, Ward H. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln: From His Birth to His Inauguration as President*. Boston: James R. Osgood, 1872.
<https://www.loc.gov/item/ltf96017987>.
- Rice, Allen Thorndike, ed. *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time*. New York: North American, 1886.
- Schenk, Joshua Wolf. *Lincoln's Melancholy: How Depression Challenged a President and Fueled His Greatness*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2005.
- Tarbell, Ida M. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. 4 vols. New York: Lincoln Historical Society, 1903.
- Victor, Orville James. *The Private and Public Life of Abraham Lincoln: Comprising a Full Account of His Early Years, and a Succinct Record of His Career as Statesman and President*. New York: Beadle, 1864.
- Warren, Louis. *Lincoln's Youth: Indiana Years, Seven to Twenty-one, 1816–1830*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1959.
- Wilson, Douglas L. *Honor's Voice: The Transformation of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Vintage, 1999.
- Wilson, Douglas L., and Rodney O. Davis, eds. *Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

Chapter Two

- The 1619 Project*. *New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html>.
- Arnold, Isaac N. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. 4th ed. Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1887.
- Basler, Roy P., ed. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. 8 vols. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- Berlin, Ira. "The Origins of Slavery." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. <https://ap.gilderlehrman.org/essay/origins-slavery-0>.
- Browne, Francis Fisher. *The Every-Day Life of Abraham Lincoln: A Narrative and Descriptive Biography*. Chicago: Browne & Howell, 1914.

- Burlingame, Michael. *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Cochran, Luci. “The 1619 Landing—Virginia’s First Africans Report & FAQs.” Hampton History Museum. <https://hampton.gov/3580/The-1619-Landing-Report-FAQs>.
- Donald, David Herbert. *Lincoln*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- Feller, Daniel. “Andrew Jackson: The American Franchise.” Miller Center, University of Virginia. <https://millercenter.org/president/jackson/the-american-franchise>.
- Guy-Sheftall, Beverly, ed. *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*. New York: The New Press, 1995.
- Helm, Katherine. *The True Story of Mary, Wife of Lincoln: Containing the Recollections of Mary Lincoln’s Sister Emilie (Mrs. Ben Hardin Helm), Extracts from Her War-time Diary, Numerous Letters and Other Documents Now First Published by Her Niece, Katherine Helm*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928.
- Herndon, William H., and Jesse W. Weik. *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln: The History and Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing, 1949. <https://archive.org/details/herndonslifeoflinco00hern>.
- Holland, J. G. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. Springfield, MA: Gurdon Bill, 1866.
- Howells, William Dean. “Life of Abraham Lincoln,” in *Lives and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin*. New York: W. A. Townsend, and Columbus, OH: Follett, Foster, 1860.
- Leidner, Gordon. *Lincoln’s Gift: How Humor Shaped Lincoln’s Life and Legacy*. Naperville, IL: Cumberland House, 2015.
- Phillips, Donald. *Lincoln on Leadership*. New York: Warner Books, 1992.
- Rice, Allen Thorndike, ed. *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time*. New York: North American, 1886.
- Stewart, Maria W. “An Address: African Rights and Liberty.” Speech delivered at the African Masonic Hall, Boston, February 27, 1833. <https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/2020/11/20/an-address-african-rights-and-liberty-feb-27-1833>.
- . *Maria W. Stewart, America’s First Black Woman Political Writer: Essays and Speeches*. Edited and introduced by Marilyn Richardson. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Tarbell, Ida M. Assisted by J. McCan Davis. *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: S. S. McClure, 1896.
- Tarbell, Ida M. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. 4 vols. New York: Lincoln Historical Society, 1903.
- Wilson, Douglas L., and Rodney O. Davis, eds. *Herndon’s Informants: Letters,*

Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

Chapter Three

- Abraham Lincoln Papers. Series 1, General Correspondence, 1833 to 1916: "Abraham Lincoln to Congress, Speech regarding Mexican War," 1848. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mal0007400/>.
- Agrawal, Alka. "All the President's Pills: Mercury-Laden Depression Drug May Have Poisoned Lincoln." *Science*. July 20, 2001. <https://www.science.org/content/article/all-presidents-pills>.
- Basler, Roy P., ed. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. 8 vols. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- Browne, Francis Fisher. *The Every-Day Life of Abraham Lincoln: A Narrative and Descriptive Biography*. Chicago: Browne & Howell, 1914.
- Burlingame, Michael. *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*. 2 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- . *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- , ed. *An Oral History of Abraham Lincoln: John Nicolay's Interviews and Essays*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996.
- DeRose, Chris. *Congressman Lincoln: The Making of America's Greatest President*. New York: Threshold, 2013.
- Donald, David Herbert. *Lincoln*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- Hansen, Daniel R. "Do We Need the Bar Examination? A Critical Evaluation of the Justifications for the Bar Examination and Proposed Alternatives." *Case Western Reserve Law Review* 45, no. 4 (1995): 1191–1235.
- Herndon, William H., and Jesse W. Weik. *Herndon's Life of Lincoln: The History and Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing, 1949. <https://archive.org/details/herndonslifeoflinco00hern>.
- . *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life*. 3 vols. Springfield, IL: Herndon's Lincoln Publishing, 1888.
- Lamon, Ward H. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln: From His Birth to His Inauguration as President*. Boston: James R. Osgood, 1872. <https://www.loc.gov/item/ltf96017987>.
- Randall, Ruth Painter. *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1953.
- Sandburg, Carl. *Mary Lincoln: Wife and Mother*. Bedford, Mass.: Applewood Books, 1995.

- Tarbell, Ida M. Assisted by J. McCan Davis. *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: S. S. McClure, 1896.
- Tarbell, Ida M. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. 4 vols. New York: Lincoln Historical Society, 1903.
- Thomas, Benjamin P. *Abraham Lincoln: A Biography*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952.
- Turner, Justin G., and Linda Levitt Turner. *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.
- Wilson, Douglas L. *Lincoln before Washington: New Perspectives on the Illinois Years*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- Wilson, Douglas L., and Rodney O. Davis, eds. *Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

Chapter Four

- “The 1858 Midterm Election.” US Senate. <https://www.senate.gov/about/origins-foundations/electing-appointing-senators/1858-midterm.htm>.
- Baker, Jean H. *Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1989.
- Basler, Roy P., ed. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. 8 vols. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- Congressional Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., December 13, 1849. “Debate in the House of Representatives.”
- Douglass, Frederick. “The Dred Scott Decision.” Speech delivered before the American Anti-Slavery Society. New York, May 14, 1857.
- Fehrenbacher, Don E. *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850's*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1962.
- Finkelman, Paul. *Dred Scott v. Sandford: A Brief History with Documents. The Bedford Series in History and Culture*. Boston and New York: Bedford Books, 1997.
- Fling, Sarah. “Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln.” White House Historical Association. December 4, 2019. <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/frederick-douglass-and-abraham-lincoln>.
- “Great Debate Between Lincoln and Douglas at Quincy.” *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, vol. XII, no. 90 (October 15, 1858).
- Herndon, William H., and Jesse W. Weik. *Herndon's Life of Lincoln: The History and Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing, 1949. <https://archive.org/details/herndonslifeoflinco00hern>.

- Holland, J. G. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. Springfield, MA: Gurdon Bill, 1866.
- Holzer, Harold. "If I Had Another Face, Do You Think I'd Wear This One?" *American Heritage Magazine* 34, no. 2 (February/March 1983).
- Lapsley, Arthur Brooks, ed. *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln*. Vol. 5. New York: Lamb Publishing, 1906.
- Meacham, Jon. *And There Was Light: Abraham Lincoln and the American Struggle*. New York: Random House, 2022.
- Nicolay, John G., and John Hay. *Abraham Lincoln: A History*. Vol. 1. New York: Century, 1890.
- , eds. *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works*. Vol 1. New York: Century, 1907.
- Sandburg Carl. *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943.
- . *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943.
- Schurz, Carl. *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*. Vol. 2: 1852–1863. New York: McClure Co., 1907.
- Strozier, Charles B. *Lincoln's Quest for Union: Public and Private Meanings*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Tarbell, Ida M. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. 4 vols. New York: Lincoln Historical Society, 1903.
- Whitney, Henry C. *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*. Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1892.
- Williams, Robert C. *Horace Greeley: Champion of American Freedom*. New York: NYU Press, 2006.

Chapter Five

- Angle, Paul M., ed. *Abraham Lincoln by Some Men Who Knew Him*. Chicago: Americana House, 1950.
- Baringer, William Eldon. *Lincoln's Rise to Power*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1937.
- Basler, Roy P., ed. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. 8 vols. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- Bowen, Henry C. "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln." *The Independent*, April 4, 1895.
- Burlingame, Michael, and John R. Turner Ettlenger, eds. *Inside Lincoln's White House: The Complete Civil War Diary of John Hay*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1997.
- Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*. May 19, 1860.
- Gormly, Kellie B. "How Kate Warne, America's First Woman Detective, Foiled a Plot to Assassinate Abraham Lincoln." *Smithsonian Magazine*. March 29, 2022.

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-kate-warne-americas-first-woman-detective-foiled-a-plot-to-assassinate-abraham-lincoln-180979829>.

- Jordan, Hill, James I. Robertson, and J. H. Segars, eds. *The Bell Irvin Wiley Reader*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.
- Lamon, Ward Hill. *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847–1865*. Edited by Dorothy Lamon Teillard. A. C. McClurg & Co., 1895; reprinted Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.
- Markham, Edwin. *Brothers for Ever: The Age of Union, 1854–1868*, Vol. 12. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1911.
- Miller, Connie A., Sr. *Frederick Douglass American Hero: And International Icon of the Nineteenth Century*. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2009.
- Nevins, Allan. *Ordeal of the Union*. Vol. 2: *The Emergence of Lincoln, Part II, Prologue to Civil War, 1857–1861*. New introduction by James M. McPherson. New York: Collier Books, Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992.
- Nicolay, Helen. *Our Capital on the Potomac*. New York and London: Century Co., 1924.
- Nicolay, John G. *With Lincoln in the White House*. Edited by Michael Burlingame. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006.
- Nicolay, John G., and John Hay, eds. *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works*. Vol 1. New York: Century, 1907.
- Oldroyd, Osborn H., comp. *The Lincoln Memorial: Album–Immortelles*. New York: G. W. Carleton, 1882.
- Rubenstein, David M. *The American Story: Conversations with Master Historians*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2019.
- Tarbell, Ida M. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. 4 vols. New York: Lincoln Historical Society, 1903.
- Weed, Samuel R. “Hearing the Returns with Mr. Lincoln.” *The New York Times Magazine*, February 14, 1932.
- Welles, Gideon. *Diary of Gideon Welles: Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson*, Vol. 1: 1861–March 30, 1964. Edited by Howard K. Beale. New York: W. W. Norton, 1960.
- Whipple, Wayne. *The Story–Life of Lincoln: A Biography Composed of Five Hundred True Stories Told by Abraham Lincoln and His Friends*. Philadelphia: J. C. Winston Co., 1908.
- Whitney, Henry C. *Lincoln, the Citizen*. New York: Baker & Taylor, 1908.

Chapter Six

- Basler, Roy P., ed. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. 8 vols. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953.

- Boutwell, George S. *Speeches and Papers Relating to the Rebellion and the Overthrow of Slavery*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1867.
- Boyden, Anna L. *Echoes from Hospital and White House: A Record of Mrs. Rebecca R. Pomroy's Experience in War-Times*. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., 1884.
- Brooks, Noah. *Washington in Lincoln's Time*. New York: Century, 1895.
- Carpenter, Francis B. *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Douglass, Frederick. "The Colonization Scheme." *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. January 22, 1852.
- . *Douglass' Monthly*. April 1861.
- . *Douglass' Monthly*. August 1862.
- . *Douglass' Monthly*. October 1862.
- . *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003.
- Herndon, William H., and Jesse W. Weik. *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life*. 3 vols. Springfield, IL: Herndon's Lincoln Publishing, 1888.
- Holzer, Harold, and Sara Vaughn Gabbard, eds. *Lincoln and Freedom: Slavery, Emancipation, and the Thirteenth Amendment*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007.
- Lapsley, Arthur Brooks, ed. *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln, Volume Two: 1843–1858*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1906.
- McFeeley, William S. *Frederick Douglass*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1995.
- Nevins, Allan, and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds. *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*. Vol. 3, *The Civil War, 1860–1865*. New York: Macmillan, 1952.
- New York Times*. December 27, 1862.
- . September 5, 1864.
- Nicolay, John G., and John Hay, eds. *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works*. Vol 1. New York: Century, 1907.
- Oldroyd, Osborn H., comp. *The Lincoln Memorial: Album-Immortelles*. New York: G. W. Carleton, 1882.
- Pomroy, Rebecca R. *Letters*. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.
- Rawley, James A. *Turning Points of the Civil War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Rice, Allen Thorndike, ed. *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time*. New York: North American, 1886.
- Seward, Frederick William. *Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and*

- Diplomat: 1830–1915*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons [Knickerbocker Press], 1916.
- . *Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State: A Memoir of His Life, with Selections from His Letters, 1861–1872*. New York: Derby and Miller, 1891.
- Thayer, William M. *Character and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln*. Boston: Dinsmoor and Company, 1864.
- US Emigration Office. *Report on Colonization and Emigration, Made to the Secretary of the Interior*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1862.
- White, Ronald C. *Lincoln’s Greatest Speech: The Second Inaugural*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.

★ ★ ★ **THEODORE ROOSEVELT** ★ ★ ★

Chapter Seven

- Amponsah, Ata D., Matthew Moore, and Janae Strickland. “Welcome to the Harvard Black Community.” *Harvard Crimson*. September 11, 2017. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2017/9/11/welcome-black-harvard>.
- Appleby, Joyce. “National Expansion and Reform, 1815–1860.” Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. <https://ap.gilderlehrman.org/node/292>.
- Boffey, Philip M. “Theodore Roosevelt at Harvard.” *Harvard Crimson*. December 12, 1957. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1957/12/12/theodore-roosevelt-at-harvard-pthe-crimson>.
- Cohen, Miriam. “Women and the Progressive Movement.” Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. <https://ap.gilderlehrman.org/essays/women-and-progressive-movement>.
- Dalton, Kathleen. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.
- Hagedorn, Hermann. *The Boy’s Life of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.
- Lewis, William Draper. *The Life of Theodore Roosevelt*. Chicago: John C. Winston, 1919.
- Morris, Edmund. *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Modern Library, 2001.
- Pringle, Henry. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931.
- Putnam, Carleton. *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years, 1858–1886*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1958.
- Riis, Jacob A. *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*. New York: Outlook, 1904.

- Robinson, Corinne Roosevelt. *My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *An Autobiography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.
- . *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*. 8 vols. Edited by Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and John J. Buckley. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951–1954.
- Sewall, William Wingate. *Bill Sewall's Story of T. R.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919.
- Steffens, Lincoln. *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*. 2 vols. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931.
- Wagenknecht, Edward. *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt*. Guilford, Conn.: Lyons Press, 2009.
- Washburn, Charles Grenfell. *Theodore Roosevelt: The Logic of His Career*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916.
- The World* (New York). November 16, 1902.

Chapter Eight

- Bishop, Joseph Bucklin. *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time, Shown in His Own Letters*. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.
- Cordery, Stacy A. *Alice: Alice Roosevelt Longworth, from White House Princess to Washington Power Broker*. New York: Viking, 2007.
- Dalton, Kathleen. "The Early Life of Theodore Roosevelt." PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1979.
- Hagedorn, Hermann. Introduction to *Bill Sewall's Story of T. R.*, by William Wingate Sewall. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919.
- Hagedorn, Hermann, Isaac Hunt, and George Spinney. "Memo of Conversation at Dinner at the Harvard Club." September 20, 1923. Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- Kansas City Star*. February 12, 1922.
- Morris, Edmund. *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Modern Library, 2001.
- New York Daily Tribune*. November 6, 1881.
- New York Times*. February 13, 1878.
- Putnam, Carleton. *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years, 1858–1886*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.
- Riis, Jacob A. *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*. New York: Outlook, 1904.

- Roosevelt, Theodore. *An Autobiography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.
- . "A Judicial Experience." *The Outlook*, March 13, 1909.
- . *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*. 8 vols. Edited by Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and John J. Buckley. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951–1954.
- . *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*. 24 vols. Edited by Hermann Hagedorn. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923–1926.
- Sewall, William Wingate. *Bill Sewall's Story of T. R.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919.
- Strock, James M. *Theodore Roosevelt on Leadership*. Roseville, Calif.: Prima Publishing, 2001.
- Thayer, William Roscoe. *Theodore Roosevelt: An Intimate Biography*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919.
- Theodore Roosevelt Collection. Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- Theodore Roosevelt Papers. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Chapter Nine

- Brinkley, Douglas. *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America*. New York: HarperCollins, 2009.
- Dalton, Kathleen. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.
- Hagedorn, Hermann, Isaac Hunt, and George Spinney. "Memo of Conversation at Dinner at the Harvard Club." September 20, 1923. Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- Knokey, Jon A. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*. New York: Skyhorse, 2015.
- Morris, Edmund. *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Modern Library, 2001.
- Morris, Sylvia Jukes. *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Portrait of a First Lady*. New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1980.
- Naylor, Natalie A., Douglas Brinkley, and John Allen Gable, eds. *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American*. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes, 1992.
- Packer, A. T. "Roosevelt's Ranching Days." *Saturday Evening Post*, March 4, 1905.
- Parsons, Frances Theodora. *Perchance Some Day*. Privately printed, 1952.
- Putnam, Carleton. *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years, 1858–1886*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.

- Roosevelt, Theodore. *An Autobiography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.
- . *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*. 8 vols. Edited by Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and John J. Buckley. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951–1954.
- . *The New Nationalism*. New York: Outlook, 1909.
- Sewall, William Wingate. *Bill Sewall's Story of T. R.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919.
- Strock, James M. *Theodore Roosevelt on Leadership*. Roseville, Calif.: Prima Publishing, 2001.
- The Sun* (New York). February 17, 1884.
- Theodore Roosevelt Collection. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Chapter Ten

- Andrews, Avery. "Citizen in Action: The Story of Theodore Roosevelt as Police Commissioner." Unpublished typescript, n.d. Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- Bishop, Joseph Bucklin. *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time, Shown in His Own Letters*. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.
- Chicago Evening Journal*. Reprinted in *Daily Republican* (Decatur, Ill.), September 27, 1895.
- Dalton, Kathleen. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.
- Galveston Daily News*. Jan. 27, 1890.
- Glass, Andrew. "Pendleton Act Inaugurates U.S. Civil Service System, Jan. 16, 1883." *Politico*. January 16, 2018. <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/01/16/pendleton-act-inaugurates-us-civil-service-system-jan-16-1883-340488>.
- Johnson, Robert Underwood. *Remembered Yesterdays*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1923.
- Knokey, Jon A. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*. New York: Skyhorse, 2015.
- New York Times*. September 26, 1895.
- Ohio Democrat*. Nov. 27, 1890.
- Riis, Jacob. A. *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.
- . *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*. New York: Outlook, 1904.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *An Autobiography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.

- . *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*. New York: George H. Doran, 1916.
- . *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, 1870–1918*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924.
- . *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*. 8 vols. Edited by Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and John J. Buckley. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951–1954.
- . *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*. 24 vols. Edited by Hermann Hagedorn. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923–1926.
- Steffens, Lincoln. *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*. 2 vols. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931.
- Theodore Roosevelt Collection. Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- Theriault, Sean M. "Patronage, the Pendleton Act, and the Power of the People." *Journal of Politics* 65, no. 1 (February 2003).
- Washington Post*. May 6, 1890.
- Wood, Frederick S. *Roosevelt as We Knew Him*. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1927.

Chapter Eleven

- Bishop, Joseph Bucklin. *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time, Shown in His Own Letters*. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.
- Burns, James MacGregor, and Susan Dunn. *The Three Roosevelts: Patrician Leaders Who Transformed America*. New York: Grove, 2001.
- Butt, Archie. *The Letters of Archie Butt, Personal Aide to President Roosevelt*. Edited by Lawrence F. Abbott. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1924.
- Castor, Henry. *Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders*. Toronto: Random House of Canada, 1963.
- Chanler, Winthrop, and Margaret Chanler. *Winthrop Chanler's Letters*. Privately printed, 1951.
- Cordery, Stacy A. *Alice: Alice Roosevelt Longworth, from White House Princess to Washington Power Broker*. New York: Viking, 2007.
- Covey, Stephen R. *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People: Restoring the Character Ethic*. New York: Free Press, 2004.
- Davis, Richard Harding. *The Cuban and Puerto Rican Campaigns*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898.
- Knokey, Jon A. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*. New York: Skyhorse, 2015.
- Kohlsaat, Herman H. *From McKinley to Harding: Personal Recollections of Our Presidents*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923.

- Long, John Davis. *The Journal of John Davis Long*. Edited by Margaret Long. Rindge, NH: Richard R. Smith, 1956.
- Lorant, Stefan. *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959.
- Lubow, Arthur. *The Reporter Who Would Be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*. New York: Scribner, 1992.
- Marshall, Edward. *The Story of the Rough Riders, 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry: The Regiment in Camp and on the Battle Field*. New York: G. W. Dillingham, 1899.
- Office of the Historian. "The Spanish–American War, 1898." US Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/spanish-american-war>.
- Pringle, Henry. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931.
- Riis, Jacob A. *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*. New York: Outlook, 1904.
- "Roosevelt 'Big Stick' Speech at State Fair." September. 3, 1901. Reprinted in *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis), September 2, 2014.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, 1870–1918*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924.
- . *The Rough Riders*. New York: P. F. Collier & Sons, 1899.
- . *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*. 24 vols. Edited by Hermann Hagedorn. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923–1926.
- Sewall, William Wingate. *Bill Sewall's Story of T. R.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919.
- Steffens, Lincoln. "Governor Roosevelt—As an Experiment." *McClure's*, June 1900.
- . "Theodore Roosevelt, Governor." *McClure's*, May 1899.
- Thomas, Evan. *The War Lovers: Roosevelt, Lodge, Hearst, and the Rush to Empire, 1898*. Boston: Little, Brown, 2014.
- "World of 1898: International Perspectives on the Spanish American War." Library of Congress. <https://guides.loc.gov/world-of-1898>.

Chapter Twelve

- A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. 11 vols. New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897.
- Anaconda Standard* (Montana). May 27, 1903.
- Atlanta Constitution*. October 24, 1901.
- Boston Globe*. August 26, 1902.
- Brinkley, Douglas. *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America*. New York: HarperCollins, 2009.

- Burroughs, John. *Camping and Tramping with Roosevelt*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1907.
- Butt, Archie. *The Letters of Archie Butt, Personal Aide to President Roosevelt*. Edited by Lawrence F. Abbott. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1924.
- Davis, Deborah. *Guest of Honor: Booker T. Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, and the White House Dinner That Shocked a Nation*. New York: Atria Paperback, 2013.
- Davis, Oscar. *Released for Publication: Some Inside Political History of Theodore Roosevelt and His Times, 1889–1919*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925.
- Dayen, David. “How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football.” *Politico Magazine*. September 20, 2014. <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/09/teddy-roosevelt-saved-football-111146>.
- Dorsey, Leroy. “Reconstituting the American Spirit: Theodore Roosevelt’s Rhetorical Presidency.” PhD diss., Indiana University, 1993.
- Dyer, Thomas G. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.
- “Football.” Theodore Roosevelt Center at Dickinson State University. <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Learn-About-TR/TR-Encyclopedia/Culture%20and%20Society/Football>.
- Hoover, Irwin H. *Forty-two Years in the White House*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934.
- Lodge, Henry Cabot. *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884–1918*. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1925.
- Milkis, Sidney. “Theodore Roosevelt: Domestic Affairs” *Miller Center*. <https://millercenter.org/president/roosevelt/domestic-affairs>.
- Morris, Edmund. *Theodore Rex*. New York: Modern Library, 2001.
- “Mrs. Roosevelt’s Address.” October 20, 1933. *Roosevelt House Bulletin* (Fall 1933). *New York Tribune*. September 17, 1901.
- Parsons, Frances Theodora. *Perchance Some Day*. Privately printed, 1952. *Public Policy*. October 25, 1902.
- Riis, Jacob. “Mrs. Roosevelt and Her Children.” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, August 1902.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *An Autobiography*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1920.
- . *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches of Theodore Roosevelt, 1901–1905*. Edited by Alfred Henry Lewis. New York and Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1906.

- . *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*. 8 vols. Edited by Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and John J. Buckley. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951–1954.
- . *Presidential Addresses and State Papers, November 15, 1907 to November 26, 1908*. New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1909.
- . “Remarks in Lynn, Massachusetts, August 25, 1902.” *The American Presidency Project*. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-lynn-massachusetts>.
- . *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*. 24 vols. Edited by Hermann Hagedorn. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1923–1926.
- Salt Lake Tribune*. May 7, 1903.
- Sewall, William Wingate. *Bill Sewall’s Story of T. R.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919.
- Steffens, Lincoln. *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*. 2 vols. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931.
- . “The Overworked President.” *McClure’s*, April 1902.
- Sullivan, Mark. *Our Times: The United States, 1900–1925, Vol. 2: America Finding Herself*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1927.
- Thayer, William Roscoe. *Theodore Roosevelt: An Intimate Biography*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919.
- Wagenknecht, Edward. *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt*. Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2010.
- White, William Allen. *Masks in a Pageant*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928.
- . “Swinging ’Round the Circle with Roosevelt.” *Saturday Evening Post*, June 27, 1903.
- Wood, Frederick S. *Roosevelt as We Knew Him*. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1927.
- The World* (New York). April 1, 1903.
- The World* (New York). October 4, 1902.

☆ ☆ ☆ **FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT** ☆ ☆ ☆

Chapter Thirteen

- Asbell, Bernard. *The F.D.R. Memoirs*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973.
- Black, Conrad. *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2003.
- Boffey, Philip M. “Franklin Delano Roosevelt at Harvard: F.D.R. Was a Fair Student, an Extracurricular Demon, and a Gentleman–Democrat.” *Harvard*

- Crimson. December 13, 1957. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1957/12/13/franklin-delano-roosevelt-at-harvard-phistorians>.
- Burns, James MacGregor. *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox (1882–1940)*. New York: Open Road Media, 2012.
- Dallek, Robert. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Political Life*. New York: Viking, 2017.
- Freidel, Frank. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1952.
- . *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990.
- Graham, Jr., Otis L., and Meghan Robinson Wander, eds. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: His Life and Times: An Encyclopedic View*. New York: Da Capo, 1990.
- Gunther, John. *Roosevelt in Retrospect*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.
- Hamby, Alonzo. *Man of Destiny: FDR and the Making of the American Century*. New York: Basic Books, 2015.
- Jackson, Robert H. *That Man: An Insider's Portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Kleeman, Rita Halle. *Gracious Lady: The Life of Sara Delano Roosevelt*. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1935.
- Lash, Joseph P. *Eleanor and Franklin: The Story of Their Relationship*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1971.
- Oilbert, Frank. "FDR Headed Crimson." *Harvard Crimson*, December 11, 1950.
- Roosevelt, Elliott, ed. *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters: Early Years*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1947.
- Roosevelt, Sara Delano. As told to Isabel Leighton and Gabrielle Forbush. *My Boy Franklin*. New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, 1933.
- Simon, James F. *FDR and Chief Justice Hughes: The President, the Supreme Court, and the Epic Battle over the New Deal*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012.
- Ward, Geoffrey C. *Before the Trumpet: Young Franklin Roosevelt, 1882–1905*. New York: Vintage Books, 2014.
- . *A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt, 1905–1928*. New York: Vintage Books, 2014.

Chapter Fourteen

- Boffey, Philip M. "Franklin Delano Roosevelt at Harvard: F.D.R. Was a Fair Student, an Extracurricular Demon, and a Gentleman-Democrat." *Harvard Crimson*. December 13, 1957. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1957/12/13/franklin-delano-roosevelt-at-harvard-phistorians>.
- Cook, Blanche Wiesen. *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume 1: The Early Years, 1884–1933*. New York: Penguin Books, 1993.

- Dallek, Robert. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- . *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Political Life*. New York: Viking, 2017.
- The Franklin D. Roosevelt Collector*. Vol. 1, no. 2. Glendale, Calif.: The Franklin D. Roosevelt Collectors' Association, 1949.
- Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.
- Freidel, Frank. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1952.
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994.
- Harvard Alumni Bulletin*. April 28, 1945.
- Lash, Joseph P. *Eleanor and Franklin: The Story of Their Relationship*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1971.
- . *Love, Eleanor: Eleanor Roosevelt and Her Friends*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982.
- Miller, Nathan. *FDR: An Intimate History*. New York: Madison Books, 1983.
- New York Times*. November 27, 1932.
- Perkins, Frances. *The Roosevelt I Knew*. New York: Viking Press, 1946.
- Roosevelt, Eleanor. *This Is My Story*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937.
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, and Helen Ferris. *Your Teens and Mine*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961.
- Roosevelt, Elliott, ed. *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters: Early Years*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1947.
- , ed. *The Roosevelt Letters: Being the Personal Correspondence of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1950.
- Roosevelt, Sara Delano. As told to Isabel Leighton and Gabrielle Forbush. *My Boy Franklin*. New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, 1933.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*. 8 vols. Edited by Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and John J. Buckley. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951–1954.
- Rowley, Hazel. *Franklin and Eleanor: An Extraordinary Marriage*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2010.
- Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M. *The Age of Roosevelt, Vol. 1: The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919–1933*. New York: Mariner, 2003.
- Tobin, James. *Master of His Fate: Roosevelt's Rise from Polio to the Presidency*. New York: Christy Ottaviano Books, 2021.

Chapter Fifteen

- Asbell, Bernard. *The F.D.R. Memoirs*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973.
- Berish, Amy. "FDR and Polio." Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum. <https://www.fdrlibrary.org/polio>.
- Burns, James MacGregor, and Susan Dunn. *The Three Roosevelts: Patrician Leaders Who Transformed America*. New York: Grove, 2001.
- Fenster, Julie M. *FDR's Shadow: Louis Howe, the Force That Shaped Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2009.
- Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.
- Gallagher, Hugh Gregory. *FDR's Splendid Deception: The Moving Story of Roosevelt's Massive Disability—and the Intense Efforts to Conceal It from the Public*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1985.
- Gunther, John. *Roosevelt in Retrospect*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.
- Leuchtenburg, William E. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Profile*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1967.
- New York Times*. November 27, 1932.
- Oral History Research Office Collection of the Columbia University Libraries.
- Perkins, Frances. *Reminiscences of Frances Perkins*. Oral History Research Office Collection, Columbia University Libraries. https://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/nny/perkinsf/audio_transcript.html.
- Roosevelt, Eleanor. *This I Remember*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.
- . *This Is My Story*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937.
- Roosevelt, Elliott, ed. *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters: 1905–1928*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1947.
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano. Letter to Henry Waring Chadeayne. October 5, 1921. <https://www.manhattanrarebooks.com/pages/books/1605/franklin-delano-roosevelt/typed-letter-signed>.
- Roosevelt, James, and Sidney Schalett. *Affectionately FDR: A Son's Story of a Lonely Man*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959.
- Rosenman, Samuel I. *Working with Roosevelt*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.
- Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M. *The Age of Roosevelt, Vol. 1: The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919–1933*. New York: Mariner, 2003.
- Sherwood, Robert E. *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.
- Stiles, Lela. *The Man behind Roosevelt: The Story of Louis McHenry Howe*. New York: World, 1954.

- Tobin, James. *The Man He Became: How FDR Defied Polio to Win the Presidency*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013.
- . *Master of His Fate: Roosevelt's Rise from Polio to the Presidency*. New York: Christy Ottaviano Books, 2021.
- Ward, Geoffrey C. *A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt, 1905–1928*. New York: Vintage Books, 2014.
- Wilson, Daniel J. “A Crippling Fear: Experiencing Polio in the Era of FDR.” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 464–95.
- . *Living with Polio: The Epidemic and Its Survivors*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Chapter Sixteen

- Burns, James MacGregor, and Susan Dunn. *The Three Roosevelts: Patrician Leaders Who Transformed America*. New York: Grove, 2001.
- Carmichael, Donald Scott, ed. *FDR, Columnist*. Chicago: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1947.
- Fenster, Julie M. *FDR's Shadow: Louis Howe, the Force That Shaped Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2009.
- Gallagher, Hugh Gregory. *FDR's Splendid Deception*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1985.
- Lindley, Ernest K. *The Roosevelt Revolution: First Phase*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1934.
- Martin, George Whitney. *Madame Secretary, Frances Perkins*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1983.
- Morning Herald* (Hagerstown, Md.). June 26, 1924.
- Oral History Research Office Collection of the Columbia University Libraries.
- Perkins, Frances. *Reminiscences of Frances Perkins*. Oral History Research Office Collection, Columbia University Libraries. https://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/nny/perkinsf/audio_transcript.html.
- . *The Roosevelt I Knew*. New York: Viking Press, 1946.
- Rogers, Naomi. “Race and the Politics of Polio: Warm Springs, Tuskegee, and the March of Dimes.” *American Journal of Public Health* 97, no. 5 (May 1, 2007): 784–95.
- Roosevelt, Elliott, ed. *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters: 1905–1928*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1947.
- Roosevelt, James, and Sidney Schalett. *Affectionately FDR: A Son's Story of a Lonely Man*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959.
- Syracuse Herald*. June 27, 1924.

- Vervill, Richard, and John Ditrunno. "FDR, Polio, and the Warm Springs Experiment: Its Impact on Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation." *American Academy of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation*, January 2013. [http://www.pmrjournal.org/article/S1934-1482\(12\)01714-5/fulltext](http://www.pmrjournal.org/article/S1934-1482(12)01714-5/fulltext).
- Walker, Turnley. *Roosevelt and the Warm Springs Story*. New York: A. Wyn, 1953.
- Ward, Geoffrey C. *A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt, 1905–1928*. New York: Vintage Books, 2014.
- Wilson, Daniel J. "A Crippling Fear: Experiencing Polio in the Era of FDR." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 464–95.
- Wordsworth, William. *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, Together with a Description of the Country of the Lakes in the North of England, Now First Published with His Works*. Edited by Henry Reed. Philadelphia: James Kay, Jun. and Brothers, 1837.
- Chapter Seventeen**
- Asbell, Bernard. *The F.D.R. Memoirs*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973.
- Brinkley, Alan. *Franklin Delano Roosevelt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Burns, James MacGregor. *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*. Old Saybrook, Conn.: Konecky & Konecky, 1970.
- Graham, Jr., Otis L., and Meghan Robinson Wander, eds. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: His Life and Times: An Encyclopedic View*. New York: Da Capo, 1990.
- Gunther, John. *Roosevelt in Retrospect*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.
- McLaughlin, Kathleen. "Mrs. Roosevelt Goes Her Way." *New York Times*. July 5, 1936.
- Moley, Raymond. *After Seven Years*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939.
- Oral History Research Office Collection of the Columbia University Libraries.
- Perkins, Frances. *Reminiscences of Frances Perkins*. Oral History Research Office Collection, Columbia University Libraries. https://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/nny/perkinsf/audio_transcript.html.
- . *The Roosevelt I Knew*. New York: Viking Press, 1946.
- Richardson, Gary, Alejandro Komai, Michael Gou, and Daniel Park. "Stock Market Crash of 1929." Federal Reserve History. Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. November 22, 2013. <https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/stock-market-crash-of-1929>.
- Roosevelt, Eleanor. *This I Remember*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.
- Roosevelt, Franklin D. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Vols. 1–5. New York: Random House, 1938.

- Rosenman, Samuel I. *Working with Roosevelt*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.
- Tobin, James. *Master of His Fate: Roosevelt's Rise from Polio to the Presidency*. New York: Christy Ottaviano Books, 2021.

Chapter Eighteen

- “Action, and Action Now”: *FDR's First 100 Days*. Hyde Park, NY: Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, 2008. Exhibition guide.
<https://www.fdrlibrary.org/documents/356632/390886/actionguide.pdf/07370301-a5c1-4a08-aa63-e611f9d12c34>.
- Bellow, Saul. *It All Adds Up: From the Dim Past to the Uncertain Future*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1994.
- Buhite, Russell D., and David W. Levy, eds. *FDR's Fireside Chats*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.
- Cohen, Adam. *Nothing to Fear: FDR's Inner Circle and the Hundred Days That Created Modern America*. New York: Penguin, 2009.
- Cornwell Jr., Elmer E. *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965.
- Farley, James A. *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948.
- Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.
- Goldman, Eric. *Rendezvous with Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002.
- Hamby, Alonzo. *Man of Destiny: FDR and the Making of the American Century*. New York: Basic Books, 2015.
- Hill, Henrietta McCormick. *A Senator's Wife Remembers: From the Great Depression to the Great Society*. Montgomery, Ala.: New South Books, 2010.
- James, Edwin L. “Herr Hitler May Divide Europe into Two Camps.” *New York Times*. March 12, 1933.
- Kiewe, Amos. *FDR's First Fireside Chat: Public Confidence and the Banking Crisis*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007.
- Louchheim, Katie, ed. *The Making of the New Deal: The Insiders Speak*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Lowitt, Richard, and Maurine Beasley, eds. *One Third of a Nation: Lorena Hickok Reports on the Great Depression*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- “National Affairs: We Must Act.” *Time*. March 13, 1933.
- National Park Service. “Company 818 and Segregation in the Civilian Conservation Corps.” US Department of the Interior. Last updated February 22, 2022.

- <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/company-818-and-segregation-in-the-civilian-conservation-corps.htm>.
- The News Herald* (Spencer, Ill.). May 12, 1933.
- New York Times*. March 14, 1933
- . March 19, 1933.
- . March 21, 1933.
- Oelwein Daily Register* (Iowa). March 11, 1933.
- Olean Times Herald* (New York). March 15, 1933.
- Perkins, Frances. *The Roosevelt I Knew*. New York: Penguin, 2011.
- Roosevelt, Eleanor. *This I Remember*. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1949.
- Roosevelt, Franklin D. Fireside Chat 3: On the National Recovery Administration. July 24, 1933. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/fireside-chat-recovery-program>.
- . Fireside Chat 16: “Arsenal of Democracy.” December 29, 1940. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/fireside-chat-9>.
- . *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Vol. 2: *The Year of Crisis, 1933*. New York: Random House, 1938.
- . “State of the Union,” January 6, 1942. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/state-the-union-address-1>.
- Rosenman, Samuel I. *Working with Roosevelt*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.
- San Antonio Express*. March 15, 1933.
- Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M. *The Age of Roosevelt*, Vol. 2: *The Coming of the New Deal, 1933–1935*. New York: Mariner, 2003.
- Sherwood, Robert E. *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.
- Silber, William L. “Why Did FDR’s Bank Holiday Succeed?” *Federal Reserve Bank of New York Economic Policy Review* (July 2009).
- Silver, Nate. “Obama’s No F.D.R.—Nor Does He Have F.D.R.’s Majority.” *FiveThirtyEight*. March 1, 2010. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/obamas-no-fdr-nor-does-he-have-fdrs>.
- Southwest Times* (Pulaski, Va.). March 10, 1933.
- White, Cody. “The CCC Indian Division.” *Prologue* 48, no. 2 (2016). <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2016/summer/ccc-id.html>.
- “The Woman Behind the New Deal.” Frances Perkins Center. <https://francesperkinscenter.org/learn/her-life>.

Chapter Nineteen

- Caro, Robert. *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power*. New York: Vintage, 1990.
- Dallek, Robert. *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns, and Lyndon B. Johnson. *Conversations in the possession of the author*.
- Johnson, Rebekah Baines. *A Family Album*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.
- King, Larry. "Bringing Up Lyndon." *Texas Monthly*. January 1976.
<http://www.texasmonthly.com/issue/january-1976>.
- Sidey, Hugh. "The Presidency: A Reminder of Rebekah Baines." *Life*. December 16, 1966.
- Steinberg, Alfred. *Sam Johnson's Boy: A Close-up of the President from Texas*. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
- Time*. May 21, 1965.

Chapter Twenty

- Caro, Robert A. *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- Dallek, Robert. *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns, and Lyndon B. Johnson. *Conversations in the possession of the author*.
- Johnson, Lyndon Baines. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964–1970.
- Latimer, Gene. *Oral History Transcript*. Interview by David G. McComb. August 17, 1971. LBJ Library Oral Histories, LBJ Presidential Library.
<https://www.discoverljb.org/item/oh-latimerg-19710817-1-74-83>.
- Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- Miller, Merle. *Lyndon: An Oral Biography*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980.
- Moody, Booth. *The Lyndon Johnson Story*. New York: Avon, 1964.
- Pool, William C., Emmie Craddock, and David E. Conrad. *Lyndon Baines Johnson: The Formative Years*. San Marcos: Southwest Texas State College Press, 1965.

- Steinberg, Alfred. *Sam Johnson's Boy: A Close-up of the President from Texas*. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
- "Teaching in Cotulla." *Lyndon B. Johnson: Alumnus*. San Marcos, TX: Texas State University. Digital exhibit. <https://exhibits.library.txstate.edu/s/univarchives/page/cotulla>.
- "They Remember LBJ at Cotulla." *South Carolina News* (Florence, SC). January 27, 1964.
- Time*. May 21, 1965.
- Updegrave, Mark. "Lyndon B. Johnson: Power." Interview by Lillian Cunningham. *Presidential*. Produced by the *Washington Post*. September 4, 2016. Podcast transcript. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/business/podcasts/presidential/pdfs/lyndon-b-johnson-transcript.pdf>.

Chapter Twenty-One

- Caro, Robert A. *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- Dallek, Robert. *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Dugger, Ronnie. *The Politician: The Life and Times of Lyndon Johnson*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1982.
- Gillette, Michael L. *Lady Bird Johnson: An Oral History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Goldman, Eric F. *The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969.
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns, and Lyndon B. Johnson. *Conversations in the possession of the author*.
- Herzog, Madelyn. "Discovering LBJ's Austin." *Texas Monthly*. May 6, 2013. <https://www.texasmonthly.com/news-politics/discovering-lbjs-austin>.
- Johnson, Claudia "Lady Bird." "Oral History Interview IV." Interview by Michael L. Gillette. Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library. February 4, 1978. Transcript. http://www.lbjlibrary.net/assets/documents/archives/oral_histories/johnson_c/CTJ%204.pdf.
- Leuchtenburg, William E. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2009.
- Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- Miller, Merle. *Lyndon: An Oral Biography*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980.
- National Park Service. *Lyndon B. Johnson National Historic Site brochure*. US Department of the Interior. 1972. <http://npshistory.com/brochures/lyjo/1972-2.pdf>.

Roosevelt Institute. "Saving a 'Lost Generation' through the National Youth Administration." May 19, 1911.

Smith, Marie D. *The President's Lady: An Intimate Biography of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson*. New York: Random House, 1964.

Chapter Twenty-Two

Brownsville Herald (Texas). June 19, 1941.

Caro, Robert A. *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Master of the Senate*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003.

———. *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

Dallek, Robert. *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Dugger, Ronnie. *The Politician: The Life and Times of Lyndon Johnson*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1982.

Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

Goodwin, Doris Kearns, and Lyndon B. Johnson. *Conversations in the possession of the author*.

Guinn, Jack. "Screwball Election in Texas." *American Mercury* 53 (September 1941): 275.

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.

McKay, Seth Shepard. *W. Lee O'Daniel and Texas Politics, 1938–1942*. Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech Press, 1944.

Miller, Merle. *Lyndon: An Oral Biography*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980.

Phipps, Joe. *Summer Stock: Behind the Scenes with LBJ in '48*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1992.

Russell, Jan Jarboe. *Lady Bird: A Biography of Mrs. Johnson*. Waterville, Maine: Thorndike Press, 2000.

US House of Representatives. *Proceedings of the 41st National Convention of the American Legion, Minneapolis, Minn., August 24 to 27, 1959*. 86th Cong., 2d sess., 1960. H. Doc. 29.

Wichita Daily Times. April 9, 1947.

Woods, Randall B. *LBJ: Architect of American Ambition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Chapter Twenty-Three

The Baytown (Texas). November 23, 1955.

- Caro, Robert A. *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Master of the Senate*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003.
- . *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- “The Congress: The 84th’s Temper.” *Time*. November 15, 1954. <https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,820381-1,00.html>.
- Dallek, Robert. *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961–1973*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- . *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Ellis, Sylvia. *Freedom’s Pragmatist: Lyndon Johnson and Civil Rights*. Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2013.
- Gillette, Michael L. *Lady Bird Johnson: An Oral History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *Leadership: In Turbulent Times*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018.
- . *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns, and Lyndon B. Johnson. *Conversations in the possession of the author*.
- Hill, Samuel S., and Charles H. Lippy, eds. *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2005.
- Johnson, Lyndon B. “Remarks at a Reception for Members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.” April 17, 1964. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-reception-for-members-the-american-society-newspaper-editors>.
- Lau, Tim. “The Filibuster Explained.” Brennan Center for Justice. April 26, 2021. <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/filibuster-explained>.
- Lepore, Jill. *These Truths: A History of the United States*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2018.
- Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- Miller, Merle. *Lyndon: An Oral Biography*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1980.
- Mohr, Melissa. “What Does the ‘Filibuster’ Have to Do with Pirates?” *Christian Science Monitor*. March 4, 2021. <https://www.csmonitor.com/The-Culture/In-a-Word/2021/0304/What-does-the-filibuster-have-to-do-with-pirates>.
- “RN, MLK, and the Civil Rights Act of 1957.” Richard Nixon Foundation. January 15, 2017. <https://www.nixonfoundation.org/2017/01/rn-mlk-and-the-civil-rights-act-of-1957>.

- Shaffer, Samuel. "Senator Lyndon Johnson: 'My Heart Attack Saved My Life.'" *Newsweek*, November 7, 1955.
- US House of Representatives. "Proceedings and Debates of the 88th Congress." *Congressional Record* 110: January 7–October 3, 1964.
- Woods, Randall B. *LBJ: Architect of American Ambition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Chapter Twenty-Four

- Anthony, Carl Sferrazza. *America's First Families: An Inside View of 200 Years of Private Life in the White House*. New York: Touchstone, 2000.
- Arsenault, Raymond. *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Boeri, David. "The Making Of LBJ's Historic 'We Shall Overcome' Speech." WBUR. March 14, 2014. <https://www.wbur.org/news/2014/03/14/johnson-goodwin-civil-rights-speech>.
- Califano Jr., Joseph A. *The Triumph & Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson: The White House Years*. New York: Touchstone, 2015.
- Caro, Robert. *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Passage of Power*. New York: Vintage, 2013.
- Cowger, Thomas W., and Sherwin J. Markman, eds. *Lyndon Johnson Remembered: An Intimate Portrait of a Presidency*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.
- "Draft Transcript of Taped Conversation Between LBJ and Martin Luther King, Jr. on November 25, 1963." Presidential Recordings Program, Miller Center, University of Virginia. <https://prde.upress.virginia.edu/conversations/9010106>.
- Fields, Gary. "LBJ's Daughter Luci Watched Him Sign Voting Rights Bill, Then Cried When Supreme Court Weakened It." Associated Press. June 8, 2023. <https://apnews.com/article/lyndon-johnson-daughter-voting-rights-supreme-court-cf792bdb6228ba20f257a73f055eddb9>.
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns, and Lyndon B. Johnson. *Conversations in the possession of the author*.
- Goodwin, Richard. *Remembering America: A Voice from the Sixties*. New York: Little Brown, 1988.
- Hockenberry, John. "How LBJ Celebrated Mexican-Americans." *The Takeaway*. Produced by PRI and WNYC Studios. October 5, 2015. Podcast. <https://www.wnycstudios.org/podcasts/takeaway/segments/how-lbj-celebrated-mexican-americans>.
- Independent Press Telegram* (Long Beach, Calif.). March 14, 1965.

- Johnson, Lady Bird. Audio Diary and Annotated Transcript, November 22, 1963. <https://www.discoverlbj.org/item/ctjd-19631122>.
- Johnson, Lyndon B. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964–1970.
- . “Remarks Upon Arrival at Andrews Air Force Base.” November 22, 1963. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-upon-arrival-andrews-air-force-base-0>.
- . *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963–1969*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971.
- Kaplan, Rebecca. “Luci Baines Johnson Reflects on Kennedy Assassination.” November 17, 2013. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/luci-baines-johnson-reflects-on-kennedy-assassination>.
- Kennedy, John F. “Radio and Television Report to the American People on Civil Rights.” June 11, 1963. The White House. <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/civil-rights-radio-and-television-report-19630611>.
- Killion, Nikole. “Lyndon Johnson’s Daughter Takes Up Her Father’s Cause on 56th Anniversary of Voting Rights Act.” CBS News. August 8, 2021. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/luci-baines-johnson-voting-rights>.
- Kotz, Nick. *Judgment Days: Lyndon Baines Johnson, Martin Luther King Jr., and the Laws That Changed America*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.
- Lake Charles American Press* (Louisiana). April 7, 1964.
- Lewis, John. “Speech at the March on Washington.” August 28, 1963. <https://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/lewis-speech-at-the-march-on-washington-speech-text>.
- McPherson, Harry, and Jack Valenti. “Achilles in the White House.” *Wilson Quarterly* (Spring 2000).
- Miller, Merle. *Lyndon: An Oral Biography*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1980.
- Morrison, Aaron. “At March on Washington’s 60th Anniversary, Leaders Seek Energy of Original Movement for Civil Rights.” Associated Press. August 23, 2023. <https://apnews.com/article/march-on-washington-mlk-dream-speech-sharpton-062039daf026d65cbbae914456ba0543>.
- New York Times*. December 3, 1963.
- . July 3, 1964.
- Phillips, Donald. *Lincoln on Leadership*. New York: Warner Books, 1992.
- The Presidential Recordings: Lyndon B. Johnson*. 7 vols. New York: W. W. Norton, 2005.

- Pycior, Julie Leininger. "From Hope to Frustration: Mexican Americans and Lyndon Johnson in 1967." *Western Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1993): 469–494.
- "Rustin, Bayard." The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute at Stanford University. <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/rustin-bayard>.
- "Selma to Montgomery March." The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute at Stanford University. <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/selma-montgomery-march>.
- Wingspread, Robert Goetz. "Luci Baines Johnson Relates Trials, Triumphs of White House Years." Joint Base San Antonio. March 3, 2008. <https://www.jbsa.mil/News/News/Article/464261/luci-baines-johnson-relates-trials-triumphs-of-white-house-years>.

EPILOGUE

- Basler, Roy P., ed. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. 8 vols. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- Boritt, Gabor S., ed. *The Lincoln Enigma: The Changing Faces of an American Icon*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Crook, Col. William H. *Through Five Administrations: Reminiscences of Colonel William H. Crook*. Edited by Margarita Spaulding Gerry. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1910.
- The Diary of Horatio Nelson Taft*. Vol. 3. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- Donald, David Herbert. *Lincoln*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- Douglass, Frederick. "The Freedmen's Monument to Abraham Lincoln: An Address Delivered in Washington, D.C., on April 14, 1876." <https://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/teagle/texts/frederick-douglass-speech-at-dedication-of-emancipation-memorial-1876>.
- Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.
- Hollister, O. J. *Life of Schuyler Colfax*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1886.
- Johnson, Lyndon B. *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963–1969*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971.
- "Lyndon Baines Johnson Civil Rights Symposium Address." December 12, 1972. "American Rhetoric," Online Speech Bank. Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, TX. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/lbjfinalspeech.htm>.
- McCormick, Anne. "A Man of the World and the World's Man." *New York Times*. April 14, 1945.
- Renahan Jr., Edward. *The Lion's Pride: Theodore Roosevelt and His Family in Peace and War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Foes of Our Own Household; The Great Adventure; Letters to His Children*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926.

- . *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*. 24 vols. Edited by Hermann Hagedorn. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923–1926.
- Sandburg, Carl. *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*. Vol. 6. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943.
- Segal, Charles M., ed. *Conversations with Lincoln*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1961.
- Stoddard, William O. *Inside the White House in War Times*. Lincoln, Neb.: Bison, 2000.
- Straus, Oscar S. *Under Four Administrations: From Cleveland to Taft*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922.
- Tarbell, Ida M. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. 4 vols. New York: Lincoln Historical Society, 1903.
- “Tributes to the Late President.” *New York Times*. April 17, 1945.
- Updegrave, Mark. “Progressives Have Failed to Heed LBJ's Final Warning.” *Time*. December 12, 2022.
- Wagenknecht, Edward. *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt*. Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2010.
- Welles, Gideon. “Lincoln and Johnson.” *The Galaxy*, April 1872.
- Wiley, Edwin, ed. *The United States*. Vol. 5. New York: American Educational Alliance, 1909.
- Winik, Jay. *April 1865: The Month That Saved America*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

NOTES

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

PREFACE

- 2 *In college I read an essay by my heroine, Barbara Tuchman, the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, who explained that even if you're writing about a war as a narrative historian, you have to imagine to yourself that you do not know how that war ended so you can carry your reader with you every step along the way from beginning to middle to end: As told by Barbara Tuchman to the author*

☆ ☆ ☆ **ABRAHAM LINCOLN** ☆ ☆ ☆

Chapter One

- 13 *"I'll study and get ready, and then the chance will come": Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 237.*
- 13 *When asked later to shed light on his beginnings, Lincoln claimed his background could be "condensed into a single sentence . . . : 'The short and simple annals of the poor'": John L. Scripps, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, p. 57.*
- 13 *"I am going away from you, Abraham," she reportedly told her young son shortly before she died, "and I shall not return": Nancy Lincoln, quoted in Robert Bruce, "The Riddle of Death," in Boritt, ed., *The Lincoln Enigma*, p. 132.*
- 14 *as "a wild region," a nightmarish place where "the panther's scream filled the night with fear and bears preyed on the swine": Abraham Lincoln, "Autobiography written for Jesse W. Fell," in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:511.*
- 14 *"a Boy of uncommon natural Talents" was how his stepmother described him, and she did all she could to encourage him to learn, read, and grow: Augustus H. Chapman statement, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants*, p. 99.*
- 14 *Schoolmates at the ABC school in rural Kentucky, "a low-ceilinged, flea-infested cabin," recalled that he was able to learn more swiftly and*

- understand more deeply than others: Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*, p. 56.
- 14 “He was the learned boy among us unlearned folks,” one classmate recalled: Anna Caroline Gentry, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 132.
 - 14 “He carried away from his brief schooling,” biographer David Herbert Donald wrote, “the self-confidence of a man who has never met his intellectual equal”: Donald, *Lincoln*, p. 32.
 - 14 His mind seemed “a wonder,” one friend told him. Lincoln told his friend he was mistaken. What appeared a gift, he argued, was, in his case, a developed talent. “I am slow to learn,” he explained, “and slow to forget what I have learned. My mind is like a piece of steel—very hard to scratch anything on it, and almost impossible after you get it there to rub it out”: Joshua Speed, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 499.
 - 15 “When he came upon a passage that struck him, he would write it down on boards if he had no paper & keep it there until he did get paper,” she recalled, “and then he would rewrite it” and keep it in a scrapbook so that he could preserve it: Sarah Bush Lincoln, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 107.
 - 15 “When a mere child,” Lincoln later said, “I used to get irritated when anybody talked to me in a way I could not understand. I do not think I ever got angry at anything else in my life.” And when he “got on a hunt for an idea” he could not sleep until he “caught it”: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 1, pp. 43–44.
 - 15 “The ambition of the man soared above us,” his childhood friend Nathaniel Grigsby recalled. “He read and thoroughly read his books whilst we played”: Nathaniel Grigsby, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 114.
 - 15 When he first learned how to print the letters of the alphabet, he was so excited that he formed “letters, words and sentences wherever he found suitable material. He scrawled them in charcoal, he scored them in the dust, in the sand, in the snow—anywhere and everywhere that lines could be drawn”: Warren, *Lincoln’s Youth*, p. 24.
 - 15 He soon became “the best penman in the neighborhood”: Joseph C. Richardson, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, pp. 473–74.
 - 15 “we do the sinking as you call it,” he told her. “The moon as to us is comparatively still.” His skeptical friend responded, “Abe—what a fool you are!”: Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*, p. 71.
 - 16 But that same friend said later, “I know now that I was the fool, not Lincoln. I am now thoroughly satisfied that Abe knew the general laws of astronomy and the movements of the heavenly bodies. He was better read than the

world knows, or is likely to know exactly”: Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 70.

- 16 *After hearing the adults chatter through the evening, Abraham would spend “no small part of the night walking up and down, trying to make out the exact meaning” of what the men had said so he could entertain his friends the next day with a simplified translation of the mysterious adult world: Abraham Lincoln, quoted in Carpenter, Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln, pp. 312–13.*
- 16 *Wherever he was, another childhood friend recalled, “the boys would gather & cluster around him to hear him talk”: Nathaniel Grigsby, in Wilson and Davis, eds., Herndon’s Informants, pp. 114–15.*
- 18 *Abraham not only told them “it was wrong,” he wrote a short essay in school against “cruelty to animals”: Ibid., p. 112.*
- 18 *Nor did Lincoln like to hunt, an activity common throughout the frontier for survival and for sport. After killing a wild turkey with his father’s rifle when he was eight years old, he never again “pulled a trigger on any larger game”: Tarbell, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. 1, p. 25.*
- 18 *“Abe took me in charge,” Grigsby recalled, when “rough boys teased me and made fun of me for stuttering. Abe soon showed them how wrong it was and most of them quit”: Burlingame, Abraham Lincoln: A Life, p. 64.*
- 19 *From an early age, Abraham was more athletic than most of the boys in the neighborhood, “ready to out-run, out-jump and out-wrestle or out-lift anybody”: Leonard Swett, in Rice, ed., Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln, p. 71.*
- 19 *As a young man, one friend reported, he “could carry what 3 ordinary men would grunt & sweat at”: Joseph C. Richardson, in Wilson and Davis, eds., Herndon’s Informants, p. 120.*
- 19 *His father, however, considered spending time in school as “doubly wasted,” for in rural areas, schools cost money, and the classroom pulled him away from farmwork: John B. Helm, in Wilson and Davis, eds., Herndon’s Informants, p. 48.*
- 19 *Gaining access to reading material proved nearly impossible; books were considered a “luxury” to poor farming families on the frontier: Fidler, “Young Limbs of the Law,” p. 249.*
- 19 *Relatives and neighbors recalled that Lincoln scoured the countryside to borrow books and read every volume “he could lay his hands on”: Dennis Hanks, in Wilson and Davis, eds., Herndon’s Informants, p. 41.*
- 19 *When he took hold of one, “his eyes sparkled, and that day he could not eat, and that night he could not sleep”: Donald, Lincoln Reconsidered, pp. 67–68.*
- 20 *While Lincoln’s adoring stepmother took “particular Care not to disturb*

him—would let him read on and on,” to Thomas, Abraham’s constant reading was a mark of laziness and irresponsibility: Sarah Bush Lincoln, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 108.

- 20 He thought his son was deceiving himself with his quest for education. “I tried to stop it, but he has got that fool idea into his head, and it can’t be got out,” Thomas told a friend: Wilson, *Honor’s Voice*, p. 57.
- 20 A relative recalled that when Lincoln was told of her death, he “sat down on a log and hid his face in his hands while the tears rolled down through his long bony fingers. Those present turned away in pity and left him to his grief”: Redmond Grigsby, quoted in Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 95.
- 21 He had lost the two women he had loved. “From then on,” a neighbor said, “he was alone in the world you might say”: John W. Lamar, quoted in Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 95.
- 21 Years later, his junior law partner, William Herndon, noted, “His melancholy dript from him as he walked,” an observation echoed by dozens of others: Herndon, “Analysis of the Character,” p. 359.
- 21 Both Lincoln’s storytelling and his humor, friends believed, were “necessary to his very existence”: Robert Rutledge, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 409.
- 21 they were intended “to whistle off sadness”: David Davis, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, pp. 348, 350.
- 21 He came to trust that he could rise from his humble beginnings, slowly creating what one leadership scholar calls “a vision of an alternative future”: Kotter, “What Leaders Really Do,” p. 47.
- 21 He told a neighbor he did not intend to lead the same life as his father. “I’ll study and get ready, and then the chance will come”: Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 237.

Chapter Two

- 22 “Your own resolution to succeed, is more important than any other one thing”: Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:327.
- 22 Shortly after arriving, Abraham was greeted by the Clary’s Grove Boys, a local gang “of rude, roystering, good-natured fellows, who lived in and around ‘Clary’s Grove,’ a settlement near New Salem,” who took it upon themselves to test the strength and will of every newcomer: Arnold, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 32.
- 22 Seeing how tall and strong Lincoln was, they sent their leader and champion fighter, Jack Armstrong, “strong as an ox, and who was believed by his

- followers to be able to whip any man on the Sangamon River”: Browne, *The Every-Day Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 28.
- 23 The two men would fight to determine who was “the better man,” although Lincoln “tried to avoid such contests”: Ibid, p. 28.
- 23 But the men began to wrestle “for some time, without any decided advantage of either side”: Ibid, p. 28.
- 23 According to one account, Armstrong “resorted to some foul play,” which made Lincoln angry: Ibid, p. 28.
- 23 So Lincoln fought a little harder, even while Armstrong’s friends looked like they would gang up on Lincoln. But Lincoln’s “coolness and courage” inspired Armstrong to instead shake Lincoln’s hand declaring, “Boys! Abe Lincoln is the best fellow that ever broke into this settlement. He shall be one of us”: Ibid, p. 28.
- 23 “Everybody loved him”: Henry McHenry, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 14.
- 23 Beyond the sale of groceries, hardware, cloth, and bonnets, the village store provided “a kind of intellectual and social center”: Tarbell, *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 119.
- 23 Within weeks of Lincoln’s arrival, a fellow clerk recalled, his outgoing nature and funny stories had made him “a Center of attraction”: Mentor Graham, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 9.
- 24 “He was attentive to his business,” one villager remembered, “was kind and considerate to his customers & friends and always treated them with great tenderness”: William G. Greene, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 18.
- 24 At the same time, his “eagerness to learn” deeply impressed the people of New Salem: Donald, *Lincoln*, p. 41.
- 24 “When he was ignorant on any subject,” one friend recalled, “no matter how simple it might make him appear, he was always willing to acknowledge it”: Joshua Speed, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 499.
- 26 “Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition,” Lincoln wrote in a pamphlet announcing his candidacy, as he sought to earn the respect and votes of his neighbors. “I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed. I am young and unknown to many of you”: Abraham Lincoln, “Communication to the People of Sangamon County,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:8.
- 26 “I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relations to recommend me”: Ibid., 1:9.

- 27 “If elected,” Lincoln pledged, any law providing dependable roads and accessible waterways for “the poorest and most thinly populated” communities “shall receive my support”: *Ibid.*, 1:7.
- 27 On the topic of education, he declared, “I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in.” He wanted every citizen to treasure books and, most important, to read the history of the country, “to appreciate the value of our free institutions”: *Ibid.*, 1:8.
- 27 “the humble walks of life”: Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 238.
- 28 Should he lose, he had said when declaring his intention to run, he would take the loss in stride, for he was already “too familiar with disappointments.” And yet, he forewarned, only after being defeated “some 5 or 6 times” would he deem it “a disgrace” and be certain “never to try it again”: J. Rowan Herndon, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 7.
- 28 Traveling by horseback across a large county that was sparsely populated, Lincoln campaigned at country stores and small village squares. On Saturdays, he joined his fellow candidates in the largest towns, where farmers gathered to sell fruits and vegetables, “buy supplies, see their neighbors and get the news”: Tarbell, *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 155.
- 28 When the votes were counted, Lincoln found he had lost the election, but that news “did not dampen his hopes nor sour his ambition,” a friend recalled: Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, p. 76.
- 29 So swiftly did his reputation for storytelling spread, a friend of Lincoln’s recalled, that no sooner had he arrived in a village than “men and boys gathered from far and near, ready to carry chains, drive stakes, and blaze trees, if they could hear Lincoln’s odd stories and jokes”: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 1, p. 132.
- 29 “‘See here Lincoln, if you can throw this Cannon ball further than we Can, We’ll vote for you.’ Lincoln picked up the large Cannon ball—felt it—swung it around—and around and said, ‘Well, boys if that’s all I have to do I’ll get your votes.’” He then proceeded to throw the cannonball “four or Six feet further than any one Could throw it”: Andrew S. Kirk, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, pp. 602–03.
- 29 As he prepared to leave for the capital to take up his assembly seat in the legislature, his friends chipped in to help him buy “suitable clothing” that would allow him “to maintain his new dignity”: Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, p. 104.
- 30 He “studied with nobody,” he later said, poring over historical legal cases deep into the night after working long days as surveyor and postal clerk:

Abraham Lincoln, "Autobiography Written for John L. Scripps," in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:65.

- 30 "Get the books, and read and study them," he told a law student seeking advice two decades later. It did not matter whether the reading was done in a small town or a large city, by oneself or in the company of others, in a university library or in a modest cabin. "The books, and your capacity for understanding them, are just the same in all places," Lincoln said. "Always bear in mind that your own resolution to succeed, is more important than any other one thing": Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:327.
- 30 "They say I tell a great many stories," Lincoln told a friend. "I reckon I do; but I have learned from long experience that plain people, take them as they run, are more easily influenced through the medium of a broad and humorous illustration than any other way": Phillips, *Lincoln on Leadership*, p. 155.
- 31 "his thorough knowledge of human nature," one fellow legislator observed, that propelled him ahead of "any man that I have ever known": Herndon and Weik, *Herndon's Life of Lincoln*, p. 118.
- 31 After Democrat Jesse Thomas had "indulged in some fun" at Lincoln's expense, Lincoln "imitated Thomas in gesture and voice, at times caricaturing his walk and the very motion of his body" and viciously mocking the "ludicrous" way Thomas spoke. Seated in the audience, Thomas broke down in tears, and soon the "skinning of Thomas" became "the talk of the town": *Ibid.*, p. 130.
- 32 By a lopsided vote of seventy-seven to six, the assembly opposed "the formation of abolition societies" and held "sacred" the "right of property in slaves": Resolutions by the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:75.
- 32 Lincoln was among the six who voted no, proclaiming that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy": Abraham Lincoln, "Protest in Illinois Legislature on Slavery," in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:75.
- 32 He had always believed, he later said, that "if slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong": Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 7:281.
- 33 He opened his address with a warning that "something of ill-omen" was developing among the people: Abraham Lincoln, "Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois," in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:109–14.
- 33 In the chaos of mob violence, the country would be vulnerable to the rise of dictators, men of "towering" egos whose ambition was disconnected from the people's best interests: *Ibid.*

- 33 To prevent the rise of a dictatorship, Lincoln called upon his fellow citizens to renew the values of America's founders and to embrace the Constitution and its laws. The rule of law—not of armed mobs or of kings—means that ultimately the power lies with the people. “Let reverence for the laws, be breathed by every American mother,” taught in every school, preached in every pulpit. The great shield against a potential dictator is an educated and informed people “attached to the government and laws.” This is why Lincoln always believed education was the foundation of democracy. He argued that learning about the American Revolution and the crafting of the Constitution was all the more urgent as the spirit of common purpose and compromise that drove the founding of the Union—the United States of America—had begun to fade from the collective memory of the country. Indeed, Lincoln declared that the story of America's birth should “be read of, and recounted, so long as the bible shall be read”: *Ibid.*
- 34 The founders' grand experiment—their ambition to show the world that ordinary people could govern themselves—had succeeded, and now, Lincoln concluded, it was up to his generation to preserve this “proud fabric of freedom”: *Ibid.*, 1:108.
- 35 When Lincoln realized he couldn't afford the cost of a bed, and probably couldn't even pay back a loan for it, Speed “never saw a sadder face”: Joshua Speed, in Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 21.
- 35 Without hesitation, Speed offered a solution: “I have a large room with a double bed upstairs, which you are very welcome to share with me.” Lincoln reacted quickly to Speed's unexpected offer. He raced upstairs to drop off his bags in the loft, then came clattering down again, his face entirely transformed. “Beaming with pleasure he exclaimed, ‘Well, Speed, I am moved!’”: *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.
- 36 “They came there,” Speed recalled, “because they were sure to find Lincoln,” who never failed to entertain with his remarkable stories: *Ibid.*
- 36 “I want to dance with you in the worst way.” And, Mary laughingly told her cousin later that night, “he certainly did”: Helm, *The True Story of Mary, Wife of Lincoln*, p. 74.

Chapter Three

- 37 “How hard it is to die and leave one's country no better than if one had never lived. . . .”: Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 4–5.
- 37 “I shall be verry [sic] lonesome without you,” Lincoln told Speed. “How miserably things seem to be arranged in this world. If we have no friends, we have no pleasure; and if we have them, we are sure to lose them, and be doubly pained by the loss”: Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:281.
- 38 she took pride in her “unladylike” enthusiasm for politics: Mary Lincoln, quoted in Turner and Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, p. 516.

- 38 *Friends and relatives considered Mary “the exact reverse” of Lincoln:* Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, p. 165.
- 38 *While Mary possessed an open, passionate, and impulsive nature, “her face an index to every passing emotion”:* Elizabeth Humphreys Norris, quoted in Randall, *Mary Lincoln*, p. 24.
- 38 *What “he felt most deeply,” she observed, “he expressed, the least”:* Mary Todd Lincoln, in Turner and Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, p. 293.
- 38 *Speed recalled that “in the winter of 40 & 41, Lincoln was very unhappy about his engagement to Mary—Not being entirely satisfied that his heart was going with his hand—How much he suffered on that account none know so well as myself”:* Joshua Speed, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 430.
- 39 *“I am so poor, and make so little headway in the world,” Lincoln acknowledged:* Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:289.
- 39 *Riddled with self-doubt, Lincoln broke the engagement on the “fatal first of January,” 1841:* Douglas L. Wilson, “Abraham Lincoln and ‘That Fatal First of January,’” in Wilson, *Lincoln before Washington*, pp. 99–125.
- 39 *This “breach of honor” soon became known throughout the small town of Springfield, magnifying Mary’s humiliation:* Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 1, p. 174.
- 39 *It “kills my soul,” he said:* Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:282.
- 39 *Most damaging of all, he confessed to Speed, was that he had lost confidence in his ability to keep his promises, his “resolves when they are made. In that ability you know, I once prided myself as the only or at least, the chief gem of my character; that gem I lost,” and until it is recovered, “I cannot trust myself in any matter of much importance”:* *Ibid.*, 1:289.
- 40 *“I am now the most miserable man living,” Lincoln wrote to his then law partner. “If what I feel were equally distributed to the whole human family, there would not be one cheerful face on the earth. Whether I shall ever be better I can not tell; I awfully forebode I shall not. To remain as I am is impossible; I must die or be better, it appears to me.” The letter ended abruptly with the simple statement “I can write no more”:* *Ibid.*, 1:229–30.
- 40 *He no longer looked “like the same person,” one friend remarked:* Wilson, *Lincoln before Washington*, p. 110.
- 40 *He was skin and bones, another friend observed, “and seems scarcely to possess strength enough to speak above a whisper. His case at present is truly deplorable”:* Sandburg, *Mary Lincoln*, p. 39.
- 42 *Lincoln replied that he was more than willing to die, but that he had “done nothing to make any human being remember that he had lived.” His greatest*

- desire, he confessed to Speed, was “to link his name with something” that would be meaningful to “his fellow man”: Joshua Speed, in Wilson and Davis, eds., *Herndon’s Informants*, p. 197.
- 42 Lincoln found in Logan a mentor who guided his general reading in the law and became, Lincoln said, “almost a father to me”: Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*, Vol. 1, p. 186.
- 42 Logan taught Lincoln “how to prepare his cases” and, most important, boosted the confidence of the self-made lawyer when he occasionally despaired of ever catching up to his college-educated colleagues. “It does not depend on the start a man gets,” Logan told him, “it depends on how he keeps up his labors and efforts until middle life”: Burlingame, ed., *An Oral History of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 38.
- 43 As his doubts about his ability to support a wife began to fade and he was still “unreconciled to his separation” from Mary, Lincoln resumed his courtship with her, and they married November 4, 1842: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 1, p. 184.
- 43 By committing himself once again to the relationship he had broken, he began to restore his sense of honor; he had proved to himself that he could, indeed, keep his “resolves”—“the chief gem” of his character: Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:289.
- 43 “It is my pleasure that my children are free—happy and unrestrained by paternal tyranny,” Lincoln noted. “Love is the chain whereby to lock a child to its parent”: Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, p. 344; Burlingame, “Unrestrained by Parental Tyranny”: Lincoln and His Sons,” *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 57–72.
- 43 “That I am not a member of any Christian Church, is true,” he responded to critics in an 1846 flyer after he had secured the Whig nomination for the House seat, “but I have never denied the truth of the Scriptures; and I have never spoken with intentional disrespect of religion in general, or of any denomination of Christians in particular”: Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln: A Biography*, pp. 100–109.
- 44 Hardly two weeks after Lincoln’s arrival in Washington, he harshly criticized President James K. Polk’s recent “victory” in the Mexican–American War: *Abraham Lincoln Papers*, “Abraham Lincoln to Congress, Speech regarding Mexican War.”
- 44 A Baltimore newspaper observed that “Lincoln’s manner was so good-natured and his style so peculiar that he kept the House in a continuous roar of merriment”: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, p. 11.
- 44 He strolled up and down the aisles as he spoke, gesturing in a fashion so electrifying and entertaining that he became known as “the best story teller in the House”: Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*, Vol. 1, p. 279.

- 45 Seward argued that the issue of slavery was urgent, that “the time had come for sharp definition of opinion and boldness of utterance.” Lincoln and Seward shared a room the following night and stayed up long past midnight discussing slavery. “I reckon you are right,” Lincoln told Seward in the early morning hours. “We have got to deal with this slavery question, and got to give much more attention to it hereafter than we have been doing”: DeRose, *Congressman Lincoln*, pp. 206–7.
- 45 When he learned that he had not been selected for the job, Lincoln “despaired of ever rising in the world,” his law partner Herndon remembered. Lincoln’s own words reflected his mood over those years: “How hard—Oh how hard it is to die and leave one’s country no better than if one had never lived”: Burlingame, *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 4–5.
- 45 Years later, after he had become president, the emotions of this moment remained so intense, Lincoln remembered, that “I hardly ever felt so bad about any failure in my life”: Browne, *The Every-Day Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 107.

Chapter Four

- 46 “A house divided against itself cannot stand”: Abraham Lincoln, “A House Divided Speech,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:461.
- 46 Lincoln said he “was losing interest in politics” during the years that followed his brief and unhappy term in Congress: Abraham Lincoln, “To Jesse W. Fell, Enclosing Autobiography,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:511–12.
- 46 With matter-of-fact honesty, Lincoln noted: “I am not an accomplished lawyer”: Abraham Lincoln, “Fragment: Notes for a Law Lecture,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:81.
- 46 William Herndon observed that “no man had greater power of application. Once fixing his mind on any subject, nothing could interfere with or disturb him”: Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, pp. 247–48.
- 46 In Lincoln’s day, the judges, lawyers, and other court officials traveled together on “the circuit” for eight weeks every spring and fall: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, pp. 36–38.
- 47 Lincoln “would read and study for hours,” Herndon recalled, long after everyone else had gone to sleep, “placing a candle on a chair at the head of his bed,” often remaining in this position until two a.m. How he could maintain his focus while the snores of his roommates rumbled the air was a puzzle “none of us could ever solve,” marveled Herndon: Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, p. 248.
- 47 Not only did Lincoln stay up later than his colleagues, but “he was in the

habit of rising earlier.” Lincoln would “sit by the fire, having uncovered the coals”: Lawrence Weldon, quoted in Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, p. 6.

- 47 and think aloud, one colleague recalled. A stranger entering the room and hearing Lincoln “muttering to himself”: *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- 47 might have imagined “he had suddenly gone insane.” But his fellow circuit riders only “listened and laughed”: Sandburg, *The Prairie Years*, Vol. 1, p. 474.
- 47 So successful was Lincoln in defending his clients and speaking before juries that he soon developed “the largest trial practice of all his peers in central Illinois”: Strozier, *Lincoln’s Quest for Union*, pp. 172–73.
- 47 The key to Lincoln’s success as a lawyer was his ability to break down the most complex case or issue “into its simplest elements”: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, p. 43.
- 47 He never lost a jury by fumbling with or reading from a prepared argument, relying instead “on his well-trained memory”: *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 47 His thoughtful, logical, “easy to follow” arguments were designed as intimate conversations with the jurors, so it would seem he was conversing with friends: Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, p. 114.
- 47 An Illinois judge captured the essence of Lincoln’s unique appeal and abilities: he had a talent for “making the jury believe they—and not he—were trying the case”: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, p. 49.
- 48 “His little gray eyes sparkled,” and when he reached the point of a funny story or joke, “no one’s laugh was heartier than his”: Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, pp. 249–50.
- 48 “No lawyer on the circuit was more unassuming than was Mr. Lincoln,” a colleague recalled: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, pp. 40–41.
- 48 On one occasion, when Lincoln had settled himself at the foot of the table among the common customers, the landlord told him, “You’re in the wrong place, Mr. Lincoln, come up here.” Lincoln’s response: “Have you anything better to eat up there, Joe? If not, I’ll stay here”: *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- 49 “He was remarkably gentle with young lawyers,” a colleague noted: *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- 49 One young lawyer recalled he was deeply touched by how “kindly and cordially” Lincoln treated him: Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, p. 30.
- 49 If a new clerk appeared in court, “Lincoln was the first—sometimes the only one—to shake hands with him and congratulate him”: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, p. 40.
- 49 The art of communication, Lincoln advised newcomers, “is the lawyer’s avenue to the public.” Yet, Lincoln warned, the lawyer must not rely on

persuasiveness alone. What is well-spoken must be tied to what is well-thought. And such thought is the product of a lot of work, “the drudgery of the law.” Without that labor, the most eloquent words are meaningless. Indeed, “the leading rule for the lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence. Leave nothing for tomorrow that can be done to-day”: Abraham Lincoln, “Fragment: Notes for a Law Lecture,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:81.

- 49 The key to success, he insisted, is “work, work, work”: Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:121.
- 49 Lincoln’s mind was his “workshop,” a fellow lawyer recalled. “He needed no office, no pen, ink and paper”: Henry Whitney, in Sandburg, *The Prairie Years*, Vol. 1, p. 475.
- 49 The Missouri Compromise of 1820, constructed under the leadership of Senator Henry Clay, who Lincoln admired as “the man for a crisis”: Abraham Lincoln, “Eulogy on Henry Clay,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:129.
- 50 Speaking for many white Southerners and proslavery Democrats, Robert Toombs of Georgia warned: “If by your legislation you seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico, purchased by the common blood and treasure of the whole people, I am for disunion”: Robert Toombs, in “Debate in the House of Representatives,” *Congressional Globe*, p. 28.
- 51 “The time is coming,” a fellow lawyer told Lincoln, “when we shall have to be all either Abolitionists or Democrats”: Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, p. 292.
- 51 The situation of enslaved people was now “fixed, and hopeless of change for the better”: Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, p. 392.
- 51 Kansas became the ultimate battleground under the “popular sovereignty”: Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, p. 294.
- 52 As the violence spiraled, “Bleeding Kansas” became a new rallying cry for the antislavery forces: Williams, Horace Greeley: *Champion of American Freedom*, p. 187.
- 53 The shameful and dire 7–2 decision ruled that Black people “are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word ‘citizens’ in the Constitution.” Therefore, Scott had no standing in federal court. This should have decided the case, but Chief Justice Roger Taney widened the scope of the decision in writing the court’s majority opinion, declaring that neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution had been intended to apply to Black people. Black people were “so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect”: Roger B. Taney, quoted in Finkelman, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, pp. 35–36.

- 53 *The formerly enslaved abolitionist Frederick Douglass fought back to “lift up our hearts and voices in earnest denunciation of the vile and shocking abomination” of the Scott decision: Douglass, “The Dred Scott Decision.”*
- 53 *“Judge Taney can do many things, but he cannot perform impossibilities. . . . He cannot change the essential nature of things—making evil good, and good evil”:* Douglass, “The Dred Scott Decision,” reprinted in Finkelman, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, p. 174.
- 54 *Herndon once remarked, he knew his subject “inside and outside, upside and downside”:* Herndon and Weik, *Herndon’s Life of Lincoln*, p. 478.
- 54 *As a boy, when Lincoln was on “such a hunt for an idea,” he could not sleep until he had “caught it”:* Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 1, p. 43.
- 54 *“If A. can prove, however conclusively, that he may, of right, enslave B,” Lincoln began, “why may not B. snatch the same argument, and prove equally, that he may enslave A? You say A. is white, and B. is black. It is color, then; the lighter, having the right to enslave the darker? Take care. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with a fairer skin than your own. You do not mean color exactly? You mean the whites are intellectually the superiors of the blacks, and therefore have the right to enslave them? Take care again. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with an intellect superior to your own”:* Abraham Lincoln, “Fragment on Slavery,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:222.
- 55 *“We were both young then,” Lincoln later wrote. “Even then, we were both ambitious; I, perhaps, quite as much so as he. With me the race of ambition has been a failure—a flat failure; with him it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation”:* Abraham Lincoln, “Fragment on Stephen A. Douglas,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:382–83.
- 55 *The Senate race became a vote on slavery and the battle over its extension into new territories, as well as the fortunes of the new Republican Party. Lincoln opened his Senate campaign stating “A house divided against itself cannot stand,” painting an easily approachable image of the Union as a house in danger of collapse under the pressure of slavery advocates who, by repealing the Missouri Compromise, had threatened the stability of the entire structure:* Abraham Lincoln, “A House Divided Speech, Springfield, Ill.,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:461.
- 57 *With marching bands, parades, fireworks, banners, flags, and picnics, the public devoured news of the debates with “all the devoted attention,” one historian has noted, “that many later Americans would reserve for athletic contests”:* Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness*, p. 15.
- 57 *Douglas, the short, stocky “little giant” as Mary called him:* Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, p. 153.

- 57 “traveled in what was called in those days ‘great style,’ with a secretary and servants and numerous loud companions, moving from place to place by special train with cars specially decorated for the occasion, all of which contrasted strongly with Lincoln’s extreme modest simplicity”: Schurz, *Reminiscences*, p. 92.
- 57 At one debate, when someone in the audience attacked him as two-faced, Lincoln responded, “If I had two faces, do you think I’d be wearing this face?”: Holzer, “If I Had Another Face.”
- 58 “all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness”: paragraph two of the Declaration of Independence (1776).
- 58 Although unfulfilled in the present, Lincoln argued, the Declaration’s promise of equality was “a beacon to guide” not only “the whole race of man then living” but “their children and their children’s children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages”: Abraham Lincoln, “Speech at Lewistown, Illinois,” quoted in *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:546.
- 58 Lincoln agreed that “the doctrine of self government is right—absolutely and eternally right,” but argued that “it has no just application” to the cruel and oppressive power of slavery. Using “self-government” to justify slavery was a distortion of the meaning of self-government. “When the white man governs himself,” Lincoln asserted, “that is self-government; but when he governs himself, and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.” If all men are created equal, Lincoln said, “there can be no moral right in connection with one man’s making a slave of another”: Abraham Lincoln, “Speech at Peoria, Illinois,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:265–66.
- 59 While Lincoln quoted Douglas as saying he didn’t care “whether slavery is voted up or voted down,” for Lincoln there was no question: Abraham Lincoln, in “Great Debate Between Lincoln and Douglas at Quincy,” p. 1.
- 59 “The difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties on the leading issue of this contest,” declared Lincoln, “is, that the former consider slavery a moral, social and political wrong, while the latter do not”: Abraham Lincoln, “Speech at Edwardsville, Illinois,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:92.
- 59 “Who is this man that is replying to Douglas in your State?” an Eastern political figure asked an Illinois journalist. “Do you realize that no greater speeches have been made on public questions in the history of our country; that his knowledge of the subject is profound, his logic unanswerable, his style inimitable?”: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 2, p. 116.

- 60 *Days later, while “the emotions of defeat” were still “fresh”*: Sandburg, *The Prairie Years*, Vol. 2, p. 167.
- 60 *“I expect the result of the election went hard with you,” Lincoln wrote to a lifelong friend. “I have an abiding faith that we shall beat them in the long run. . . . I write merely to let you know that I am neither dead nor dying. Please give my respects to your good family, and all inquiring friends”*: Lapsley, *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 20.

Chapter Five

- 61 *“We must settle this question now, whether in a free government the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose”*: Abraham Lincoln, “7 May Tuesday,” in Burlingame and Ettlinger, eds., *Inside Lincoln’s White House*, p. 20.
- 61 *Lincoln resisted, noting that William Henry Seward, Salmon Chase, and other antislavery Republicans were more accomplished and “much better known.” They were the men who had “carried this movement forward to its present status”*: Abraham Lincoln, quoted by Jesse W. Fell, in Oldroyd, comp., *The Lincoln Memorial*, p. 474.
- 62 *“I admit the force of much of what you say, and admit that I am ambitious, and would like to be President,” Lincoln told his longtime friend and supporter Jesse Fell*: *Ibid.*, 473–76.
- 62 *by speaking solely on behalf of the antislavery party and the Republican position of condemning slavery “as an immoral institution, a relic of barbarism”*: Miller, *Frederick Douglass American Hero*, p. 220.
- 62 *Most Republicans of the time “thought that by confining slavery within its present boundaries, the institution would be placed on the road to eventual extinction . . . but most rejected a more radical stand that would associate them with abolitionism”*: *Ibid.*
- 63 *“Just tell everybody if they can’t get their first love, I’m there. I’ll be the second love”*: Rubenstein, *The American Story*, p. 144.
- 63 *“No man knows,” Lincoln said years later, “when the presidential grub gets to gnawing at him, just how deeply it will get until he has tried it”*: Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 3, p. 188.
- 64 *“Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it,” Lincoln said in what was the most carefully prepared and important speech of his career to date, and which helped his candidacy grow even stronger*: Abraham Lincoln, “Address at Cooper Institute, New York City,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 3:522–50.
- 64 *“I am not in a position where it would hurt much for me not to be nominated on the national ticket; but I am where it would hurt some for me to not get*

the Illinois delegates,” he wrote to a politician in the northern part of the state. “Can you not help me in this matter, in your end of the vineyard?”: Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, 3:517.

- 64 *When Illinois Republicans met ten days ahead of the national convention, they passed a resolution instructing the delegates to “vote as a unit” for Abraham Lincoln: Baringer, Lincoln’s Rise to Power, p. 186.*
- 64 *While some in Lincoln’s circle had political ambitions of their own, “most of them,” his ally Henry Whitney observed, worked “chiefly from love of the man, his lofty moral tone, his pure political morality”: Whitney, Lincoln, the Citizen, p. 266.*
- 65 *For a moment “a profound stillness” filled the hall: Unidentified spectator, quoted in Nevins, Ordeal of the Union, p. 260.*
- 65 *until Lincoln’s supporters “rose to their feet applauding wildly, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, the men waving and throwing up their hats by thousands, cheering again and again”: Chicago Daily Press and Tribune, May 19, 1860.*
- 66 *To that end, he wrote a personal letter to Chase humbly asking for his “especial assistance” in the campaign: Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, 4:53.*
- 67 *While Lincoln never claimed he had split a particular rail presented to him with great fanfare, he acknowledged that he had indeed been “a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flat boat, just what might happen to any man’s son!”: Abraham Lincoln, “Speech at New Haven, Conn.,” in Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, 4:24.*
- 67 *The story of his life and his strenuous efforts to educate himself made Lincoln into “a man of the people,” the American dream personified: Jacob Bunn quoted in Angle, ed., Abraham Lincoln by Some Men Who Knew Him, p. 108.*
- 67 *“The news would come quick enough if it was good,” he told his cohorts, but if the news was bad, he was not anxious to receive it: Weed, “Hearing the Returns with Mr. Lincoln,” p. 9.*
- 67 *Soon after midnight, the returns from New York came in; Lincoln had won the state! Celebrations began in earnest, for Lincoln’s victory was now assured. Church bells rang. Cheers for “Old Abe” echoed through the streets: Markham, Brothers for Ever, p. 100.*
- 67 *Lincoln was jubilant, admitting that he was “a very happy man . . . who could help being so under such circumstances?”: Abraham Lincoln, quoted by Bowen, “Recollections,” p. 31; reprinted in Whipple, The Story–Life of Lincoln, p. 345.*

- 67 He raced home to tell Mary, who had been waiting anxiously all day. “Mary, Mary,” he cried out, “we are elected!”: Bowen, “Recollections of Abraham Lincoln,” p. 4.
- 68 “I began at once to feel that I needed support,” he later noted, “others to share with me the burden”: Abraham Lincoln, quoted in Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles*, p. 159.
- 69 “We must settle this question now, whether in a free government the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose,” Lincoln said. “If we fail it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves”: Abraham Lincoln, “7 May Tuesday,” in Burlingame and Ettlinger, eds., *Inside Lincoln’s White House*, p. 20.
- 69 “No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting,” he said. He had just returned from a difficult and emotional visit to Farmington, where he said goodbye to his beloved stepmother, Sarah, and visited his father’s grave. “I now leave,” he said to his friends, “not knowing when or whether ever, I may return”: Abraham Lincoln, “Farewell Address at Springfield, Illinois,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:190.
- 70 Lincoln “flatly refused,” because he had planned to meet with citizens and “raise a flag over Independence Hall in the morning, and to exhibit himself at Harrisburg in the afternoon”: Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 39.
- 70 All other trains were to be “side-tracked” until Lincoln’s had passed. All the telegraph wires were to be cut between Harrisburg and Washington until it was clear that Lincoln had arrived in the nation’s capital. At three thirty a.m., the train passed through Baltimore without a problem and proceeded straight to Washington. “At six o’clock,” a relieved Lamon recalled, “the dome of the Capitol came in sight”: *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 45.
- 71 he had “crept into Washington”: Edwin M. Stanton, quoted in Helen Nicolay, *Our Capital on the Potomac*, p. 358.
- 71 “They were so great that could I have anticipated them, I would not have believed it possible to survive them”: Abraham Lincoln, “Memorandum, July 3, 1861,” quoted in John G. Nicolay, *With Lincoln in the White House*, p. 46.
- 72 “In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors.” He closed with the stirring assurance that “We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad

land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely as they will be, by the better angels of our nature”: Abraham Lincoln, “First Inaugural Address—Final Text,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:263–66, 269, 271.

Chapter Six

- 74 “If my name ever goes into history it will be for this act, and my whole soul is in it”: Seward, *Seward at Washington*, p. 151.
- 74 When Douglass read for himself Lincoln’s inaugural address, beginning with the president’s declaration that he had “no lawful power to interfere with slavery in the States,” and, worse still, no “inclination” to do so, Douglass found little reason for optimism and was disgusted by what he described as Lincoln’s impulse to beg and grovel “before the foul and withering curse of slavery”: *Douglass’ Monthly* (April 1861).
- 75 “Things had gone from bad to worse,” Lincoln recalled of that midsummer, “until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had played our last card and must change our tactics”: Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln*, p. 20.
- 75 “This is the hardest trial of my life,” Lincoln said: Abraham Lincoln, quoted in Boyden, *Echoes from Hospital and White House*, pp. 54–56.
- 75 Several times during the long nights Tad would awaken and call for his father. “The moment [the president] heard Taddie’s voice he was at his side”: Pomroy, *Letters*, March 27, 1862.
- 76 In time, he promised her, “the memory of your dear Father, instead of an agony, will yet be a sad sweet feeling in your heart, of a purer, and holier sort than you have known before”: Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 6:17.
- 76 “In the present civil war it is quite possible that God’s purpose is something different from the purpose of either party,” Lincoln wrote in his personal papers in September 1862: Abraham Lincoln, “Meditation on the Divine Will,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 5:403–04.
- 77 “[God] could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And, having begun He could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds”: *Ibid.*, 5:404.
- 77 a proclamation freeing enslaved people in any state that had seceded from the Union could be considered “a military necessity absolutely essential for the salvation of the Union”: Rawley, *Turning Points of the Civil War*, p. 134.
- 77 Emancipating enslaved people, “otherwise unconstitutional,” might therefore become a lawful action and could help save the Union: Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 7:281.

- 78 When on September 17, 1862, General Robert E. Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia attempted to take the war North, they were forced by the Union army to retreat. It was at this point that President Lincoln made public his plans for the Emancipation Proclamation, explaining to his cabinet: “When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation. . . . I made the promise to myself, and . . . to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfill that promise. . . . God had decided this question in favor of the slaves”: Holzer and Gabbard, eds., *Lincoln and Freedom*, pp. 57, 63; Seward, *Seward at Washington*, p. 133.
- 79 “All persons held as slaves within any state or states,” that did not accept the US Constitution “shall then, thenceforward and forever, be free”: Abraham Lincoln, “Emancipation Proclamation—First Draft,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 5:336.
- 79 “Your race suffer very greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence,” he told the five men of his long-held belief. “In a word we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated”: Abraham Lincoln, “Address on Colonization to a Deputation of Colored Men,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8:2.
- 79 “There is no sentiment more universally entertained, nor more firmly held by the free colored people of the United States, than that this is their ‘own, their native land,’ and that here (for good or for evil) their destiny is to be wrought out,” Douglass wrote in a published article, “The Colonization Scheme.” “There is not now, there has never been, and we think there never will be, any general desire on the part of our people, to emigrate from this land to any other”: Douglass, “The Colonization Scheme.”
- 80 Later that year, Lincoln made another case for colonization during his second annual message to Congress on December 1, 1862, during which he proposed a constitutional amendment to colonize Black Americans and provide for them better lives in “their long-lost fatherland,” where they would have access to homes and schools: Lapsley, ed., *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 173.
- 80 As the first of January 1863 drew near, an “ill wind” of discontent: Seward, *Seward at Washington*, p. 141.
- 80 a “general air of doubt” across the land: *New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1862.
- 80 “Will Lincoln’s backbone carry him through?” wondered one skeptic. “Nobody knows”: Nevins and Thomas, eds., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, p. 284.
- 80 All through his life, the honor and weight of his word had been the “chief gem” of his character: Abraham Lincoln, in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:289.

- 80 His ability to make good on his promises, “his resolves”: Ibid.
- 81 “My word is out,” Lincoln told a Massachusetts congressman, “and I can’t take it back”: Abraham Lincoln, quoted in Boutwell, *Speeches and Papers Relating to the Rebellion and the Overthrow of Slavery*, p. 392.
- 81 “Abraham Lincoln may be slow,” he wrote, “but Abraham Lincoln is not the man to reconsider, retract and contradict words and purposes solemnly proclaimed over his official signature.” To answer those who asked if Lincoln would back down, Douglass gave a forceful no. “Abraham Lincoln will take no step backward,” Douglass insisted. “If he has taught us to confide in nothing else, he has taught us to confide in his word”: Douglass’ *Monthly* (October 1862).
- 81 “serene and even smiling,” shaking hands with more than one thousand citizens, even though, as one reporter later noted, “his eyes were with his thoughts, and they were far away”: Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln’s Time*, p. 42.
- 82 Lincoln “dipped his pen in the ink, and then, holding it a moment above the sheet, seemed to hesitate.” But then he began to speak in a forceful manner: “I never, in my life felt more certain that I was doing right, than I do in signing this paper,” Lincoln said. “If my name ever goes into history it will be for this act, and my whole soul is in it.” His arm was “stiff and numb” from shaking hands, however, and he worried that his signature would look shaky, as if he had doubts about this decision. “Now, this signature is one that will be closely examined, and if they find my hand trembled, they will say ‘he had some compunctions.’” So he waited for several minutes until he took up the pen once more and signed with an “unusually bold, clear, and firm” hand: Seward, *Seward at Washington*, p. 151.
- 82 A “visible shadow” fell upon the crowd when it reached ten o’clock in the evening and still no word had arrived. Finally, a man raced through the crowd. “It is coming! It is on the wires!” Douglass recorded the “wild and grand” reaction, the “Joy and gladness,” the “sobs and tears”: Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, p. 255.
- 82 and then the singing—“Glory Hallelujah”—that united them until the first light of dawn: McFeeley, *Frederick Douglass*, p. 237.
- 83 “It is my conviction that, had the proclamation been issued even six months earlier than it was, public sentiment would not have sustained it,” Lincoln later said: Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln*, p. 77.
- 83 He had carefully marked “this great revolution in public sentiment slowly but surely progressing”: Ibid.
- 83 Although Lincoln knew opposition would be fierce when the proclamation was initiated, he judged that resistance would not be strong enough “to defeat the purpose”: Ibid.

- 83 “I have often wished that I was a more devout man than I am,” he later wrote in remarks to be delivered at Baltimore Presbyterian Synod. “Nevertheless, amid the greatest difficulties of my Administration, when I could not see any other resort, I would place my whole reliance in God, knowing that all would go well, and that He would decide for the right”: Thayer, *Character and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 33.
- 84 Douglass argued that once a Black man served in the armed forces, “there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship”: Douglass’ *Monthly* (August 1862).
- 84 “I was never more quickly or more completely put at ease,” Douglass recalled of that first meeting: Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, pp. 784–85.
- 84 As Douglass described the problem, Lincoln listened “with earnest attention and with very apparent sympathy”: Frederick Douglass, in Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time*, p. 187.
- 84 “He treated me as a man, he did not let me feel for a moment that there was any difference in the color of our skins!” Douglass later said. “I am satisfied now that he is doing all that circumstances will allow him to do”: *Ibid.*, p. 320.
- 86 Lincoln had thought the publication of his Emancipation Proclamation would have prompted enslaved people to leave the South, but, he noted with disappointment, “the slaves are not coming so rapidly and so numerously to us as I had hoped.” Douglass suggested “the slaveholders knew how to keep such things from their slaves, and probably very few knew of his proclamation.” So Lincoln proposed that the federal government might pay for an organized “band of scouts,” made up of Black men who would “go into the rebel states, beyond the lines of our Armies, and carry the news of emancipation, and urge the slaves to come within our boundaries”: Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, pp. 796–97.
- 86 Lincoln accepted that he might lose reelection but declared that if he abandoned his commitment to the twin goals of Union and freedom, he “should be damned in time & in eternity”: Abraham Lincoln, “Interview with Alexander W. Randall and Joseph T. Mills,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 7:507.
- 87 “Atlanta is ours,” heralded the *New York Times*, signaling that the arms and ammunition factories, the machine shops, the wagons, ambulances, harnesses, shoes, and clothing, which had all been accumulated at Atlanta, “are ours now”: *New York Times*, Sept. 5, 1864.
- 87 “Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God. . . . Let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully.” And then drawing upon the rare wisdom of a temperament that consistently displayed uncommon generosity toward

those who opposed him, Lincoln issued his historic plea to all citizens of the land: “With malice toward none; with charity for all . . . let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation’s wounds . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations”: Abraham Lincoln, “Second Inaugural Address,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8:333. For a thorough discussion of Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address, see White, *Lincoln’s Greatest Speech*.

- 88 But when Frederick Douglass arrived at the White House, he was stopped at the door by two policemen, who he said “took me rudely by the arm and ordered me to stand back, for their directions were to admit no persons of my color.” Douglass assured the officers “there must be some mistake, for no such order could have emanated from President Lincoln; and that if he knew I was at the door he would desire my admission.” His assertion was later confirmed when word came from the president to let Douglass in. “I walked into the spacious East Room, amid a scene of elegance such as in this country I had never before witnessed.” Douglass had no difficulty spotting Lincoln, who stood “like a mountain pine high above the others,” he recalled, “and in grand simplicity, and home-like beauty. Recognizing me, even before I reached him, he exclaimed, so that all around could hear him, ‘I am glad to see you. I saw you in the crowd to-day, listening to my inaugural address; how did you like it?’” Douglass was embarrassed to detain the president in conversation when there were “thousands waiting to shake hands,” but Lincoln insisted: “There is no man in the country whose opinion I value more than yours. I want to know what you think of it?” For a moment these two remarkable men stood together amid the sea of faces. Lincoln knew that Douglass would speak his mind, just as he always had. “That was a sacred effort,” Douglass finally was able to tell Lincoln. “I’m glad you liked it!” Lincoln replied as his face lit up with delight: Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, pp. 803–04.

★ ★ ★ **THEODORE ROOSEVELT** ★ ★ ★

Chapter Seven

- 93 “I’ll make my body”: Robinson, *My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 50.
- 93 “Nobody seemed to think I would live,” Roosevelt later recalled: *The World* (New York), Nov. 16, 1902.
- 93 “My father—he got me breath, he got me lungs, strength—life”: Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, Vol. 1, p. 350.
- 93 “From the very fact that he was not able originally to enter into the most vigorous activities, he was always reading or writing,” his younger sister, Corinne, recalled, and with a most unusual power of concentration: Lewis, *The Life of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 36.

- 94 “Do I know them? I have bunked with them and eaten with them, and I know their strengths and weaknesses”: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, p. 19.
- 94 Books became for him “the greatest of companions”: Wagenknecht, *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 50.
- 94 His mother, Martha, known as Mittie, nicknamed Teedie her Butterfly and constantly entertained him with stories of “noble-hearted aristocrats who fought courageously for high ideals”: Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, p. 24.
- 95 It seemed as if he could “remember everything he read,” a friend marveled: Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 39.
- 96 Within this small circle of children, Teedie occupied the center as an “unquestioned leader”: Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 49.
- 96 “I can see him now struggling with the effort to breathe,” Corinne recalled, as he told them stories that “continued from week to week, or even from month to month”: Robinson, *My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 1–2.
- 97 “And of course,” his younger brother, Elliott, complained, “I could not be left behind so we are working harder than ever in our lives”: *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- 97 “I had no idea,” he later said, “how beautiful the world was until I got those spectacles”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 18.
- 99 “Theodore, you have the mind but not the body, and without the help of the body the mind cannot go as far as it should. You must make your body. It is hard drudgery to make one’s body, but I know you will do it.” Teedie responded enthusiastically, promising his father, “I’ll make my body”: Robinson, *My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 50.
- 99 They saw in Teedie a “victim,” he remembered years later, and they “proceeded to make life miserable for me.” Finding he was unable to fight back, he resolved that he would “not again be put in such a helpless position”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 52.
- 99 His ability to concentrate, one friend recalled, was such that “the house might fall about his head,” and “he would not be diverted”: Washburn, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Logic of His Career*, p. 3.
- 100 One classmate remembered him as “studious, ambitious, eccentric—not the sort to appeal at first”: Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography*, p. 33.
- 100 One classmate who witnessed Theodore arguing with two freshmen in the corridor remarked, “I was struck by the earnestness with which he was setting forth some point to the other two. He emphasized his points by vigorous movements of the head, and by striking his right fist into his left palm”: Boffey, “Theodore Roosevelt at Harvard.”

- 101 Another classmate observed, “When it was not considered good form to move at more than a walk, Roosevelt was always running”: Ibid.
- 101 Though he “never conquered asthma completely,” suffering spasms at irregular intervals for decades, he had strengthened his body enough to participate: Corinne Roosevelt Robinson in Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, p. 420.
- 102 “Funnily enough, I have enjoyed quite a burst of popularity,” Theodore wrote to his parents: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:34.
- 102 Of course he danced awkwardly—“just as you’d expect him to dance,” a classmate recalled; “he hopped”: Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years*, p. 106.
- 102 Overall, his life at Harvard “broadened every interest,” Corinne noted, and his authentic personality eventually captivated his classmates, who marveled at his bursting energy and confidence: Ibid.
- 102 “The story of Theodore Roosevelt,” one biographer has suggested, “is the story of a small boy who read about great men and decided he wanted to be like them”: Hagedorn, *The Boy’s Life of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 1.
- 102 “My father was the best man I ever knew,” Roosevelt later said. “He combined strength and courage with gentleness, tenderness, and great unselfishness.” He was a public figure of great accomplishment in the world of charitable giving, committed to “every social reform movement”; yet, “I never knew any one who got greater joy out of living than did my father”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, pp. 7, 9.
- 102 Roosevelt considered Thee not only “his best and most intimate friend”: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:18.
- 102 but a beloved mentor whose advice he followed above all others. “I have literally never spent an unhappy day, unless by my own fault!” Theodore told his family: Ibid., 1:19.

Chapter Eight

- 103 “I rose like a rocket”: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 3:635.
- 103 “I was away in Boston when the man I loved dearest on earth died”: Theodore Roosevelt, July 5, 1880, in Theodore Roosevelt Collection.
- 103 “I never was able to do anything for him during his last illness”: Theodore Roosevelt, *Private Diary*, June 20, 1878, in Theodore Roosevelt Papers.
- 104 “I felt as if I had been stunned, or as if part of my life had been taken away”: Theodore Roosevelt, *Private Diary*, Feb. 12, 1878, in Theodore Roosevelt Papers.

- 104 *And then week after week, in his diary, he continued to lament, only mentioning his father, nothing else. "Every now and then it seems to me like a hideous dream. Sometimes when I fully realize my loss I feel as if I should go wild" for "he was everything to me; father, companion, friend: Ibid.*
- 104 *He shared all my joys, and in sharing doubled them, and soothed all the few sorrows I ever had. It is impossible to tell in words how terribly I miss him," Theodore wrote: Ibid.*
- 104 *Crushed, the younger Roosevelt read passages of Scripture, copied a hymn into his diary, and admitted "nothing but my faith in the Lord Jesus Christ could have carried me through this, my terrible time of trial and sorrow": Theodore Roosevelt, Private Diary, June 30, 1878, Theodore Roosevelt Papers.*
- 104 *Thee's death was also, as the New York Times stated, "a public loss." Flags were lowered in his honor. "Rich and poor followed him to the grave": New York Times, Feb. 13, 1878.*
- 104 *"Oh, how little worthy I am of such a father," he expressed in his diary. "How I wish I could ever do something to keep up his name": Theodore Roosevelt, Private Diary, Feb. 22, 1878, Theodore Roosevelt Papers.*
- 105 *"I could not be happier, except at those bitter moments when I realize what I have lost. Father was so invariably cheerful that I feel it would be wrong for me to be gloomy": Theodore Roosevelt, Private Diary, March 29, 1879, Series 8, Reel 429, Theodore Roosevelt Papers.*
- 105 *"No one but my wife, if ever I marry," Theodore explained in his diary, "will ever be able to take [my father's] place": Dalton, "The Early Life of Theodore Roosevelt," p. 300.*
- 105 *"It was a real case of love at first sight," Theodore told a friend, "and my first love too": Theodore Roosevelt, Private Diary, Jan. 30, 1880, Theodore Roosevelt Papers.*
- 105 *He was solely focused on "winning her": Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:43.*
- 105 *Her rejection made him "nearly crazy," unable to study or sleep at night. He refused to give up, however, and eight months later, "after much pleading," she finally agreed to be his wife. "I am so happy that I dare not trust my own happiness," he recorded in his diary the night she accepted: Theodore Roosevelt, Private Diary, Jan. 25, 1880, Theodore Roosevelt Papers.*
- 105 *And two months later he wrote: "I do not believe any man loved a woman more than I love her": Theodore Roosevelt, Private Diary, March 11, 1880, Theodore Roosevelt Papers.*
- 106 *"I want you to take that young fellow under your special care," Cutler told the Maine guide William "Bill" Sewall. "He is not very strong and he has got a great deal of ambition and grit. . . . Even if he was tired, he would not tell*

you so. The first thing you knew he would be down, because he would go until he fell.” Cutler was right. While Theodore suffered from a serious asthma attack during the trip, he never once lost his good nature or seemed “out of sorts,” whether canoeing five miles on the river, tramping thirty-five miles in the forest, helping to pitch the tents, or missing numerous shots at loons, ducks, and pigeons: Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 2.

- 106 The thirty-four-year-old Sewall, who would become Roosevelt’s mentor and lifelong friend, came to know Theodore beginning at age nineteen, “in that period in his life when a man’s character, emerging from the shelter of home traditions and inherited beliefs, is most like wax under the contact of men and events”: Hagedorn, introduction to *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, by Sewall, pp. i–ii.
- 107 Sewall saw in young Roosevelt his fair-mindedness and directness, strong convictions that he was willing to stand up for—the makings of a leader. “He was different from anybody I had ever met,” Sewall said. “Wherever he went, he got right in with the people,” connecting with them, talking with them, enjoying them, without the slightest trace of snobbery: Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 2.
- 107 The teenager who had begun college only associating with those in his own wealthy social class now bunked in a lumber camp with a large crew of woodsmen. Though not formally educated, the crew, Sewall recalled, “knew the woods, the whole of them, and they knew all the hardships connected with pioneer life”: *Ibid.*
- 107 That Theodore had the maturity to “find the real men in very simple men” and find ways to relate to them and learn from them suggested that he was beginning to chip away at the inherited elitism of his privileged background. He told Sewall he was thrilled to get “firsthand accounts of backwoods life from the men who had lived it and knew what they were talking about.” He listened with rapt attention to their stories and in turn told them stories that he had read in the adventure books of his youth. Roosevelt was learning, Sewall said, what it meant to be an American, about the country’s democratic character, the idea that individuals should be judged on their efforts, that “no man is superior, unless it was by merit, and no man is inferior, unless by his demerit”: *Ibid.*
- 108 But he was too impatient, telling a friend, “I tried faithfully to do what my father had done, but I did it poorly”: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, pp. 36–37.
- 109 “I’m going to try to help the cause of better government in New York City . . . I don’t know exactly how,” Theodore told a friend: Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Intimate Biography*, p. 21.
- 109 Though he impressed his professors and fellow students, he found the

courses at law school ill-suited to his “irrepressible” temperament: Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time Shown in His Own Letters*, p. 51.

- 109 “Who’s the dude?” the local politicians wondered upon first setting eyes on this young law student, his hair parted in the center, short whiskers on his cheeks, a monocle over one eye held in place by a gold chain over his ear, a waistcoat, and trousers “as tight as a tailor could make them”: *Recollections of John Walsh*, quoted in *Kansas City Star*, Feb. 12, 1922.
- 110 “I went around often enough to have the men get accustomed to me and to have me get accustomed to them,” he later said: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 57.
- 110 To join the Republican Party then was “no simple thing,” Roosevelt later recalled. “A man had to be regularly proposed for and elected into this club, just as into any other club”: *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.
- 110 The boss “picked me as the candidate with whom he would be most likely to win,” Roosevelt later said. “I had at that time neither the reputation nor the ability to have won the nomination for myself”: *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.
- 110 Indeed, when the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt was announced, the *New York Tribune* suggested that in voting for the son of “one of the most loved and respected” figures in the history of New York, voters would have the opportunity “to show their regard for an honored name”: *New York Daily Tribune*, Nov. 6, 1881.
- 110 The boss also understood that Roosevelt had the money to contribute to his own campaign. Roosevelt’s family and friends, however, deplored his entrance into politics. In his autobiography, Roosevelt wrote of their disapproval: “These men laughed at me, and told me that politics were ‘low’; that the organizations were not controlled by ‘gentlemen’; that I would find them run by saloon-keepers, horse-car conductors, and the like, and not by men with any of whom I would come in contact outside”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 56.
- 111 “I answered that if this were so it merely meant that the people I knew did not belong to the governing class, and that the other people did—and that I intended to be one of the governing class; that if they proved too hard-bit for me I supposed I would have to quit, but that I certainly would not quit until I had made the effort and found out whether I really was too weak to hold my own in the rough and tumble”: *Ibid.*
- 111 He felt this was an opportunity, and he wanted “to take advantage” of it. “I put myself in the way of things happening, and they happened,” he later said: Strock, *Theodore Roosevelt on Leadership*, p. 43.
- 111 To open the campaign, Boss Murray planned to take Roosevelt “through the saloons along Sixth Avenue”: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, p. 51.

- 111 Roosevelt replied that while he would treat all interests fairly, he actually thought that liquor taxes were “not high enough,” and that he would vote to raise them: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 60.
- 112 On Election Day, the affluent “brownstone vote” came out in much larger numbers than usual, thanks to seeing the Roosevelt name—one of their own—on the ballot. Roosevelt won the assembly seat with a margin almost twice the size of the typical Republican vote: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, p. 51.
- 112 As one of his law school colleagues observed: “He was destined for politics . . . he could not escape the fate of being persistently in the public eye”: Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 119.
- 112 “I rose like a rocket,” Roosevelt recalled of this period: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 3:635.
- 112 But as his friend, journalist Jacob Riis, later observed, “if they do shoot up like a rocket they are apt to come down like sticks”: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, p. 54.
- 112 He instantly became “a perfect nuisance,” constantly interrupting assembly business, yelling and pounding his desk with his fist, reveling in the headlines his colorful language inspired: Hagedorn, Hunt, and Spinney, “Memo of Conversation at Dinner at the Harvard Club,” p. 26.
- 112 After failing to mobilize support for several projects, however, he began to see that he “was not all-important”: Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years*, p. 290.
- 112 and “that cooperation from other people” was essential, “even if they were not so pure as gold.” And he soon learned that “if he could not get all he wanted, he would take all he could”: Hagedorn, Hunt, and Spinney, “Memo of Conversation at Dinner at the Harvard Club,” p. 19.
- 113 His investigation persuaded him “beyond a shadow of a doubt that to permit the manufacture of cigars in tenement-houses” was “an evil thing”: Roosevelt, “A Judicial Experience,” p. 563.
- 113 Roosevelt’s sense of empathy was growing. By visiting places that a man of his background typically would not, and seeing with his own eyes the ugly truth about how millions of people were forced to live under squalid and substandard conditions, he expanded his heart. Roosevelt came to believe that empathy, like courage, could be learned over time. He acknowledged that one might “at first feel a little self-conscious” associating with people who are different, “but with exercise this will pass off.” Just as he had become acquainted with the woodsmen in Maine and the working-class Republicans at Morton Hall, Roosevelt understood that connecting with people who are different from yourself inspires “fellow-feeling.” Indeed, he argued that distrust in politics and in life springs from the fact that different classes or

sections “are so cut off from each other that neither appreciates the other’s passions, prejudices, and, indeed, point of view”: Roosevelt, “Fellow-Feeling as a Political Factor,” in Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 13:368, p. 355.

- 115 “I had grown into sympathy with, into understanding of, group after group, with the effect that I invariably found that they and I had common purposes and a common standpoint,” Roosevelt wrote: *Ibid.*, 15:410.
- 115 “We differed among ourselves, or agreed among ourselves, not because we had different occupations or the same occupation, but because of our ways of looking at life.” He came to believe that fellow-feeling and mutual understanding were the basis of “good government” and “the betterment of social and civic conditions”: *Ibid.*
- 115 Working with Democrats, who he had previously labeled as “rotten,” he brought the two parties together to pass a host of bills to benefit the city of New York: Roosevelt, “True Americanism,” in Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 13:16–17.
- 115 In diary entries, Roosevelt celebrated the pleasure of being “in my own lovely little home, with the sweetest and prettiest of all little wives—I can imagine nothing more happy in life than an evening spent in my cozy little sitting room before a bright fire of soft coal, my books all around me”: Theodore Roosevelt, *Private Diary*, Jan. 3, 1883, *Theodore Roosevelt Papers*.
- 116 At twenty-five years old he now felt, he told Alice, that he “had the reins” in his own hands, that he could chart his own destiny: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:64.

Chapter Nine

- 117 “The light has gone out of my life”: Theodore Roosevelt, *Private Diary*, Feb. 14, 1884, *Theodore Roosevelt Papers*.
- 117 On the floor of the Albany legislature, Theodore Roosevelt was “full of life and happiness” when he received the joyful telegram that he was now father to his first child, a healthy baby girl: Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years*, pp. 382–83.
- 117 “There is a curse on this house,” his brother, Elliott, told him upon his arrival. “Mother is dying and Alice is dying too”: *Ibid.*, p. 386.
- 117 In his diary that night of February 14, Valentine’s Day, Theodore placed a large X, along with the simple words “The light has gone out of my life”: Theodore Roosevelt, *Private Diary*, Feb. 14, 1884, *Theodore Roosevelt Papers*.
- 117 Two days later, he recorded: “We spent three years of happiness greater and more unalloyed than I have ever known fall to the lot of others. For joy or sorrow my life has now been lived out”: Theodore Roosevelt, *Private Diary*, Feb. 16, 1884, *Theodore Roosevelt Papers*.

- 118 During the service, Theodore appeared to his former tutor, Arthur Cutler, “in a dazed stunned state. He does not know what he does or says”: Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 11.
- 118 The pastor nearly lost command of his voice as he noted the especially sorrowful occasion. “Two members of the same family, of the same home were on the same day taken from life and were to be buried together,” he said. He did not remember anything like this in the course of his long ministry: *The Sun* (New York), Feb. 17, 1884.
- 118 Two days after the funeral, Roosevelt returned to the assembly, telling a friend, “I think I should go mad if I were not employed”: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:66.
- 118 He seemed “a changed man,” remarked a colleague; “from that time on there was a sadness about his face that he never had before. He did not want anybody to talk to him about it, and did not want anybody to sympathize with him. It was a grief that he had in his own soul”: Hagedorn, Hunt, and Spinney, “Memo of Conversation at Dinner at the Harvard Club.” p. 26.
- 118 “We are now holding evening sessions and I am glad we are; indeed the more we work the better I like it,” Theodore wrote to Bamie: Theodore Roosevelt, quoted in Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years*, p. 395.
- 119 “I am going cattle ranching in Dakota for the remainder of the summer and a part of the fall,” he told a reporter who was hounding him. “What I shall do after that I cannot tell”: Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years*, p. 444.
- 119 So began a stay on the western frontier that Roosevelt would come to regard as “the most important educational asset” of his entire life: Roosevelt, *The New Nationalism*, p. 106.
- 119 Knowing the character of both men, Roosevelt guaranteed them “a share of anything” the ranch might earn, while promising that he would absorb any losses: Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 12.
- 119 He also invited them to live with him in the ranch house they would together design and build. “He never was a man to hesitate to make a decision,” Sewall recalled years later: *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- 119 Once he could detect “a streak of honor” in a man, that man could be trusted: Packer, “Roosevelt’s Ranching Days,” p. 13.
- 119 When Roosevelt first arrived in the Dakotas, Sewall recounted, he “was very melancholy—very much down in spirits.” The landscape of the Badlands—its lonely plains, open spaces, and haunting beauty—mirrored the emptiness of his inner landscape. With Sewall, Roosevelt felt safe to express his emotions, confessing “that he felt as if it did not make any difference what became of

him—he had nothing to live for.” Sewall suggested he had his young daughter to live for, but Roosevelt countered that his sister was better positioned to take care of the child. “She would be just as well off without me”: Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 47.

- 120 By flinging himself into every aspect of the daily lives of the cowboys, Roosevelt “was not playing cowboy—he was a cowboy”: Edward Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, “Theodore Roosevelt’s Cowboy Years,” in Naylor, Brinkley, and Gable, eds., *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American*, p. 148.
- 120 The daily work of the ranch, companionship with his fellow cowboys, and the sustained pursuit of his writing distracted him from overthinking, and he was finally able to sleep at night. The young reform-minded Republicans in the East, who had once idolized Roosevelt, knew nothing about this immersion in the West. “We only knew that the man who seemed to have the brightest opportunity and the most splendid career opening had disappeared,” said Roosevelt peer Charles Evans Hughes. “He was out of politics altogether, he was no longer apparently available for anything. He had gone away, and it seemed like a candle light that had been snuffed out”: Charles Evans Hughes, Undated Speech, Theodore Roosevelt Collection.
- 122 Even his lungs had improved in the cool mountain air, although he would occasionally have bouts of asthma the rest of his life: Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, in Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, p. 52.
- 122 Sewall witnessed firsthand Roosevelt’s transformation from “a frail young man” troubled by fits of breathlessness and chronic stomach pains. “When he got back into the world he was as husky as any man I have ever seen who wasn’t dependent on his arms for his livelihood”: Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 41.
- 122 He had gained thirty pounds “and was clear bone, muscle and grit”: *Ibid.*
- 122 The high voice that “failed to make an echo” in the legislative chamber was “now hearty and strong enough to drive oxen”: *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, Aug. 23, 1885, quoted in Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years*, p. 530.
- 122 Transforming his body was but one step in the psychological struggle to overcome what Roosevelt still considered his own “nervous and timid” nature: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 27.
- 122 When he arrived in the West, he acknowledged, “there were all kinds of things of which I was afraid at first, from grizzly bears to ‘mean’ horses and gun-fighters, but by acting as if I was not afraid I gradually ceased to be afraid.” While some men, he believed, were naturally fearless, he had to train his “soul and spirit” as well as his body: *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- 122 So, “constantly forcing himself to do the difficult or even dangerous thing”: Parsons, *Perchance Some Day*, p. 28.

- 122 he gradually was able to develop courage as “a matter of habit, in the sense of repeated effort and repeated exercise of will-power”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 32.
- 122 Though only a mediocre horseman, he volunteered to ride “mean” horses, those likely to buck: Knokey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*, pp. 144–45.
- 123 “Perseverance,” Roosevelt insisted, was the key to his success as both a hunter and a cowboy: Theodore Roosevelt, quoted in Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior*, p. 161.
- 123 He hoped his example of learned courage would persuade other people that if they could consider danger “as something to be faced and overcome,” they would “become fearless” by “practicing fearlessness”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, pp. 52–53.
- 123 So completely was he able to tackle his own fears that in the years ahead, countless observers made reference to courage that seemed to them clearly “ingrained in his being”: *New York Times* editorial, quoted in Strock, *Theodore Roosevelt on Leadership*, p. 50.
- 123 He referred to her simply as “Baby Lee,” confessing, “there can never be another Alice to me.” Nor could he bear memories of his courtship and brief marriage. He destroyed almost all the pictures, letters, and mementos of their shared past. It was “both weak and morbid” Roosevelt said, to dwell on loss: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 6:966.
- 124 As teens, Theodore and Edith had stayed close and were dancing partners and constant companions at social events, but the young couple had a mysterious “falling out,” and their “very intimate relations,” as Theodore described them, were suddenly over while he was at Harvard: Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years*, p. 170.
- 124 Edith later confessed that she had loved Theodore “with all the passion of a girl who had never loved before”: Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt, June 8, 1886, *Derby Papers*, Theodore Roosevelt Collection.
- 124 When he married Alice, Edith “danced the soles off her shoes” at the wedding, but she was certain she would never love again: Morris, *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Portrait of a First Lady*, p. 64.
- 124 Even they were “amazed and rather shocked to think that it could happen so soon,” and in the following months they met whenever he was in New York and regularly wrote to each other when they were apart: As told by Fanny Parsons to Hagerdorn in October 1948.
- 125 “I would like a chance at something I thought I could really do,” he told his friend, Massachusetts representative Henry Cabot Lodge: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:109.

Chapter Ten

- 126 “Do what you can, with what you have, where you are”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 337.
- 126 When he finished last in a three-way race, he told a friend, “This is the end of my political career”: Johnson, *Remembered Yesterdays*, p. 386.
- 126 “Do what you can, with what you have, where you are,” he liked to say: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 337.
- 127 He had absorbed his father’s belief that public service was a demonstration of faith and patriotism, as he later wrote: “Unless we are thorough-going Americans and unless our patriotism is part of the very fiber of our being, we can neither serve God nor take our own part”: Roosevelt, *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, p. 18.
- 127 When Roosevelt was later asked how he was able to successfully lead such diverse departments as the Civil Service Commission, the New York Police Department, and the Navy Department, he insisted that the challenges he faced did not require “genius” or even “any unusual qualities, but just common sense, common honesty, energy, resolution, and readiness to learn”: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, p. 154.
- 127 In fact, Roosevelt believed there were “two kinds of success,” the first in the form of a gift or a talent that no amount of training will enable an ordinary person to do: Roosevelt, “The Conditions of Success,” in Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 15:506.
- 128 So after hearing testimony and examining documents, Roosevelt demanded the immediate firing of three guilty employees, showing the public that the new law was “going to be enforced, without fear or favor”: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:167.
- 129 His investigation also uncovered that party leaders continued to collect “so-called voluntary contributions” from Custom House employees as the price for keeping their jobs: *Galveston Daily News*, Jan. 27, 1890.
- 129 They revealed to him how hard it was to meet the party leaders’ demand for 2 percent of their salary, which might mean “the difference between having and not having a winter overcoat for himself, or a warm dress for his wife”: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, p. 105.
- 129 “My two colleagues are away and I have all the work of the Civil Service Commission to myself,” he exclaimed to his sister Bamie. “I like it; it is more satisfactory than having a divided responsibility; and it enables me to take more decided steps”: Roosevelt, *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles*, p. 117.
- 130 The Washington Post declared, “He immediately announced himself the one

man competent to take charge of the entire business of the Government”: *Washington Post*, May 6, 1890.

- 130 Another critic recommended that he “put a padlock on his restless and uncontrollable jaws”: *Ohio Democrat*, Nov. 27, 1890.
- 130 “The farmer’s lad and the mechanic’s son who had no one to speak for them should have the same show in competing for public service as the son of wealth and social prestige”: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, p. 106.
- 130 “I have the most important and the most corrupt department in New York on my hands,” Roosevelt wrote about the difficulties ahead, clearly excited by the challenge: Roosevelt in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:458.
- 131 “It was all breathless and sudden,” one reporter recalled. Still jogging along, Roosevelt fired off questions: Which higher officials should be consulted, which ones ignored, which ones punished? What were “the customs, rules, methods” of the police board? “What do we do first?”: Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, Vol. 1, pp. 257–58.
- 131 Power “in most positions,” he believed, should be concentrated “in the hands of one man.” While this might suggest he sought to be like a dictator or a king, Roosevelt added, “so long as that man could be held fully responsible for the exercise of that power by the people”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, pp. 170–71.
- 131 In other words, he understood the role of an executive was to take charge, but that he answered to the public. But the other members of the police board were not impressed. “Thinks he’s the whole board,” complained Democrat Andrew Parker: Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, Vol. 1, p. 257.
- 131 “He talks, talks, talks, all the time. Scarcely a day passes that there is not something from him in the papers”: Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time, Shown in His Own Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 63.
- 131 An investigation by the state legislature had revealed corruption between the NYPD and Tammany Hall “from top to bottom”: Knokey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*, p. 186.
- 131 the police force was found to be “utterly demoralized”: Avery Andrews, “Citizen in Action: The Story of Theodore Roosevelt as Police Commissioner,” in *Theodore Roosevelt Collection*, p.8.
- 132 To learn firsthand the nature of the patrolman’s work, he made a series of unannounced “midnight rambles”: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:463.
- 132 “What is that to you, and who are you anyway,” the officer asked. “I am Police Commissioner Roosevelt,” came the reply. “Sure you are,” the

- patrolman mocked. “You’re Grover Cleveland and Mayor Strong, all in a bunch.” “Shut up, Bill,” the bartender said to the officer, “it is his Nibs sure! Don’t you see his teeth and glasses?”: Andrews, “Citizen in Action,” in Theodore Roosevelt Collection.
- 134 Stories of Roosevelt’s midnight rambles captivated reporters and the public alike. SLY POLICEMEN CAUGHT BY SLYER ROOSEVELT, one headline read: Knokey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*, p. 193.
- 134 ROOSEVELT ON PATROL: HE MAKES THE NIGHT HIDEOUS FOR SLEEPY POLICEMEN, blared another: *New York Sun*, June 8, 1895, Clipping Scrapbook, in Theodore Roosevelt Collection.
- 134 Cartoons of policemen crouching in fear at the sight of an enormous set of teeth, metal-rimmed glasses, and a mustache entertained the country and brought Roosevelt new national fame. The *Chicago Times-Herald* dubbed him “the most interesting man in America”: Knokey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*, p. 194.
- 134 Even as Roosevelt disciplined individual policemen who were shirking their duties, he insisted that the majority of the police force were “naturally first-rate men” caught in a bad system: *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- 134 Maintaining that it was as important to recognize good behavior as to punish bad conduct, Roosevelt established a system to award certificates and medals to officers who exhibited “courage and daring”—men who risked their lives to catch criminals, save children from drowning, struggle with runaway horses, and perform countless other heroic deeds in the course of their everyday jobs: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, pp. 176–77.
- 135 “When one man attacked another because of his breed or birthplace, I got rid of him in summary fashion,” Roosevelt exclaimed: Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, p. 159.
- 135 “The result,” Roosevelt argued, “was that the officers of the law, the politicians, and the saloon-keepers became inextricably tangled in a network of crime”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 189.
- 135 By enforcing the law “fairly and squarely” against all saloons, Roosevelt hoped to eliminate the central source of the city’s corruption: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:472.
- 135 “You are the biggest fool that ever lived.” “You are the deadest duck that ever died in a political pond”: Andrews, “Citizen in Action,” in Theodore Roosevelt Collection.
- 136 A box containing dynamite sent to his office detonated before reaching him. “A less resolute man” would have backed down, observed journalist Jacob Riis, “but he went right on doing the duty he was sworn to do”: Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, p. 241.

- 136 Refusing to take “the howl” of criticism personally, Roosevelt astonished his critics when he accepted an invitation to attend what turned out to be a massive parade protesting the new enforcement policy for Sunday closing—and him: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, p. 142.
- 136 Escorted to the viewing stand on Lexington Avenue, Roosevelt stood for two hours, smiling and waving as decorated floats and more than thirty thousand marchers paraded by carrying angry-worded banners and signs. When he saw one banner that read ROOSEVELT’S RAZZLE DAZZLE REFORM RACKET, he asked the men carrying it if he could keep it as a souvenir: *New York Times*, Sept. 26, 1895.
- 136 His good nature and ability to embrace criticism with his toothy grin won over the crowd. The *Chicago Evening Journal* summed up the day’s event: CHEERED BY THOSE WHO CAME TO JEER: *Chicago Evening Journal*, reprinted Sept. 27, 1895.
- 137 Everywhere he went, he attracted great crowds at sites “jammed, people standing in masses in the aisles”: Roosevelt, *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles*, p. 194.
- 137 By giving “all of his time, all of his energy, and all his towering ability to the work of the campaign,” he once again earned the praise of the Republican bosses: Albert B. Cummins, in Wood, *Roosevelt as We Knew Him*, p. 42.

Chapter Eleven

- 138 “Speak softly and carry a big stick. . .”: “Roosevelt ‘Big Stick’ Speech at State Fair,” reprinted in *Star Tribune*, Sept. 2, 2014.
- 138 For a start, Roosevelt built up “a reserve of good feeling” through repeated acts of courtesy, kindness, and helpfulness that secured the trust and confidence of Secretary Long: Covey, *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*, p. 188.
- 139 Long’s departure left Roosevelt in charge. “The Secretary is away, and I am having immense fun running the Navy,” Roosevelt reported to a friend that summer: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:655.
- 139 “As I am given a free hand when alone, I am really accomplishing a great deal,” he told Bamie: Roosevelt, *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles*, p. 208.
- 140 “You must be tired and you ought to have an entire rest,” he wrote in early August: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:642.
- 140 A week later, he wrote, “If things go on as they are now there isn’t the slightest reason to you to come back for six weeks more”: *Ibid.*, 1:651.

- 140 He then followed up: “I am very glad you have been away, for it has been the hottest weather we have had”: *Ibid.*, 1:676.
- 140 Roosevelt succeeded in keeping Long’s trust by remaining “honest and open” about their differences of views: Burns and Dunn, *The Three Roosevelts*, p. 47.
- 140 “I have been through one war; I have seen the dead piled up; and I do not want to see another”: Knokey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*, p. 210.
- 140 On February 25, Long left the office for a day’s rest with clear and specific instructions for Roosevelt: “Do not take any step affecting the policy of the Administration without consulting the President or me. I am not away from town and my intention was to have you look after the routine of the office while I get a quiet day off. I write to you because I am anxious to have no unnecessary occasion for a sensation in the papers”: Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time, Shown in His Own Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 86.
- 141 Despite this warning, Roosevelt launched a series of orders—“distributing ships, ordering ammunition,” purchasing tons of coal, “sending messages to Congress” to recruit more seamen: John D. Long Diary, in Lorant, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 390.
- 141 and finally, ordering Admiral Dewey to “keep full of coal” and be prepared if war came to take offensive action: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1:784.
- 141 When Long returned to the office the next morning, he discovered Roosevelt’s orders; Long wrote in his diary of Roosevelt: “He means to be thoroughly loyal but the very devil seemed to possess him yesterday afternoon”: John D. Long Diary, quoted in Knokey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*, p. 238.
- 141 At the same time, Long knew that their ten-year-old son, Theodore Jr., the second oldest of their six children, was “just recovering from a long and dangerous illness”: John D. Long Diary, quoted in Lorant, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 390.
- 141 US Army officer Leonard Wood later observed that “few men would have dared to assume this responsibility, but Theodore Roosevelt knew that there were certain things that ought to be done and that delay would be fatal. He felt the responsibility and he took it”: Leonard Wood, quoted in Knokey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of American Leadership*, p. 239.
- 142 “I really think he is going mad,” one friend remarked. “It really is sad, of course this ends his political career for good”: Winthrop Chanler, in Chanler and Chanler, *Winthrop Chanler’s Letters*, p. 68.
- 142 Secretary Long worried that Roosevelt had “lost his head in this unutterable

folly of deserting his post where he is of most service and running off to ride a horse and probably, brush mosquitoes from his neck on the Florida sands”: John D. Long Diary, quoted in Lorant, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 293.

- 142 His “usefulness” in the Navy Department, he suspected, would “largely disappear in time of war”: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 2:807.
- 142 Long would stay put, and there would be no chance for Roosevelt to rise to head the department. The time had come once more to find a way out. “My work here has been the work of preparing the tools,” he told his friend Bill Sewall. “They are prepared, and now the work must lie with those who use them. . . . I would like to be one of those using the tools”: Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 103.
- 142 Despite the fragility of his own family—Edith had not yet recovered from her operation, and young Theodore seemed to be suffering a nervous collapse—Roosevelt felt compelled to serve in Cuba. “You know what my wife and children mean to me,” he later told his military adviser, Archie Butt, “and yet I made up my mind that I would not allow even a death to stand in my way; that it was my one chance to do something for my country and for my family . . . I know now that I would have turned from my wife’s deathbed to have answered that call”: Abbott, ed., *The Letters of Archie Butt*, p. 146.
- 143 Projecting a vision of a unique fighting force, Roosevelt brought together from all forty-five states then in existence and four US territories Eastern elites and Ivy League athletes who “possessed in common” with Western cowboys, Native Americans, gamblers, and hunters “the traits of hardihood and thirst for adventure”: Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, p. 22.
- 144 Designed to help forge “fellow-feeling”: Roosevelt, “Fellow-Feeling,” in Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 13:355.
- 144 “When we got down to hard pan, we all, officers and men, fared exactly alike as regards both shelter and food,” Roosevelt later wrote. Grumbling stopped “when all alike slept out in the open”: Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, p. 178.
- 145 “The men can go in and drink all the beer they want, which I will pay for!” Later that evening, Colonel Wood summoned Roosevelt to his tent. He explained that it became complicated to discipline soldiers after relaxing with them. Roosevelt took Wood’s scolding to heart: “Sir, I consider myself the damndest ass within ten miles of the camp”: Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography*, pp. 186–87.
- 145 “When things got easier I put up my tent and lived a little apart,” he recalled, for “it is the greatest possible mistake to seek popularity either by showing weakness or mollycoddling the men. They never respect a commander who does not enforce discipline”: Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, pp. 178–79.

- 146 “What to do next I had not an idea,” Roosevelt later confessed: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 242.
- 146 When they came upon a cut in a barbed-wire fence indicating the route the Spanish had taken, however, Roosevelt’s uneasiness vanished. Leading his men across the wire, heading straight toward shots of rifle fire, he suddenly became, according to a witnessing journalist, Edward Marshall, “the most magnificent soldier I have ever seen. It was as if that barbed-wire strand had formed a dividing line in his life.” Leaving indecision behind, Marshall observed, Roosevelt found on the other side of the thicket “the coolness, the calm judgment, the towering heroism which made him, perhaps, the most admired and best beloved of all Americans in Cuba”: Marshall, *The Story of the Rough Riders*, p. 104.
- 146 “No one who saw Roosevelt take that ride expected he would finish it alive,” the journalist Richard Harding Davis reported. Seated high on his horse with his blue polka-dot bandanna floating “out straight behind his head,” he was “the most conspicuous object in the range of the rifle pits”: Lubow, *The Reporter Who Would Be King*, p. 185.
- 148 Another reporter marveled, “Up, up (the hill) they went in the face of death. It was an inspiring sight and an awful one”: Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*, p. 167.
- 148 Roosevelt, sitting tall on his horse all the way, “shouting for his men to follow”: Thomas, *The War Lovers*, p. 325.
- 148 finally forced the Spanish to retreat and reached the summit, “cheering and filling the air with cowboy yells”: Davis, *The Cuban and Puerto Rican Campaigns*, p. 170.
- 148 But 89 of 490 Rough Riders were killed or wounded in what came to be known as Roosevelt’s “crowded hour”: Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, p. 124.
- 148 In newspapers, magazines, and journals across the country, Roosevelt was portrayed as the man who “had single-handedly crushed the foe”: Lubow, *The Reporter Who Would Be King*, p. 185.
- 148 “You are the next governor of New York!” reporters shouted at him when he returned to the state: Steffens, “Theodore Roosevelt, Governor,” p. 57.
- 148 He wrote to a friend: “I have worked hard all my life, and have never been particularly lucky, but this summer I was lucky, and I am enjoying it to the full. I know perfectly well that the luck will not continue, and it is not necessary that it should. I am more contented to be Governor of New York,” he added, using words psychologically necessary to him throughout his career, and always ending with “I shall not care if I never hold another office”: Roosevelt in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 2:888.

- 149 “When the blue birds were so nearly destroyed by the severe winter a few seasons ago, the loss was like the loss of an old friend, or at least like the burning down of a familiar and dearly loved house,” he wrote in a letter to the New York State Audubon Society, read at their annual meeting on March 23, 1899. “When I hear of the destruction of a species I feel just as if all the works of some great writer had perished. . . .”: *Ibid.*, 2:948.
- 149 They would promote Roosevelt to “the most dignified and harmless position”: vice president of the United States: Steffens, “Governor Roosevelt—As an Experiment,” p. 112.
- 149 “Don’t you know that there’s only one life between that madman and the White House?” he warned: Mark Hanna, quoted in Roosevelt note, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 2:1337.
- 150 But although Hanna eventually came around, Roosevelt himself initially resisted the so-called promotion. He had no desire to be the “figurehead” in a job then considered a wasteland for political ambitions: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 2:1160.
- 150 Frustration, depression born of inactivity, grew by the day in that “useless and empty position,” where Roosevelt was deprived of the spotlight he craved as a plant craves sunshine: Edith Carow Roosevelt, quoted in Cordery, Alice, p. 40.
- 150 At the age of forty-two, Theodore Roosevelt was “shot into the presidency,” the youngest man to occupy the White House in the history of the country: Kohlstat, *From McKinley to Harding*, p. 101.

Chapter Twelve

- 151 “A square deal for every man, great or small, rich or poor”: Roosevelt, “Speech at Lynn, Mass., August 25, 1902,” in Lewis, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches*, p. 74.
- 151 “It is a dreadful thing to come into the Presidency this way; but it would be a far worse thing to be morbid about it,” Roosevelt wrote a friend days after President William McKinley’s death. “Here is the task, and I have got to do it to the best of my ability; and that is all there is about it”: Theodore Roosevelt, in Lodge, *Selections from the Correspondence*, p. 506.
- 151 “Probably no administration has ever taken such a curious hold upon the people as that of Theodore Roosevelt,” remarked the longtime White House usher Irwin “Ike” Hoover of the new president: Hoover, *Forty-two Years in the White House*, p. 27.
- 151 “The infectiousness of his exuberant vitality made the country realize there was a new man in the White House,” noted reporter Mark Sullivan: Sullivan, *Our Times*, p. 399.
- 151 Roosevelt was actually responsible for naming the presidents’ home the

White House, changing it from the Executive Mansion in 1901 by executive order. Roosevelt began each day in the White House by darting “into the breakfast-room with a cheerful hail to those already there”: Steffens, “The Overworked President,” p. 485.

- 151 then he rushed to his office before the official workday started to tackle his loads of letters, dictating “one letter after another” to his secretary: Parsons, *Perchance Some Day*, p. 141.
- 152 At noon, the White House doors opened to the public, “an overflowing stream” of people eager to see the most colorful president that ever lived: Steffens, “The Overworked President,” p. 489.
- 152 During the “barber’s hour”: Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, p. 509.
- 152 “Western bullwackers, city prize fighters, explorers, rich men, poor men,” or authors who had written something that had intrigued Roosevelt: White, *Masks in a Pageant*, p. 306.
- 153 you had to move forward “point to point,” never going around any obstacle. “If a creek got in the way, you forded it. If there was a river, you swam it. If there was a rock, you scaled it”: Wagenknecht, *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 14.
- 153 The French ambassador Jean Jules Jusserand provided a celebrated account of his first jaunt with the president. After presenting himself at the White House at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue “in afternoon dress and silk hat,” he soon found himself in the countryside, following Roosevelt “at breakneck pace” through fields and over rocks. When they approached a broad stream, Jusserand assumed the contest had finally ended. “Judge of my horror when I saw the President unbutton his clothes and heard him say, ‘We had better strip, so as not to wet our things in the Creek.’ Then I too, for the honor of France, removed my apparel, except my lavender kid gloves.” To be without gloves, he insisted, “would be embarrassing if we should meet ladies”: Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Intimate Biography*, pp. 262–63.
- 153 Reporters soon discovered that the hour when the president returned from these excursions and continued sorting his correspondence was “by far the best time to see him”: Davis, *Released for Publication*, p. 128.
- 153 There he was “allowed to become again husband, father and playmate”: Riis, “Mrs. Roosevelt and Her Children,” p. 5.
- 153 “I play bear with the children almost every night,” he wrote, “and some child is invariably fearfully damaged in the play; but this does not seem to affect the ardor of their enjoyment”: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 3:203.
- 153 “It was the gloomiest house,” she recalled, referencing President McKinley’s

assassination and his wife Ida's longtime serious illness, "with the shadow of death still over it": "Mrs. Roosevelt's Address," pp. 2–3.

- 154 The Roosevelt family has "done more to brighten and cheer the White House than a whole army of decorators," it was written in the Atlanta Constitution, "and the merry prattle of children echoing through the corridors and apartments impart a homelike atmosphere which every caller is quick to notice and appreciate": Atlanta Constitution, Oct. 24, 1901.
- 154 To calm the fears of powerful congressional leaders, the new president reached out to the conservative political boss Mark Hanna, McKinley's closest friend, who was now face-to-face with the situation he had dreaded when he cautioned fellow Republicans against putting "that madman" Roosevelt into the vice presidency: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 2:1337.
- 155 Roosevelt had pledged to "continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity, and the honor of the country": New York Tribune, Sept. 17, 1901.
- 156 Calling for a "square deal," Roosevelt would lead the country in a different kind of war, a progressive battle designed to restore fairness to America's economic and social life: Boston Globe, Aug. 26, 1902; Roosevelt, "Speech at Lynn, Mass., August 25, 1902," in Lewis, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches*, p. 74.
- 156 He understood that many looked back with nostalgia upon the preindustrial era, "when the average man lived more to himself" and had more control over his destiny: Dorsey, "Reconstituting the American Spirit," pp. 181–82.
- 157 Roosevelt's spirit could not tolerate "any implication that the government of the United States was helpless," so he got involved in the strike as no president ever had before: Sullivan, *Our Times*, p. 437.
- 157 In fact, it was the first time a president had ever intervened in a domestic confrontation between business and workers. He invited the workers' representatives and the coal mine operators to meet together at the White House, appealing to each side's "spirit of patriotism." He opened the meeting insisting that he championed "neither the operators or the miners"; he was the advocate for "the general public": *The World* (New York), Oct. 4, 1902.
- 157 While the representatives of the miners came to the table hoping for a good-faith compromise, the mine owners, believing that they were superior, refused to "waste time": *Public Policy*, p. 261.
- 157 negotiating with the union men, who they called "goons": *The World* (New York), Oct. 4, 1902.
- 157 and "outlaws": Morris, *Theodore Rex*, p. 160.
- 158 "I am Commander in Chief of the Army," he flatly declared. "I will give the people coal": James E. Watson, in Wood, *Roosevelt as We Knew Him*, p. 112.

- 158 As he explained to his old friend Bill Sewall, “I believe in rich people who act squarely, and in labor unions which are managed with wisdom and justice; but when either employee or employer, laboring man or capitalist, goes wrong, I have to clinch him, and that is all there is to it”: Sewall, *Bill Sewall’s Story of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 112.
- 158 This “traveling palace”: *The World* (New York), April 1, 1903.
- 158 During this tour, the president “gave himself very freely and heartily to the people,” a guest noted, his arrival sparking a festive spirit in each village and town. Whenever Roosevelt spotted a group of men or women waving from a distance, he raced out to lift his hat and return the greeting. Once the president was lunching as the train passed by a small schoolhouse where the teacher had ushered her students outside. Clutching his napkin, Roosevelt raced to the platform. “Those children,” he said, “wanted to see the President of the United States, and I could not disappoint them. They may never have another chance”: Burroughs, *Camping and Tramping with Roosevelt*, pp. 8, 9, 12.
- 160 Another time, possibly due to his extreme nearsightedness, “he found himself waving frantically at a herd of cows.” With dry wit, Roosevelt remembered that he had been “met with an indifferent, if not a cold, reception”: Butt, in Abbott, ed., *The Letters of Archie Butt*, pp. 335–36.
- 160 Recognizing that people would come “to see the President much as they would come in to see a circus,” Roosevelt also guessed that in many small towns the train—rather than the president—was the main attraction. Nonetheless, he was convinced that “besides the mere curiosity there was a good feeling behind it all, a feeling that the President was their man”: Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 3:550–51, 3:555.
- 160 Since active campaigning by a presidential candidate was considered undignified at the time, this extended tour represented Roosevelt’s best chance to solidify “the people’s trust” before the 1904 election: White, “Swinging ’Round the Circle with Roosevelt.”
- 161 “They were good enough to fight and to die, and they are good enough to have me treat them exactly as square as any white man. . . . All I ask is a square deal for every man”: Roosevelt, “Speech at Grand Canyon, Ariz.,” in Lewis, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches*, p. 328.
- 161 “We must treat each man on his worth and merits as a man. We must see that each is given a square deal, because he is entitled to no more and should receive no less”: *Anaconda Standard* (Montana), May 27, 1903.
- 162 Deeply moved by this “great wonder of nature”: *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 7, 1903.
- 162 “Leave it as it is,” he urged his countrymen. “The ages have been at work on it, and man can only mar it. . . . Keep it for your children, your children’s

children and for all who come after you, as one of the great sights which every American . . . should see”: Salt Lake Tribune, May 7, 1903; Roosevelt, “Speech at Grand Canyon, Ariz.,” in Lewis, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches*, p. 327.

162 The historian Douglas Brinkley observed, “If Roosevelt had done nothing else as president, his advocacy on behalf of preserving the canyon might well have put him in the top ranks of American presidents”: Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior*, p. 528.

162 During his nearly two terms in office, Roosevelt created 150 new national forests, “five national parks, eighteen national monuments, and 51 wildlife refuges”: Milkis, “Theodore Roosevelt: Domestic Affairs.”

162 Inspired by Lincoln, Roosevelt considered the president “the steward of the people”: Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, p. 464.

162 As such, it was not only the president’s right but his responsibility “to do whatever the needs of the people demand, unless the Constitution or the laws explicitly forbid him to do it”: *Ibid.*, p. 357.

162 He considered it a “danger to American democracy” that power was concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy men: Roosevelt, “Eighth Annual Message,” in Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 15:498, 508, 512, 528.

162 “of the people, by the people, for the people”: Abraham Lincoln, *Gettysburg Address* (1863).

163 A regular churchgoer, Roosevelt also framed his efforts to do as much good as possible in spiritual terms, as he wrote in a Thanksgiving proclamation in 1908. In return for America’s great wealth and abundance, he urged Americans to give thanks and continue their good works: “we owe it to the Almighty to show equal progress in moral and spiritual things. . . . I recommend that the people . . . meet devoutly to thank the Almighty for the many and great blessings they have received in the past, and to pray that they may be given the strength so to order their lives as to deserve a continuation of these blessings in the future”: Roosevelt, *Presidential Addresses and State Papers*, pp. 1891–92.

163 “All law must be so administered as to secure justice for all alike—a square deal for every man, great or small, rich or poor”: Roosevelt, “Remarks in Lynn, Massachusetts”; Roosevelt, in Lewis, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches*, p. 74.

★ ★ ★ **FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT** ★ ★ ★

Chapter Thirteen

167 “All that is in me goes back to the Hudson”: Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, p. 116.

- 167 His maternal grandfather described him as “a very nice child, that is, always bright and happy. Not crying, worrying”: Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, p. 18.
- 168 The estate where Franklin was born in 1882 and grew up resembled an English country manor, “with class lines separating” the Roosevelts “at the top from the nurses and governesses, and these in turn from the maids and cooks indoors, and these in turn from the stable boys and farm hands outside”: Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, p. 9.
- 168 As father and son rode by, employees “tipped their hats”: Ward, *Before the Trumpet*, p. 121.
- 169 Most notably, Fraulein Reinsberg, Franklin’s full-time tutor, received quite a scare after he had snuck in her room and sprinkled fizzing powder into her chamber pot. In the middle of the night when she used the convenience to pee, “the resultant bubbling and hissing sent her screaming down the hall.” When Franklin’s father questioned him about the incident, the boy confessed. “His father, convulsed with laughter, told him to consider himself spanked and sent him away”: Hamby, *Man of Destiny*, p. 11.
- 169 Raised as a single child, “the problem of juvenile squabbles virtually dispensed with itself,” his mother noted: Sara D. Roosevelt, *My Boy Franklin*, pp. 19–20.
- 169 He did begin practicing leadership traits during play dates, explaining, “Mummie, if I didn’t give the orders, nothing would happen!” Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Political Life*, p. 5.
- 171 One night, Sara recalled, she was reading to Franklin while “he lay sprawled on his tummy, sorting and pasting” his beloved stamps. Thinking that he was not listening, she put the book down. “I don’t think there is any point in my reading to you anymore,” she said. “You don’t hear me anyway.” He looked up, “a whimsical smile on his face,” and “quoted verbatim the last paragraph of the essay.” With “a mischievous glint in his eye,” he said, “Why, Mom, I would be ashamed of myself if I couldn’t do at least two things at once”: Sara D. Roosevelt, *My Boy Franklin*, p. 34.
- 171 When Franklin turned twelve, his parents hired for him a tutor, Arthur Dumper, who later remarked that he went about learning in a curiously “unorthodox” manner: Ward, *Before the Trumpet*, p. 174.
- 172 When asked years later how he had gained such familiarity with far-off places in the world, Roosevelt explained that “when he became interested in a stamp, it led to his interest in the issuing country”: Jackson, *That Man*, p. 12.
- 172 Encountering words he didn’t know the meaning of, he carried a massive dictionary to bed at night, at one point telling his mother he was “almost halfway through”: Kleman, *Gracious Lady*, p. 190.

- 174 “I have served off my first black-mark today [for talking in class] and I am very glad I got it,” he explained to his parents, “as I was thought to have no school-spirit before”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, p. 97.
- 174 He later confessed that he “felt hopelessly out of things” at Groton: Gunther, *Roosevelt in Retrospect*, p. 173.
- 174 He fiercely desired to be popular but had no idea how to gain the favor of his fellow students, mistakenly assuming that he would be respected if he was a model student. Never once, however, did the lonely teenager share his true feelings with his parents. On the contrary, in a string of cheerful and informative letters, he insisted he was adjusting splendidly “both mentally and physically”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, p. 35.
- 174 that he was “getting on very well with the fellows”: *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- 174 receiving good marks in his classes. He wrote about a visit from cousin Theodore Roosevelt, who “gave us a splendid talk on his adventures when he was on the Police Board”: *Ibid.*, p. 110.
- 174 The following year when Theodore Roosevelt became governor of New York, Franklin described himself as “wild with delight” and went with his parents to the inauguration in Albany: *Ibid.*, p. 230.
- 175 Franklin also connected deeply with the influence of the school’s headmaster and cofounder, the Reverend Endicott Peabody, whose “repeated theme, inside chapel and out, was service, particularly public service.” He would say, “If some Groton boys do not enter political life and do something for our land it won’t be because they have not been urged”: Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny*, p. 6.
- 175 He later recalled, “As long as I live, the influence of Dr. and Mrs. Peabody means and will mean more to me than that of any other people next to my father and mother”: Graham and Wander, eds., *Franklin D. Roosevelt: His Life and Times*, p. 109.
- 175 While his philanthropic work and academic and other accomplishments did little to mark him yet as a leader, the success allowed him to relax more with his classmates, and by his final year, he had made some good friends. Although he had dreams of joining the navy and fantasized about running away to do so, when he achieved high enough scores on the entrance examinations for Harvard University and another of Groton’s cofounders recommended him as “a fellow of exceptional ability and high character,” his “immensely proud” parents decided he should attend: Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny*, pp. 7–8.
- 176 Unable to bear the “unthinkable” idea of living by herself at Hyde Park, Sara rented a town house in Boston to be near her son: Sara D. Roosevelt, *My Boy Franklin*, p. 56.

- 176 “She was an indulgent mother,” observed a family friend, “but would not let her son call his soul his own”: Ward, *Before the Trumpet*, p. 245.
- 176 In later years, when Sara was asked if she ever envisioned her son becoming president, she replied, “Never, no never! That was the last thing I should ever have imagined for him, or that he should be in public life of any sort”: Sara D. Roosevelt, *My Boy Franklin*, p. 4.
- 177 “The competition was tough,” a classmate recalled: Boffey, “Franklin Delano Roosevelt at Harvard.”
- 177 “My Dearest Mummy,” he wrote, “I am working about 6 hours a day on [the *Crimson*] alone and it is quite a strain”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, p. 456.
- 178 “Young man,” the managing editor told him, “you hit page one tomorrow morning”: Boffey, “Franklin Delano Roosevelt at Harvard.”
- 178 During this time he wrote the editorials and became known as a crusading journalist who “always had an issue to campaign for”: *Ibid.*
- 178 In one revealing editorial, Franklin recommended that students interested in politics would learn more “in one day” by venturing into Boston to observe local politics—“the machinery of primary, caucus, convention, election and legislature”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, p. 509.
- 178 Experience, he believed, was the “best teacher”: Asbell, *The F.D.R. Memoirs*, p. 85.
- 178 It was during these last years in college that Franklin also began to emerge as a student leader as the elected chairman of the Class Day Committee, a founder of the Political Society, and the secretary of the Glee Club. He also experienced during this time what he would later call “the greatest disappointment of my life”: Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Political Life*, p. 31.
- 178 when he was rejected for membership into Harvard’s most prestigious society, the Porcellian, to which cousin Theodore had belonged—“considered a mark of distinction one carried for life”: *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31.
- 178 Despite this rejection, Roosevelt would later look back with prideful nostalgia on his Harvard years, especially his first leadership position at the *Crimson*, where many colleagues agreed that he was “quick-witted and capable as an editor”: Rev. W. Russell Bowie, quoted in Oilbert, “FDR Headed *Crimson*.”
- 178 “energetic, resourceful, and independent”: Boffey, “Franklin Delano Roosevelt at Harvard.”
- 178 with an optimistic spirit and an infectious sense of humor. While some thought he was cocky and a show-off, it was clear “he had a force of

personality . . . he liked people, and he made them instinctively like him”: Rev. W. Russell Bowie, quoted in Oilbert, “FDR Headed Crimson.”

Chapter Fourteen

- 180 “I know my mind, have known it for a long time. . . .”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, p. 518.
- 181 During her time at Allenswood Academy, Eleanor started “a new life,” free from the customs and traditions of her wealthy social class: Eleanor Roosevelt, *This Is My Story*, p. 65.
- 181 Basking in the maternal love, guidance, and teachings of the legendary feminist headmistress Marie Souvestre, Eleanor became “everything” in the school, the most popular and respected student among faculty and students alike. “She is full of sympathy for all those who live with her,” the headmistress reported to Eleanor’s grandmother, “and shows an intelligent interest in everything she comes in contact with”: Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, p. 74.
- 181 “The surest way to be happy,” Eleanor wrote in an essay at school, “is to seek happiness for others”: *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- 181 “I had a great curiosity about life,” she wrote, “and a desire to participate in every experience”: Eleanor Roosevelt, *This Is My Story*, p. 111.
- 182 She was a serious person, and so was he, despite the shallow “featherduster” impression he sometimes left: Schlesinger Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order*, p. 323.
- 182 The life he might lead, as reflected and encouraged in Eleanor’s eyes, was a life involving a “broad human contact” with all manner of people: Miller, *FDR: An Intimate History*, p. 51.
- 182 One afternoon, when he picked Eleanor up from the settlement house, she enlisted his help in carrying home a young girl who had fallen ill. Although he had occasionally volunteered to teach at a boys’ club in Boston, he was astounded when they reached the girl’s decrepit tenement. “My God, I didn’t know anyone lived like that”: Eleanor Roosevelt and Ferris, *Your Teens and Mine*, p. 181.
- 182 he told Eleanor, who later held the belief that the experience at Rivington had had a “lasting and powerful impact on him”: Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt*.
- 182 With Eleanor by his side, Franklin believed “he would amount to something someday”: Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, p. 107.
- 182 “It is impossible to tell you what these last two days have been to me, but I know they have meant the same to you so that you will understand that I love you dearest and I hope that I shall always prove worthy of the love which you have given me. I have never known before what it was to be absolutely happy”: Eleanor Roosevelt, in Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, p. 109.

- 182 “When he told me that he loved me and asked me to marry him, I did not hesitate to say yes, for I knew that I loved him too”: Eleanor Roosevelt and Ferris, *Your Teens and Mine*, pp. 181–82.
- 184 Sara was not pleased and tried to convince Franklin to change his mind. She thought them too young to marry and that “neither had a clear life plan”: Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Political Life*, p. 34.
- 184 Eleanor tiptoed carefully around her future mother-in-law’s hurt feelings, writing to her, “I do so want you to learn to love me a little”: Rowley, *Franklin and Eleanor*, p. 34.
- 184 But in her letters to Franklin she bristled at Sara’s attempts to meddle in their plans and stake a claim on Franklin: “I suppose I ought not mind, only I do mind terribly”: Rowley, *Franklin and Eleanor*, p. 35.
- 184 “I know what pain I must have caused you, and you know I wouldn’t do it if I really could have helped it,” Franklin wrote his mother after returning to Harvard. “I know my mind, have known it for a long time and know that I could never think otherwise. Result: I am the happiest man just now in the world; likewise the luckiest—and for you, dear Mummy, you know that nothing can ever change what we have always been & always will be to each other—only now you have two children to love & to love you”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters: Early Years*, p. 518.
- 184 The secret courtship became a pattern for how Franklin would later deal with political colleagues as well as challengers. “Never let the left hand know what the right is doing” was a way he did business when the situation called for it: Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Political Life*, p. 35.
- 184 In saying that he knew his mind, had known it for a long time, and could never think otherwise, Franklin declared that his decision was not up for discussion. As would be true the rest of his life, once he made a decision, he rarely second-guessed himself. When Franklin and Eleanor’s engagement was announced on December 1, 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt, Eleanor’s uncle, wrote Franklin: “We are greatly rejoiced over the good news. I am as fond of Eleanor as if she were my daughter; and I like you, and trust you, and believe in you. . . . You and Eleanor are true and brave, and I believe you love each other unselfishly; and golden years open before you”: Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, p. 138.
- 185 “Well, Franklin,” President Roosevelt said with a smile, “there’s nothing like keeping the name in the family”: *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 139, 141.
- 185 During a grand honeymoon in Europe, Franklin wrote home to his mother about how the Roosevelt family name was being celebrated there. “Everyone is talking about Cousin Theodore saying that he is the most prominent figure of present day history”: Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *The Roosevelt Letters*, p. 82.

- 186 Three years into the marriage, Sara moved them all to adjoining town houses in New York City, with “doors giving access to their respective drawing and dining rooms”: Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Political Life*, p. 37.
- 186 Eleanor was largely overwhelmed and unsure of herself in the early days of motherhood and therefore “allowed her ever-confident mother-in-law to take charge of hiring the nurses and setting up the nursery, accepting Sara’s intervention both grudgingly and gratefully, intimidated by inexperience and fear”: Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, p. 179.
- 186 She told them, “your mother only bore you, I am more your mother than your mother is”: James Roosevelt, in Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, p. 179.
- 186 Since Sara had been unable to prevent her son’s marriage, Eleanor observed in an unpublished article, “she determined to bend the marriage to the way she wanted it to be. What she wanted was to hold onto Franklin and his children were more my mother-in-law’s children than they were mine”: Lash, *Love, Eleanor*, p. 56.
- 187 “Franklin loved his small children,” Eleanor recalled. “They were a great joy to him; he loved to play with them and I think he took great pleasure in their health and good looks and in their companionship. He made the children feel that he really was their age”: Eleanor Roosevelt Interview, Graff Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
- 187 “I was the disciplinarian, I’m afraid,” Eleanor recalled. “[Franklin] found punishing a child almost an impossibility. He just couldn’t do it”: *Ibid.*
- 187 Franklin shared that “he wasn’t going to practice law forever, that he intended to run for office at the first opportunity,” that he had “dreams of high political station”: *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, April 28, 1945, pp. 451–52.
- 188 “There’s a Mr. Franklin wants to see you,” the housekeeper told Leonard. “I thought for a moment,” Leonard said, but after searching his memory, he concluded, “I don’t know any Mr. Franklin.” Nonetheless, he stepped out to meet the gentleman—surprised to find none other than Mr. Franklin Roosevelt. “Hello, Tom,” said Franklin, smiling warmly and extending his hand in greeting. “How do you do, Mr. Roosevelt?” asked the puzzled painter. “No, call me Franklin. I’m going to call you Tom,” he declared, telling him that he had come to ask his advice about getting into politics: Tom Leonard Interview, Jan. 11, 1949, Oral History Collection, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
- 189 From the start, Franklin “had a distinct feeling that in order to win he must put himself into direct personal touch with every available voter”: Sara D. Roosevelt, *My Boy Franklin*, pp. 73–74.
- 189 “The automobile was just coming into use,” Mack recalled. “Get a horse!” farmers jeered when passing frequent automobile breakdowns. Furthermore, Mack explained, “horses were terrified of the new ‘contraption’ and, when

- meeting one on the highway, would bolt, frequently upsetting the farmer's wagon with occasional injuries": *The Franklin D. Roosevelt Collector*, p. 4.
- 190 He made a good impression, Tom Leonard recalled, "because he wouldn't immediately enter into the topic of politics": Tom Leonard Interview, Jan. 11, 1949, Oral History Collection, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
- 190 "There was something incurably sociable about this man," Frances Perkins, the future first female cabinet secretary, later observed, "he was sociable in his intellectual as well as his playful moods": Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, p. 32.
- 190 Franklin "spoke slowly" then, Eleanor recalled, "and every now and then there would be a long pause, and I would be worried for fear he would never go on": Eleanor Roosevelt, *This Is My Story*, p. 167.
- 190 but he always did, and when he finished, Tom Leonard recalled, he moved easily and naturally among the crowd, flashing "that smile of his," introducing himself as Frank, approaching every person "as a friend": Tom Leonard Interview, Jan. 11, 1949, Oral History Collection, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
- 190 "I know I'm no orator," he liked to say of his simple, casual speaking style. "You don't have to be an orator, Roosevelt," someone in the audience yelled back. "Talk right along to us on those lines, that's what we like to hear": Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship*, p. 92.
- 191 "It is interesting that you are in another place which I myself once held. I am sure you will enjoy yourself to the full": Theodore Roosevelt, in Morison, Blum, and Buckley, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 7:714.
- 192 "At that very first meeting," Howe told a reporter, "I made up my mind that he was Presidential timber and that nothing but an accident could keep him from being President of the United States": *New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1932.

Chapter Fifteen

- 193 "I hope to be back in the game before so very long": Franklin D. Roosevelt, Letter to Henry Waring Chadeayne.
- 193 Eyes "bleary with smoke": Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, p. 583.
- 194 "I'd never felt quite that way before," he recalled: *Ibid.*, p. 584.
- 194 At the time, the other name for polio was "infantile paralysis," because the virus had mostly targeted children: Tobin, *Master of His Fate*, p. 12.
- 195 "He was a very hardworking, proud man, and he had to beg for money from the county to take care of me and pay the hospital bills. He spent years paying the county back by cutting brush along roads and under telephone lines. . . . He would never accept charity without paying it back": Wilson, "A Crippling Fear," pp. 464–95.

- 196 *"It will take all the skill which we can muster to lead him successfully to a recognition of what he really faces without utterly crushing him," Dr. Draper told a fellow doctor: Ward, A First-Class Temperament, p. 604.*
- 196 *"The doctors tell me I am getting along splendidly and I hope to be back in the game before so very long," read one of his letters from the hospital: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Letter to Henry Waring Chadeayne.*
- 196 *A sharp contrast to his chart upon release from the hospital, which read "Not improving": Burns and Dunn, The Three Roosevelts, p. 79.*
- 196 *"I think he actually felt he could ask God for guidance and receive it," Eleanor wrote in her memoir This I Remember: Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember, p. 346.*
- 196 *His speechwriter Robert Sherwood noted that "his religious faith was the strongest and most mysterious force in him": Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins, p. 9.*
- 197 *FDR's daughter, Anna, remembered that when he first returned from the hospital, her "knowledge that he was suffering made me shy with him": Tobin, Master of His Fate, p. 66.*
- 197 *"I watched his courage, his suffering, his humor. I learned fast that he wanted no maudlin sympathy": Ibid.*
- 197 *Hour after hour he pulled himself up on a set of rings installed in "a trapeze-like contraption": Gunther, Roosevelt in Retrospect, p. 229.*
- 199 *"The perfect naturalness with which the children accepted his limitations though they had always known him as an active person, helped him tremendously in his own acceptance of them": Berish, "FDR and Polio."*
- 199 *He reveled in every small "win," Eleanor observed. "He regained his joy in living," she later wrote, "his hearty laughter, his ability to be happy over little things": Eleanor Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., F.D.R.: His Personal Letters, p. xviii.*
- 199 *When asked during his presidency how he dealt with continuing national problems, he half-jokingly observed, "If you spent two years in bed trying to wiggle your big toe, anything would seem easy!": Schlesinger, The Crisis of the Old Order, p. 405.*
- 199 *In his never-ending search for improvement, Roosevelt used a "trial and error" method: Gunther, Roosevelt in Retrospect, p. 229.*
- 199 *"a number of mechanical problems" that obstructed his mobility. He designed a small wheelchair without arms to exercise his thigh muscles and fastened pincers to a stick to reach his library books on the bookcase: Tobin, The Man He Became, p. 171.*
- 200 *If he didn't have political hope, Eleanor believed, "he would die spiritually,*

- die intellectually, and die in his personality”: Perkins, *Reminiscences*, Part 2, p. 463.
- 201 From that moment on, she later told friends, she no longer loved him in the same way, though they remained joined by unbreakable ties and retained “a deep and unshakeable affection and tenderness” toward each other: James Roosevelt and Schalett, *Affectionately FDR*, p. 313.
- 202 A former reporter for the *New York Herald* whose unique appearance inspired descriptions as a “gnome-like” creature: Eleanor Roosevelt, *This Is My Story*, p. 192.
- 202 “a singed cat”: Tobin, *The Man He Became*, p. 55.
- 202 with thinning hair and “luminous eyes”: Stiles, *The Man behind Roosevelt*, p. 24.
- 203 Franklin’s illness, Howe told an interviewer, “changed everything”: *New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1932.
- 203 “He had one loyalty in life and it was a kind of religion,” White House speechwriter Sam Rosenman said: “Franklin D. Roosevelt”: Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt*, p. 24.
- 203 “Father was too busy with his fight for his life to think of his political future,” Roosevelt’s son James said. According to Howe’s biographer, “Howe’s solution to balance the two priorities—Roosevelt’s physical well-being and the resumption of his public life—was to lift one of them off of his shoulders”: Fenster, *FDR’s Shadow*, pp. 146–148.
- 204 He found that his “leg muscles responded more quickly” when he could sit outside in the summer sun; on cloudy days they would “freeze up from about 5 p.m. on”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, p. 668.
- 205 “There were days on the Larocco,” she later told his secretary of labor Frances Perkins, “when it was noon before he could pull himself out of depression and greet his guests wearing his light-hearted façade”: Asbell, *The F.D.R. Memoirs*, p. 241.
- 205 Slowly but surely, those bad days began to dwindle. While “F-D,” as LeHand called him: Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, p. 679.
- 205 “He might have been happier with a wife who was completely uncritical,” she observed in her memoirs, adding, “That I was never able to be”: Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember*, p. 349.
- 206 “I sometimes acted as a spur even though the spurring was not always wanted or welcomed”: *Ibid.*
- 206 “We’re not going to do that now,” he would often say, cutting her short. “I don’t want to hear about that anymore”: Anna Rosenberg Hoffman, *Oral History*, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

Chapter Sixteen

- 207 *“With this fine courage and determination you are bound to win”*: Wilson, *“A Crippling Fear,”* pp. 464–95.
- 207 *“Nothing to worry about,” Franklin announced to reassure the concerned onlookers, bursting into a sudden peal of laughter. He then called for help from two young men who eventually pulled him to a standing position. “Let’s go,” he said to his chauffeur*: Walker, *Roosevelt and the Warm Springs Story*, pp. 8–9.
- 208 *To minimize the immense risk, he carefully rehearsed and trained for the “walk” he would have to make*: Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, p. 780.
- 208 *“Nobody knows how that man worked,” Eleanor’s close friend Marion Dickerman recalled. “They measured off in the library at the 65th Street house just what the distance was and he struggled, and struggled and struggled”*: Fenster, *FDR’s Shadow*, p. 204.
- 208 *James remembered how his father’s fingers dug painfully into his arm “like pincers” as he hoisted and dragged his legs, locked in heavy steel braces, along the narrow line between potential pity and awe toward the imaginary podium*: James Roosevelt and Schalett, *Affectionately FDR*, p. 205.
- 208 *“There was a hush and everybody was holding their breath”*: Perkins, *Reminiscences, Part 2*, p. 325.
- 208 *“across his face there flashed a vast, world-encompassing smile”*: Gallagher, *FDR’s Splendid Deception*, p. 62.
- 209 *His rich tenor voice had a musical quality as he asked delegates to unite behind Governor Al Smith, “the ‘Happy Warrior’ of the political battlefield”*: Burns and Dunn, *The Three Roosevelts*, p. 188.
- 209 *This phrase—drawn from a William Wordsworth poem about how one confronts life’s difficulties, how one “doomed to go in company with Pain . . . Turns his necessity to glorious gain”*: Wordsworth, in Reed, ed., *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, p. 339.
- 209 *Seated in a front row, Perkins observed that he was “trembling” and “shaking” from the “extreme pain and tenseness with which he held himself up to make that speech,” but his delivery “was strong and true and vigorous”*: Perkins, *Reminiscences, Part 2*, p. 325.
- 209 *He stood as the living emblem of a man who had truly transformed his own pain and necessity into glorious gain. When he finished, the crowd “just went crazy,” igniting an hour-long demonstration*: Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, p. 696.
- 209 *“They howled, yelled, screamed and sang from densely crowded galleries,” the Hagerstown, Maryland, Morning Herald reported: Morning Herald (Hagerstown, Md.), June 26, 1924.*

- 209 *“I have witnessed many heroic deeds in my lifetime,” the reporter for the Syracuse Herald wrote, “but I never was present at so fine a display of mental courage”*: *Syracuse Herald*, June 27, 1924.
- 209 *When Marion Dickerman went to see him, “he held out his arms and he said, ‘Marion, I did it!’”*: Fenster, *FDR’s Shadow*, p. 206.
- 209 *The story of Warm Springs, the pioneering rehabilitation center Roosevelt built from a ramshackle resort, begins with his “discovery of a place” where he believed he would learn to walk again*: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, p. 565.
- 210 *“Almost everything was falling to pieces”*: Carmichael, ed., *FDR, Columnist*, p. 9.
- 210 *Roosevelt later recalled, the hotel dilapidated and the roofs of the surrounding cottages leaking. But the buoyant water of the T-shaped thermal pool delivered on its promise, allowing him to exercise his muscles for an extended period of time without throbbing fatigue. “Every morning I spend two hours in the most wonderful pool in the world,” he told a friend*: *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 210 *“There is no question this place does more good than all the rest of the exercising put together”*: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, p. 580.
- 210 *Within a matter of weeks, he had “a hunch”*: Vervill and Ditrunno, *“FDR, Polio, and the Warm Springs Experiment,”* p. 5.
- 210 *that “a great ‘cure’ for infantile paralysis and similar diseases could well be established here”*: Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, p. 568.
- 210 *“live normal lives and at the same time receive the best treatment known to science at the time”*: Vervill and Ditrunno, *“FDR, Polio, and the Warm Springs Experiment,”* p. 6.
- 210 *Meditating years afterward on Roosevelt’s leadership strengths, Frances Perkins marveled that “there were times when he could truly see it all”*: Martin, *Madame Secretary, Frances Perkins*, p. 435.
- 211 *Georgia was in the segregated South, and at the time, “local customs” required Warm Springs to be a segregated institution. Black people could work there, but Black polio patients could not be treated there*: Rogers, *“Race and the Politics of Polio,”* pp. 784–95.
- 211 *“Vice-President in charge of picnics,” and therapy pioneer “all rolled into one”*: Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, p. 724.
- 211 *“there were bridge tournaments and poker games, classes, movies, excursions, amateur theatricals”*: Gallagher, *FDR’s Splendid Deception*, p. 57.

- 213 “We mustn’t let the fun go out of our program,” he insisted. “We’ve got to make these patients more alive every day”: Walker, *Roosevelt and the Warm Springs Story*, p. 101.
- 213 “a remarkable spirit of cooperation and competition among the patients to see who can improve the most,” adding that “the spirit of the place has an extraordinary effect on the progress they make. Here they find people just like themselves. They get over their self-consciousness”: Lindley, *The Roosevelt Revolution*, p. 214.
- 213 “spiritual transformation.” An “old priest” had once told her that “humility is the first and greatest of virtues. If we don’t learn it on our own, the Lord will surely teach it to us by humiliation”: Perkins, *Reminiscences*, Part 2, p. 78.
- 213 He emerged from the experience “completely warmhearted, with humility of spirit and with a deeper philosophy”: Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, p. 29.
- 213 “You are making a brave fight for recovery and with this fine courage and determination you are bound to win,” he wrote in a letter to a fellow polio survivor: Wilson, “A Crippling Fear,” pp. 464–95.
- 213 “It was,” one patient recalled, “a place which changed forever our feelings about ourselves and the man who made this . . . possible”: Vervill and Ditrunno, “FDR, Polio, and the Warm Springs Experiment,” p. 8.

Chapter Seventeen

- 215 “Above all, try something”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Address at Oglethorpe University,” *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1:646.
- 215 “When you’re in politics you have to play the game,” FDR told a friend: Asbell, *The F.D.R. Memoirs*, p. 253.
- 215 “It was a dreadful physical business to make this campaign,” Perkins observed. “He really was kind of scared”: Perkins, *Reminiscences*, Part 2, p. 559.
- 216 “a perilous, uncomfortable”: Frances Perkins, quoted in Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, p. 103.
- 216 “My God, he’s got nerve”: Perkins, *Reminiscences*, Part 2, p. 559.
- 216 “If you can’t use your legs and they bring you milk when you wanted orange juice, you learn to say, ‘That’s all right,’ and drink it”: *Ibid.*, p. 564.
- 216 “There were certain things that he never really talked about—that he would just shut up, and it made him very, very much alone in some ways,” Eleanor once wrote: Tobin, *Master of His Fate*, p. 40.
- 216 “I realized that I’ve got to be Governor, and I’ve got to be myself,” Roosevelt explained to Perkins. When he first agreed to run, he recalled, he wasn’t sure if he could handle the rigors of the campaign, “but,” he proudly noted, “I made it.” Nor had he been certain that he was “sufficiently recovered to

- undertake the duties of Governor of New York, but here I am”: Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, p. 52.
- 216 When Roosevelt declined to hire Smith’s top aide, it provoked a furious response from Smith: “I created you and now what are you doing to me!”: Gunther, *Roosevelt in Retrospect*, p. 256.
- 216 This difficult, personal and professional struggle at the start of FDR’s term as governor, Eleanor recalled, “ended the close relationship between my husband and Governor Smith”: Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember*, p. 51.
- 217 “eyes and ears”: McLaughlin, “Mrs. Roosevelt Goes Her Way.”
- 217 “At first my reports were highly unsatisfactory,” Eleanor acknowledged: Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember*, p. 56.
- 217 Rosenman brought in three Columbia University professors to form the nucleus of what would become known as the “brain trust”: Graham and Wander, eds., *Franklin D. Roosevelt: His Life and Times*, p. 55.
- 218 “The routine was simple”: Moley, *After Seven Years*, p. 20.
- 218 “nothing was so important to him that day as this particular visit, and that he had been waiting all day for this hour”: Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt*, p. 24.
- 218 Dessert done, they moved to the governor’s small study, where “random talk came to an end.” There Roosevelt would throw questions to the experts “at an exciting and exhausting clip.” Moley marveled at “the amount of intellectual ransacking Roosevelt could crowd into the evening”: Moley, *After Seven Years*, p. 20.
- 218 In hindsight, it was clear to Moley, who also became a speechwriter for Roosevelt, that he “was at once a student, a cross-examiner, and a judge”: Asbell, *The F.D.R. Memoirs*, p. 86.
- 218 From Frances Perkins, who he put in charge of the state’s labor department, which catalogued working conditions and job trends, FDR learned of a puzzling “irregularity” in the labor market during his first months in office: “Many people were out of work for longer periods than was comfortable”: Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, p. 89.
- 220 Upon visiting a sweater mill in a small village near Poughkeepsie after the Great Depression had started, he found both the owner and the workers “frightened and confused”: *Ibid.*, pp. 93–95.
- 221 “What was clear to Roosevelt,” Perkins recalled, “was that we must find some answers and stimulate some immediate activities”: *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- 222 Roosevelt resolved late that summer to “assume leadership for himself and to take action for the State of New York”: Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt*, p. 49.

- 222 An example: simplify the concept that “we are trying to construct a more inclusive society” into “we are going to make a country in which no one is left out”: Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, p. 109.
- 222 “What is the State?” Roosevelt began. The state was created by the people for their “mutual protection and well-being”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “New York State Takes the Lead in the Relief of the Unemployed,” *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1:457.
- 223 “provide public work for its unemployed citizens” and, “if no work could be found,” to provide unemployment insurance in the form of “food, clothing and shelter from public funds”: Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt*, p. 50.
- 223 In a celebrated radio address in April 1932, Roosevelt called on the country to rebuild its lost prosperity from “the bottom up and not from the top down,” to “put their faith once more in the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid.” For Roosevelt, the forgotten man “was a living person”: *Ibid.*, pp. 61–62.
- 223 But in New York, Governor Roosevelt determined that “there is a duty on the part of government to do something about this,” and he did: Brinkley, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt*.
- 224 “I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people,” he concluded. “This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination,” *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1:647.
- 224 “The country needs and, unless I mistake its temper, the country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it: If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Address at Oglethorpe University,” *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1:646.

Chapter Eighteen

- 226 “The only thing we have to fear is fear itself. . . .”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Inaugural Address,” *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 2:11.
- 226 “Looking back on those days, I wonder how we ever lived through them,” Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins said of the deepening Great Depression: Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, p. 203.
- 226 “It is hard today to reconstruct the atmosphere of 1933 and to evoke the terror caused by unrelieved poverty and prolonged unemployment”: *Ibid.*, p. 174.
- 226 The economy had reached “rock bottom”: Hamby, *Man of Destiny*, pp. 169–70.

- 226 “We are at the end of our string,” President Hoover said despairingly as he was handing the reins to President-Elect Roosevelt: Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny*, p. 323.
- 226 “Panic was in the air,” Roosevelt’s incoming cabinet member Harold Ickes recalled of this frightening stage of the Great Depression: Cohen, *Nothing to Fear*, p. 15.
- 226 In mid-February, weeks before Roosevelt’s inauguration, “the full brunt of the Depression” struck when banks in one state after another began to bolt their doors: *New York Times*, March 19, 1933.
- 227 “When the American people feel they are doing all right for themselves they do not give much thought to the character of the man in the White House; they are satisfied to have a President ‘who merely fits the picture frame,’” said Roosevelt aide and speechwriter Robert Sherwood. However, “when adversity sets in and problems become too big for individual solution,” then, Sherwood argued, the people start looking anxiously for guidance, calling for a leader to “step out of the picture frame and assert himself as a vital, human need”: Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, p. 39.
- 228 “A thought to God is the right way to start off my Administration,” he told them. “It will be the means to bring us out of the depths of despair”: Farley, *Jim Farley’s Story*, p. 36.
- 228 After the twenty-minute service came to an end, Roosevelt remained on his knees, “his face cupped in his hands”: “National Affairs: We Must Act,” p. 11.
- 228 As Eleanor later said, her husband always considered religion “an anchor and a source of strength and guidance”: Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember*, p. 347.
- 228 “This is a day of national consecration”: Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt*, p. 91.
- 228 Clearly, the address he was about to deliver was a civil sermon designed to provide “the larger purposes” that would bind the people together “as a sacred obligation”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Introduction,” *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 2:13–14.
- 228 Roosevelt’s inspired resolve was glimpsed by the wife of Alabama senator Joseph Hill, Henrietta McCormick Hill, who observed the president-elect’s “tremendous effort” as he slowly maneuvered himself to the podium to take his oath of office on March 4, 1933—the last presidential inauguration to be in March, since the date was moved to January 20 after the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution went into effect in 1935. “It gave me a feeling of his greatness that he could conquer such a physical handicap. Never have I seen an expression as he wore on his face—it was faith, it was courage, it was complete exultation!”: Hill, *A Senator’s Wife Remembers*, p. 34.

- 228 Roosevelt began his inauguration speech by “honestly” facing the facts of the country’s dire situation. “Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.” But, he famously asserted, “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Inaugural Address,” *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 2:11.
- 228 “The people of the United States have not failed”: *Ibid.*, 2:11–12.
- 229 “a leadership of frankness and vigor”: *Ibid.*
- 229 “every dark hour of our national life”: *Ibid.*
- 229 “On my part and yours we face our common difficulties”: *Ibid.*, 2:13.
- 229 Foremost, FDR understood that “the Nation asks for action, and action now.” He told the country he was asking Congress to pass a series of emergency measures that “a stricken Nation”: *Ibid.*, 2:15.
- 229 “every stress”: *Ibid.*
- 229 “the air suddenly changed, the wind blew through corridors”: Louchheim, ed., *The Making of the New Deal*, p. 121.
- 229 A half a million letters of encouragement and support were on their way to the White House. This atmospheric change, “the sense that life was resuming”: *Ibid.*
- 229 THE ERA OF INACTION HAS COME TO AN END: *Oelwein Daily Register* (Iowa), March 11, 1933.
- 229 THE GOVERNMENT STILL LIVES: *New York Times*, March 19, 1933.
- 229 PERHAPS A LEADER HAS COME!: *Southwest Times* (Pulaski, Va.), March 10, 1933.
- 230 One of President Roosevelt’s very first actions in office was to declare a weeklong shutdown of all banks; ironically he called it “a bank holiday”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “The President Proclaims a Bank Holiday,” *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 2:26.
- 230 The holiday provided a window of time, “an anesthetic before the major operation”: Cohen, *Nothing to Fear*, p. 76.
- 230 “the punctuation of a full stop, as if this were the bottom and hereafter things could only turn upward”: Schlesinger Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal*, p. 6.
- 231 “I am told that what I am about to do will become impossible,” he told the 125 members of the press who crammed into his office, “but I am going to try it”: Cornwell Jr., *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*, p. 143.
- 232 “so swift-moving and momentous that it contained as many major events as have occurred in the entire administrations of some Presidents”: James, “Herr Hitler May Divide Europe into Two Camps.”

- 232 The “strong, cheerful, more than hopeful” new president was just getting started. “The feeling is spreading,” the Times article continued, “that the ‘leadership’ which was promised, and for which so many people voted, has arrived”: James, “Herr Hitler May Divide Europe into Two Camps.”
- 232 On the Sunday eve of the decisive Monday morning of the bank reopenings on March 13, Roosevelt delivered the first of what became known as his “fireside chats,” a term coined by CBS radio station manager Harry Butcher due to FDR’s conversational speaking style: Buhite and Levy, eds., *FDR’s Fireside Chats*, p. xv.
- 232 Roosevelt sought to translate the specialized, complicated language of banking into words of one syllable that could be better understood by himself and the average citizen—by “a mason at work on a new building,” he said, “a girl behind a counter, a farmer in his field”: Kiewe, *FDR’s First Fireside Chat*, p. 82.
- 232 “My friends”: *Ibid.*
- 232 he opened, striking an immediate, personal tone. As he spoke, Frances Perkins recalled, “his face would smile and light up”: Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, pp. 69–70.
- 232 He was not merely “talking directly to the people of the nation,” observed Sam Rosenman, but rather “to each person in the nation”: Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt*, p. 92.
- 234 “When you deposit money in a bank,” Roosevelt explained, “the bank does not put the money into a safe deposit vault.” It invests your money in bonds, loans, and mortgages “to keep the wheels of industry and of agriculture turning around.” In normal times, the cash on hand is enough to cover the needs of people who put their savings in the bank. “What, then, happened . . . ?” A number of banks had “used the money entrusted to them in speculations and unwise loans”—they’d made bad decisions on how to invest the money they got from depositors. When the stock market crashed and banks collapsed, confidence in the entire banking system was damaged. A general rush to withdraw funds took place—“a rush so great that the soundest banks could not get enough currency to meet the demand.” Now, backed by a new pledge by the federal government to provide loans and additional currency if necessary, approved banks would safely begin to open their doors again. “I can assure you,” the president reasoned, “that it is safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under the mattress”: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “The First ‘Fireside Chat,’” 2:61–64.
- 234 “A question you will ask is this: Why are all the banks not to be reopened at the same time? The answer is simple.” The process of determining which banks could open immediately and which needed help would take time. “A bank that opens on one of the subsequent days,” he assured the public, “is in exactly the same status as the bank that opens tomorrow.” Again, as in his

inaugural address, FDR asked the citizenry for courage and faith. "Let us unite in banishing fear. We have provided the machinery to restore our financial system; it is up to you to make it work": *Ibid.*, 2:63, 65.

- 234 "marvelous twentieth century invention which has all but annihilated time, distance, and space": *The News Herald* (Spencer, Ill.), May 12, 1933.
- 235 "it was a run to make new deposits, not to take money out": *Olean [NY] Times Herald*, March 15, 1933.
- 235 CITY RECOVERS CONFIDENCE, the *Chicago Tribune* proclaimed: *Chicago Tribune*, May 14, 1933, quoted in Silber, "Why Did FDR's Bank Holiday Succeed?," p. 27.
- 235 RUSH TO PUT MONEY BACK SHOWS RESTORED FAITH AS HOLIDAY ENDS, declared the *New York Times*: *New York Times*, March 14, 1933.
- 235 "an entirely different list of people" from those who had scrambled to withdraw their money weeks before. "Their names and signatures are the same, but their frame of mind is as different as day and night": *San Antonio Express*, March 15, 1933.
- 235 "as one of the most important speeches in US history": Kiewe, *FDR's First Fireside Chat*, p. 9.
- 235 "the hundred days": Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Fireside Chat 3*.
- 236 His purpose sprang from what Frances Perkins called "his general attitude that the people mattered": Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, p. 165.
- 237 "We have to do the best we know how to do at the moment," he assured his labor secretary, Perkins. "If it doesn't work out, we can modify it as we go along": *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- 237 Most of these young men lived in cities, had recently left school, and were seeking "an opportunity to make their own way": *New York Times*, March 21, 1933.
- 237 "a sad state of neglect": Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Three Essentials for Unemployment Relief," *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 2:80, note.
- 237 "a moral and spiritual value": *Ibid.*, 2:81, note.
- 238 When FDR selected Robert Fechner to lead the CCC and coordinate the four departments that would be a part of it, Roosevelt asked him how long he needed to set up his first camp. Fechner replied, "a month." Roosevelt countered, "Too long"; at once, Fechner halved the estimate. "Good," Roosevelt said simply: Cohen, *Nothing to Fear*, p. 219.
- 238 The corps members, deeply engaged in a wide variety of conservation tasks, had found "a place in the world": Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Three Essentials for Unemployment Relief," *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 2:81, note.

- 239 *“I weighed about 160 pounds when I went there, and when I left I was 190,” said one boy, filled with a newfound sense of self-respect. “It made a man of me all right”*: Schlesinger Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal*, p. 339.
- 239 *If the unprecedented conditions of the Great Depression demanded the creation of “new and untried” programs: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “New Means to Rescue Agriculture—The Agricultural Adjustment Act,” The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 2:77, note.*
- 239 *“Go and see what’s happening. See the end product of what we are doing. Talk to people; get the wind in your nose”*: Schlesinger Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal*, p. 525.
- 239 *Eleanor also asked citizens to write her, citing the danger that a public figure “may be set apart from the stream of life affecting the country”*: Eleanor Roosevelt, Radio Speech for Pond’s Co., Speeches and Articles, Box 3, in Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
- 240 *More than any other source, FDR counted on Eleanor to provide him with “the unvarnished truth”*: Lowitt and Beasley, eds., *One Third of a Nation*, p. xxiii.
- 240 *Each time she returned home, she arranged “an uninterrupted meal” with her husband so the anecdotes would be “fresh and not dulled by repetition”*: Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember*, p. 125.
- 240 *“She saw many things the president could never see,” Frances Perkins said. “Much of what she learned and what she understood about the life of the people of this country rubbed off onto the president”*: Frances Perkins Interview, Graff Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
- 241 *After being elected to an unprecedented third term, FDR explained to the American people in a late December 1940 fireside chat that the United States “must be the great arsenal of democracy,” putting every effort toward manufacturing planes, ships, guns, and ammunition for Great Britain. “The sole purpose” of supplying Great Britain, he reassured them, “is to keep war away from our country and our people”*: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Fireside Chat 16, “Arsenal of Democracy.”
- 242 *“Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith that goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the Book of Genesis: ‘God created man in his own image.’ We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God”*: Franklin D. Roosevelt, “State of the Union.”
- 245 *“drivers had pulled over, parking bumper to bumper, and turned on their radios to hear Roosevelt. They had rolled down the windows and opened the car doors. Everywhere the same voice, its odd Eastern accent, which in anyone else would have irritated Midwesterners. You could follow without*

missing a single word as you strolled by. You felt joined to these unknown drivers, men and women smoking their cigarettes in silence, not so much considering the President's words as affirming the rightness of his tone and taking assurance from it": Bellow, *It All Adds Up*, pp. 28–29.

245 Roosevelt believed that if the people "were taken into the confidence of their government and received a full and truthful statement of what was happening, they would generally choose the right course": Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt*, p. 92.

☆ ☆ ☆ LYNDON JOHNSON ☆ ☆ ☆

Chapter Nineteen

- 251 "I'm ready to try and make it with my brain": Lyndon B. Johnson, in Rebekah B. Johnson, *A Family Album*, p. 20.
- 251 "I sat beside the rocker on the floor of the porch," the younger Johnson remembered, "thinking all the while how lucky I was to have as a granddaddy this big man with the white beard who had lived the most exciting life imaginable": Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 251 "When the rivers that crossed the trails were cold, the cattle would often hesitate partway across, circling and jumping on top of one another instead of moving in a straight line. Then the lead cowboy would have to ride out in front of the herd and get the cattle moving": *Ibid.*
- 254 "You better go along now, son, your mama is waiting": *Ibid.*
- 254 "I remember how I thought that deep pockets were wonderful things to have": *Ibid.*
- 254 "perfect escape": *Ibid.*
- 254 "My mother told me the first year of her marriage was the worst year of her life": *Ibid.*
- 254 "a two-story rock house, with a fruitful orchard of perfectly spaced trees, terraced flower beds, broad walks": Rebekah B. Johnson, *A Family Album*, p. 29.
- 255 "dashing and dynamic": Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 27.
- 255 "whirlwind courtship": Rebekah B. Johnson, *A Family Album*, p. 25.
- 255 "the problem of adjustment to a completely opposite personality," as well as "a strange and new way of life": *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 255 "piled high": Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 28.
- 255 "Then I came along," Lyndon recalled his mother describing, "and suddenly everything was all right again. I could do all the things she never did": Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.

- 255 *“Now the light came in from the east, bringing a deep stillness, a stillness so profound and so pervasive that it seemed as if the earth itself were listening. And then there came a sharp compelling cry—the most awesome, happiest sound known to human ears—the cry of a newborn baby; the first child of Sam Ealy and Rebekah Johnson was ‘discovering America’”*: Rebekah B. Johnson, *A Family Album*, p. 17.
- 256 *“never seen such a friendly baby”*: Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 32.
- 256 *“I’ll never forget how much my mother loved me when I recited those poems,” Johnson said. “The minute I finished she’d take me in her arms and hug me so hard I sometimes thought I’d be strangled to death”*: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 256 *“I remember playing games with her that only the two of us could play. And she would always let me win even if to do so we had to change the rules. I knew how much she needed me. . . . I liked that. It made me feel big and important. It made me believe I could do anything in the world”*: Ibid.
- 256 *“For days after I quit those lessons she walked around the house pretending I was dead,” Johnson glumly said. “And then . . .,” he added, “I had to watch her being especially warm and nice to my father and sisters”*: Ibid.
- 257 *the Johnson “freeze-out”*: Goodwin, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*, p. 25.
- 257 *“I loved going with my father to the legislature,” Johnson remembered. “I would sit in the gallery for hours watching all the activity on the floor and then would wander around the halls trying to figure out what was going on”*: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 257 *“who attracted people and knew how to deal with people”*: Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 46.
- 257 *He told his son, “If you can’t come into a room full of people and tell right away who is for you and who is against you, you have no business in politics”*: Steinberg, *Sam Johnson’s Boy*, p. 26.
- 257 *He was known to have an “explosive” temper, “but it was like a sunshine thing,” a neighbor recalled. “It was gone in a minute and then he was always going about doing something nice”*: Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 46.
- 258 *“We’ve got to look after these people,” Sam told a friend, “that’s what we’re here for”*: Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 82.
- 258 *“My father stood right up against that situation,” Johnson later said. “He got up on the floor of the House of Representatives and made a wonderful speech pleading for tolerance and common sense”*: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 258 *“They walked the same, had the same nervous mannerisms,” recalled Wright*

Patman, who served with Sam in the state legislature and later became a congressman, “and Lyndon clutched you like his daddy did when he talked to you”: Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 76.

- 259 “We drove in the Model T Ford from farm to farm, up and down the valley, stopping at every door. My father would do most of the talking. He would bring the neighbors up to date on local gossip, talk about the crops and about the bills he’d introduced in the legislature, and always he’d bring along an enormous crust of homemade bread and a large jar of homemade jam. When we got tired or hungry, we’d stop by the side of the road. He sliced the bread, smeared it with jam, and split the slices with me. I’d never seen him happier. Families all along the way opened up their homes to us. If it was hot outside, we were invited in for big servings of homemade ice cream. If it was cold, we were given hot tea . . . sometimes I wished it could go on forever”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 259 “I remember one Thanksgiving,” he said, his mother “had gotten out the wedding china and roasted a huge turkey. Everything was set just right. She sat at the head of the table with her fancy lace dress and big wide sleeves. She was saying the prayers when a knock came on the door. My daddy answered and found a Mexican family with five children. They lived nearby. My father had done a lot to help them over the years. Now they were returning his favor. They had brought him a green cake, the biggest cake I’d ever seen. Well, the minute he saw them out there, cold and hungry, he invited them to dinner. He was always doing things like that. The dinner was loud. There was a lot of laughing and yelling. I liked it. But then I looked at my mother. Her face was bent toward her plate and she said nothing. I had a feeling that something was wrong, but I was having such a good time I didn’t pay attention. After the meal, she stood up and went to her room. I followed a little behind her and heard her crying in there. I guess she was really counting on it being a private occasion. I looked at her sad face and I felt guilty. I went in and tried to make her feel better”: *Ibid*.
- 260 “very brilliant,” one schoolmate recalled. The boys his age were simply not in “his class mentally.” Even the older boys “saw that he talked—and thought—faster than they did”: Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 71.
- 260 “smothered” by his mother’s “force feedings”: King, “Bringing up Lyndon.”
- 260 “Is it true?” he repeatedly asked of a story. “Did it actually happen, Mama?” He agreed to open a book only if it was about history or government: *Time*, May 21, 1965.
- 260 “In the fall and the spring, I spent every moment when I wasn’t in school out in the open. With the other boys, I went hunting squirrels and rabbits. I carried a gun and every now and then I pointed it at the animals but I never wanted to kill any of them. I wanted only to know that I could kill if I had to. Then one day my daddy asked me how did it happen that I was the only boy

- in the neighborhood who had never shot an animal. Was I a coward? The next day I went back into the hills and killed a rabbit. It jumped out at me from behind a bush and I shot it in between the eyes. Then I went to the bathroom and threw up”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 262 “become a political figure”: *Ibid*.
- 262 “All right, I’m sick of working just with my hands and I’m ready to try and make it with my brain”: Lyndon B. Johnson, in Rebekah B. Johnson, *A Family Album*, p. 20.

Chapter Twenty

- 263 “A steam engine in pants”: Jones Interview, June 13, 1969, Lyndon B. Johnson Library Oral History.
- 263 “The way you get ahead in the world, you get close to those that are the heads of things,” Lyndon told his roommate when he finally arrived at college in San Marcos, Texas. “Like President Evans, for example”: Alfred B. Johnson, quoted in Miller, *Lyndon*, p. 28.
- 263 Aware of the demands on the president’s time, Johnson concluded “there was only one way to get to know Evans, and that was to work for him directly”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 264 Several of Lyndon’s classmates regarded him as “ruthless”: Steinberg, *Sam Johnson’s Boy*, p. 41.
- 264 prepared “to cut your throat to get what [he] wanted”: Helen Hofheinz, in Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 194.
- 264 They “didn’t just dislike Lyndon Johnson,” one said, “they despised him”: Henry Kyle, in Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 196.
- 264 While Lyndon understood that ambition “creates a discontent with present surroundings and achievements,” a bottomless hole to fill, he failed to understand when to ease up and was often unaware of the human cost of his own compulsive energies: Lyndon B. Johnson, quoted in Pool, Craddock, and Conrad, *Lyndon Baines Johnson: The Formative Years*, pp. 131–32.
- 265 At last, biographer Robert Caro observes, Lyndon was “the somebody he had always wanted to be”: Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 170.
- 265 “My students were poor and they often came to class without breakfast, hungry,” Johnson later recalled. “And they knew, even in their youth, the pain of prejudice”: Lyndon B. Johnson, “Presidential News Conference,” *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, 1:286.
- 266 “I was determined to spark something inside them,” Johnson said, “to fill their souls with ambition and interest and belief in the future. I was determined to give them what they needed to make it in this world, to help them finish their education. Then the rest would take care of itself”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.

- 266 *“He respected the kids more than any other teacher we ever had,” said former student Juan Gonzalez. “He put us to work,” another student remembered. “But he was the kind of teacher you wanted to work for. You felt an obligation to him and to yourself to do your work”*: Time, May 21, 1965, p. 60.
- 267 *He was strict, they all agreed; he made them stay after school if they hadn’t done their homework. But he was “down-to-earth and friendly,” and years later they were grateful so much had been demanded of them: “They Remember LBJ at Cotulla,”* p. 12.
- 267 *“I can still see the faces of the children who sat in my class,” he said years later*: Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 170.
- 268 *When Lyndon rose to make his remarks, his style of speaking was “so wrapped up in youthful enthusiasm and sincerity of purpose,” state representative Welly Hopkins recalled, “that his audience came along with him.” While “it wasn’t a rich oratorical style,” there was “a timber in his voice that was pleasantly received”*: Hopkins Interview, May 11, 1965, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 268 *Indeed, his speech was considered “the hit of the Henly picnic”*: Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 87.
- 268 *“Even in that day,” Hopkins recalled of Lyndon, “politics was in his blood.” Not only was he “steeped in political lore”*: Hopkins Interview, May 11, 1965, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 268 *but he was “gifted with a very unusual ability to meet and greet the public”*: Welly Hopkins, quoted in Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 203.
- 268 *“We worked Blanco County in and out,” Hopkins recalled of his travels with Lyndon. No matter how tired they were, Lyndon scoured the countryside for votes, even if the car had to travel to a single farm at the end of an unpaved road. “On one occasion,” Hopkins laughingly recalled, Lyndon had him stand in a dry creek bed to deliver a ten-minute speech to a group of three—a man, his wife, and their relative. Such attention to detail paid off. Hopkins secured a surprising victory. “I always felt he was the real balance of the difference as to whether I’d be elected,” a grateful Hopkins said*: Hopkins Interview, May 11, 1965, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 268 *Word spread that there was a “wonder kid in San Marcos who knew more about politics than anyone in the area”*: Steinberg, *Sam Johnson’s Boy*, p. 53.
- 269 *The moment Lyndon arrived at Sam Houston High, he set a dramatic goal for the debate team: though they had never “won anything” in competition with neighboring schools*: Gene Latimer Interview, Oct. 5, 1979, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.

- 269 Luther Jones, one of the club members, recalled overhearing a “rather vigorous argument Johnson had with the principal,” who told him that funds for the debate team had never been part of the school budget. “Yes, but you’ve never had a teacher like me!” Johnson countered: Luther Jones Interview, June 1, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 269 He “could get people to do things they would under ordinary circumstances never think of doing,” Jones observed: Latimer Interview, Oct. 5, 1979, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 269 Johnson appeared to his students “a human dynamo,” “a steam engine in pants”: Jones Interview, June 13, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 269 Debate team member Gene Latimer came to refer to Johnson as “the Chief”: Miller, Lyndon, p. 36.
- 269 and remembered that Johnson had already decided “he will make state champions of us”: Ibid.
- 269 And he worked the students as hard as he himself worked. Despite all the practice, there was plenty of singing and joking, and “he quickly becomes a favorite of students, teachers, the principal,” Latimer recalled: Latimer, Oral History Transcript.
- 269 Johnson went on to teach his students that storytelling was the key to successful debating. In contrast to the previous public speaking teacher, who came from the “old school” and trained his debaters to “be bombastic and loud,” he urged a conversational style that illustrated points with concrete stories. “Act like you’re talking to those folks,” he counseled his students. “Look one of them in the eye and then move on and look another one in the eye”: Latimer Interview, Oct. 5, 1979, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 270 Though the state championship was lost in the final competition by a single vote, by the time the school year ended, Latimer proudly noted “we were more important than the football team”: Ibid.
- 271 “All that day I’d gone about feeling excited, nervous, and sad,” Johnson recalled. “I was about to leave home to meet the adventure of my future. I felt grown-up, but my mind kept ranging backward in time. I saw myself as a boy skipping down the road to my granddaddy’s house. I remembered the many nights I had stood in the doorway listening to my father’s political talk. I remembered the evenings with my mother when my daddy was away. Now all that was behind me”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, Conversations.
- 271 “I would not say I was without ambition ever,” he recalled. “It was very exciting to me to realize that the people, many of them that you were passing, were probably congressmen at least, maybe senators, members of

the cabinet. And there was the smell of power. It's got an odor you know. Power I mean": Lyndon B. Johnson, quoted in Miller, *Lyndon*, p. 38.

- 271 "This skinny boy was as green as anybody could be," an older congressional secretary said, "but within a few months he knew how to operate in Washington better than some who had been here twenty years": Arthur Perry, in Moody, *The Lyndon Johnson Story*, p. 38.
- 273 Johnson was "a hard man to work for because he insisted on perfection," Jones recalled. The Chief, as they still called him, "wanted to answer every day's mail every day." And every letter "had to be just right," which meant typing and retyping the same letter over and over again on the typewriter until it was exactly "the way he wanted it": Jones Interview, June 13, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 273 So no sooner had the first drink arrived than up he jumped and proclaimed, "We've been relaxing long enough. There's still three more good working hours until we fold." When critics wrote about Johnson's harsh manner in dealing with the members of his staff, Latimer insisted that his boss was "extremely sentimental about the people close to him." And yet, increasingly, the price of admission into his select extended family had grown from dedication and unquestioned loyalty to devouring all of his staff member's personal time and space. "If he caught you reading a letter from your mother," Jones said, or using the bathroom, "he'd say, 'Son, can't you please try a little harder to do that on your own time?'" : Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 101.
- 274 And for Kleberg, "a bluff and good natured, multi-millionaire," the situation was ideal: Jones Interview, June 13, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.

Chapter Twenty-One

- 275 "I see something I know I want—I immediately exert efforts to get it": Caro, *The Path to Power*, pp. 300–301.
- 275 Claudia "Lady Bird" Taylor in marriage: Smith, *The President's Lady*, p. 27.
- 275 During their first conversation, she later remembered, he told her all manner of "extraordinarily direct" things about himself—"his salary as a chief of staff to a congressman, his ambitions, even about all the members of his family, and how much insurance he carried. It was as if he wanted to give a complete picture of his life and of his capabilities": Goldman, *The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson*, p. 343.
- 275 She found him "very, very good-looking, with lots of black, wavy hair": Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 299.
- 275 but "I thought he was just out of his mind" when "before the day was over" he asked her to marry him: Gillette, *Lady Bird Johnson*, p. 51.

- 275 *"I'm ambitious, proud, energetic and madly in love with you," Johnson declared to Lady Bird. "I see something I know I want—I immediately exert efforts to get it." They sent dozens of letters back and forth, and on his next visit about two months later, he issued an ultimatum: "We either get married now or we never will": Caro, *The Path to Power*, pp. 300–301.*
- 276 *"Texas yip": Lyndon B. Johnson, quoted in Caro, *The Path to Power*, pp. 300–301.*
- 276 *"I don't think Lady Bird ever had a chance once he set eyes on her," Latimer observed three decades later: Latimer Interview, Aug. 17, 1971, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.*
- 276 *She was his "balancing wheel," Jones said: Jones Interview, June 13, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.*
- 278 *The NYA was designed to save "a lost generation" of young people during the Great Depression by providing part-time work for students from needy families who could not otherwise afford to stay in school, as well as full-time jobs for thousands of unemployed youths between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who had already finished school: Roosevelt Institute, "Saving a 'Lost Generation.'"*
- 278 *"Sure, I guess I know a little bit about youth's hard lot in life," he said at the time: Lyndon B. Johnson, in National Park Service, National Historic Site brochure.*
- 279 *However, the enormity of the statewide undertaking—adapting rigid federal guidelines to sprawling and diverse Texas—overwhelmed Johnson until he came up with a plan to "start the ball rolling": Jones Interview, June 13, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.*
- 279 *Johnson was "beside himself with happiness": Luther Jones, quoted in Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 348.*
- 279 *When the roadside parks project proved triumphant, he made sure it was publicized throughout Texas, and in a short time it actually became "a model for the nation": Joe B. Frantz, in Deason Interview, April 11, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.*
- 279 *When First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt came to Texas in 1936, she asked to meet the state's NYA director, who she had already heard so much about: Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 143.*
- 279 *"Everything had to be done NOW," one staffer recalled: Ibid., p. 130.*
- 280 *"We weren't like boarders," one recalled, "we had the run of the house and I felt like a member of the family": Jones Interview, June 13, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.*
- 280 *Mind-numbing meetings going over NYA rules and regulations, "paragraph by paragraph, page by page," were often held on the Johnsons' porch. "This*

was usually pretty late at night,” another staffer recalled. “Lady Bird always had coffee and cake for us”: Birdwell Interview, April 1, 1965, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.

- 281 *Lady Bird asked her father for ten thousand dollars to fund the campaign. And, Johnson remembered, “I was at the bank at 9 a.m. the next morning and there it was”*: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 281 *“My father became a young man again,” Johnson recalled. “He looked out into all those faces he knew so well and then he looked at me and I saw tears in his eyes as he told the crowd how terribly proud he was of me and how much hope he had for our country if only his son could be up there in the nation’s capital with [President] Roosevelt and [Sam] Rayburn and all those good Democrats. When he finally sat down, they began applauding and they kept applauding for almost ten minutes. I looked over at my mother and saw that she, too, was clapping and smiling. It was a proud moment for the Johnson family”*: Ibid.
- 281 *From the start of the campaign, Johnson employed his tireless work ethic, believing he could win so long as “he could get up earlier and meet more people and stay up later than anybody else”*: Birdwell Interview, April 1965, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 281 *He would stop “in every store, every fire station, every place of business,” a campaign worker recalled, and he would personally meet every person in there all the way to the back door where the janitor was sitting. He would “press the flesh” and “look them in the eye”*: Ibid.
- 282 *“A five minute speech,” he pointed out, “with fifteen minutes spent afterward is much more effective than a fifteen minute speech, no matter how inspiring, that leaves only five minutes for handshaking”*: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 282 *To stand out from the better-known pack, Johnson had campaigned as a “total Roosevelt man,” supporting every aspect of President Roosevelt’s New Deal*: Jones Interview, June 13, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 282 *“I’ve just met the most remarkable young man,” Roosevelt later told White House aide Tommy Corcoran. “Now I like this boy, and you’re going to help him with anything you can”*: Tommy Corcoran, quoted in Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 448.
- 283 *“The lack of electric power divided the United States into two nations,” one historian noted, “the city dwellers and the country folk”*: Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, p. 157.
- 283 *“Before I knew it,” Johnson lamented, “my fifteen minutes was gone . . . and I found myself in the West Lobby without ever having made my proposition. So I had to go back and make that damn appointment all over again”*: Lyndon B. Johnson, quoted in Miller, *Lyndon*, p. 70.

- 283 “city big shots”: Ibid.
- 283 “Lyndon, now what in the hell do you want?” President Roosevelt demanded. “Just why are you showing me all these?”: Dugger, *The Politician*, p. 212.
- 284 Johnson then painted “a mental picture of all those women out there, old before their time, bending over the wash pot, and all those men getting up on a cold winter morning to milk those cows, where there could have been electric washing machines and milking machines”: Gillette, *Lady Bird*, pp. 101–2.
- 284 Johnson was thrilled, savoring the successful meeting as “one of the happiest moments of my life”: Lyndon B. Johnson, quoted in Miller, *Lyndon*, pp. 70–71.
- 284 “Oh my God,” the mother said. “The house is on fire.” “No, Momma,” her daughter said. “The lights are on.” All over the Hill Country! “People began to name their kids for Lyndon Johnson,” Caro writes: Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 528.
- 284 When Johnson returned home that fall, Sam pleaded with his son to bring him “home to that little house in the hills where people know when you’re sick and care when you die.” Johnson resisted at first; the doctors had told him that his father needed oxygen and that no oxygen tent was available in their town. “You have to help me, son,” Sam pleaded. Johnson understood. “I brought him his clothes, helped him dress, and I carried him home”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 285 “When I thought about the kind of Congressman I wanted to be,” Johnson said much later in life, “I thought about my Populist grandfather and promised myself that I’d always be the people’s Congressman, representing all the people, not just the ones with money and power. My grandfather taught me early in life that neither misery nor squalor is inevitable so long as the government and the people are one . . . so long as the government assumes the positive role of eliminating the special interests that cause most of our problems in America. . . .”: Ibid.
- 285 And years earlier, as he was leaving Texas to work for Congressman Kleberg, his father’s parting words were “Now you get up there, support FDR all the way, never shimmy and give ’em hell”: Ibid.
- 285 Lyndon took that charge and ran with it. When he first took his seat in the House “a consensus about the boy” and his bright future soon developed among the inner circle of FDR’s young New Dealers who served in the president’s administration: Tommy Corcoran, in Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 162.
- 285 Johnson became not simply a member of this group but, as he so intensely craved, the central pin around which the group wheeled. President Roosevelt’s “special interest” in the young congressman also sharpened: Elizabeth Wickendham Goldschmidt Interview, Nov. 6, 1974, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.

285 *There was something Roosevelt saw in Lyndon Johnson that made him think that “if he [Franklin] hadn’t gone to Harvard, that’s the kind of uninhibited young pro he’d like to be.” Roosevelt went so far as to predict that “in the next generation the balance of power would shift south and west, and this boy could well be the first Southern president”:* Elliot Janeway, quoted in Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 449.

Chapter Twenty-Two

286 *“The most miserable in my life . . .”:* Goodwin, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*, p. 93.

286 *From his early twenties, Lyndon Johnson had operated upon the premise that if “he could get up earlier and meet more people and stay up later than anybody else,” success would be his:* Birdwell Interview, April 1965, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.

286 *The same man whose “tremendously commanding presence”:* Harfield Weedon Interview, Feb. 24, 1983, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.

287 *“My throat got bad on me, and I had to spend a few days in the hospital,” he explained:* Miller, *Lyndon*, p. 84.

287 *“nervous exhaustion”:* Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 213.

287 *“He was depressed and it was bad,” Lady Bird recalled:* Russell, *Lady Bird*, p. 252.

289 *Standing in front of a towering backdrop of himself shaking hands with President Roosevelt, Johnson “shed his coat, rolled up his sleeves and launched into” an informal talk with the audience:* *Brownsville Herald* (Texas), June 19, 1941.

289 *The Dallas Morning News stated, “The voters of Texas Saturday will more than likely send Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson to Washington as their junior Senator”:* McKay, *W. Lee O’Daniel and Texas Politics*, p. 124.

289 *“We gave him everything we could, everything,” Roosevelt adviser Tommy Corcoran recalled, but “he didn’t win”:* Miller, *Lyndon*, p. 106.

290 *deep period of depression he later described as “the most miserable in my life”:* Goodwin, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*, p. 93.

290 *“I always had the feeling he was a little restless,” fellow Democratic Texas congressman O. C. Fisher recalled, “looking for bigger worlds to conquer”:* O. C. Fisher Interview, May 8, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.

291 *He was later awarded a Silver Star Medal for “gallantry in action,” which he considered among the high moments of his life:* 86th Congress, Proceedings of the 41st National Convention, p. 77.

- 292 “One day I didn’t get a telephone number fast enough for Mr. Johnson and he threw a book at me,” recalled a female staffer, who said she was “a little afraid of him after that”: Woods, *LBJ: Architect of American Ambition*, p. 158.
- 292 Even before his Senate run, Johnson’s two longest-serving aides, Luther Jones and Gene Latimer, had quit. Jones knew after less than a year on the House staff that he simply “had to get away” or be “devoured” by Johnson: Dugger, *The Politician*, p. 216.
- 292 Latimer lasted exactly a year to the day of his arrival on Capitol Hill. “I was literally working myself to death,” he recalled. “I never took a breath”: Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 494.
- 293 “I believe in free enterprise and I don’t believe in the government doing anything that the people can do privately. Wherever it’s possible, the government should get out of business”: *Wichita Daily Times*, April 9, 1947.
- 293 “I just could not bear the thought of losing everything,” he confessed, as if his identity depended upon his position and standing: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 293 He described the pull of politicking itself as a compulsion, a sickness that “gets better until the next election comes around”: Phipps, *Summer Stock*, pp. 117–18.
- 293 He “even worked in the bathtub,” his secretary Dorothy Nichols recalled. “You’d be in a little hotel in this little town, and you’d get a summons to come into the bathroom to talk to the Congressman. You’d go in and he’d be in the tub, and he would talk to you and two or three secretaries would come in and take letters. He never stopped”: Dorothy Nichols, in Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 306.
- 294 “This is Lyndon Johnson, your next United States senator, and I’ll land in just a minute. I want to shake hands with all of you”: Woods, *LBJ*, p. 204.
- 294 “Hello there, Mr. Jones,” his voice would boom overhead. “This is your friend Lyndon Johnson. I’m sorry we can’t land today, but I want you to know that I’m up here thinking of you and appreciate your kind letter and comments. I just want you to be sure and tell your friends to vote for me at election time”: Miller, *Lyndon*, p. 120.
- 294 “They were stealin’ votes in east Texas,” Johnson supporter and Austin mayor Tom Miller recalled, “we were stealin’ votes in south Texas. Only Jesus Christ could say who actually won it”: Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 347.

Chapter Twenty-Three

- 295 “Time is the most valuable thing you have; be sure you spend it well”: Gillette, *Lady Bird*, p. 162.
- 296 “He would arrive early enough in the morning to eat breakfast at the Capitol

and stay late enough at night to eat dinner across the street. And in these early mornings and late evenings I made sure there was always one companion, one senator, who worked as hard and as long as he, and that was me, Lyndon Johnson. On Sundays the House and Senate were empty, quiet, and still; the streets were bare. It's a tough day for a politician, especially if, like Russell, he's all alone. I knew how he felt for I, too, counted the hours till Monday would come again, and knowing that, I made sure to invite Russell over for breakfast, lunch, or brunch or just to read the Sunday papers. He was my mentor, and I wanted to take care of him": Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.

- 297 Johnson begged Russell for the job he called "one of the most urgently desired goals of his life": Goodwin, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*, p. 107.
- 298 "When you're dealing with all those senators," he explained, "the good ones and the crazies, the hard workers and the lazies, the smart ones and the mediocres—you've got to know two things right away. You've got to understand the beliefs and values common to all of them as politicians, the desire for fame and the thirst for honor, and then you've got to understand the emotion most controlling that particular senator": Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 299 When Democrats, by a single vote, gained a majority in the Senate in 1955, the forty-six-year-old Lyndon Johnson was elected the youngest majority leader in the history of the Senate. He suggested that he would work with his political opponents in the Republican White House by referencing his favorite quote from Isaiah 1:18: "Come now, and let us reason together": "The Congress: The 84th's Temper."
- 299 Johnson was well versed in the Bible and frequently quoted it in public speeches and private conversations, often in a "ministerial tone": Hill and Lippy, eds., *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South*, p. 424.
- 299 If at last Johnson was "sitting on the top of the world": Goodwin, *Leadership In Turbulent Times*, p. 198.
- 299 On the two-hour ride, "my chest really began to hurt," Johnson recalled: Miller, *Lyndon*, p. 181.
- 299 like a "truck had crushed my chest in": Shaffer, "Senator Lyndon Johnson," p. 35.
- 300 "My God, man, you're having a heart attack": Woods, *LBJ*, p. 293.
- 300 An ambulance transported Johnson to Bethesda Naval Hospital just outside Washington, the nearest major cardiac unit. "It was a very hectic ride, it hurt him desperately," recalled Frank "Posh" Oltorf, an old friend who rode along in the ambulance. "I think he definitely felt there was a possibility that he'd die before we got there": Caro, *Master of the Senate*, p. 622.

- 300 *As the days turned into weeks, his odds for survival greatly increased, but the doctors told the press that the majority leader could not “undertake any business whatsoever for a period of months”*: Ibid., p. 625.
- 300 *“He’d just sort of lie there,” his aide George Reedy recalled. “You’d feel that he wasn’t there at all, that there was some representation of Johnson alongside of you, something mechanical. Then one day he got up and he hollered to have somebody come up and give him a shave,” Reedy recounted, “and just in a matter of minutes the whole damned hospital started to click. He took over the corridor, installed a couple of typewriters there, he was dictating letters, he was just going full speed”*: George Reedy Interview, Aug. 16, 1983, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 301 *“He’d read them over and over and over again,” Reedy remembered, “oh, he was just basking in those letters”*: Caro, *Master of the Senate*, p. 630.
- 301 *Finally, it “got to the point where we couldn’t let them all in his room: there wouldn’t have been enough room for him”*: George Reedy, quoted in Woods, *LBJ*, p. 295.
- 301 *The letters, Johnson exulted, showed that “everybody loves Lyndon”*: Caro, *Master of the Senate*, p. 630.
- 301 *“Time is the most valuable thing you have; be sure you spend it well”*: Gillette, *Lady Bird*, p. 162.
- 301 *But he seemed to be remembering the deep moral strains of his faith, as he would later say, “From our Jewish and Christian heritage, we draw the image of the God of all mankind, who will judge his children not by their prayers and by their pretensions, but by their mercy to the poor and their understanding of the weak. We cannot cancel that strain and then claim to speak as a Christian society”*: Lyndon B. Johnson, “Remarks at a Reception for Members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.”
- 303 *“the brink of death”*: William Deason Interview, April 11, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 303 *“We’ve got to look after these people,” his father had repeatedly told him, “that’s what we’re here for”*: Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 82.
- 304 *In the speech, the man who had abandoned the New Deal and played down his views on civil rights in order to remain politically electable in an increasingly conservative Texas introduced a powerful “Program with a Heart”*: Woods, *LBJ*, p. 299.
- 304 *“leapt to their feet, clapped their hands, stamped their feet, beat on the tables and whistled to show their approval”*: *The Baytown (Texas)*, Nov. 23, 1955.
- 304 *The compassion he truly felt—and was able to find within himself once more—for the marginalized, the undereducated, and the poorly housed fueled his delivery. “People walked out of that speech dazed,” Reedy said,*

- stunned by “the amount of emotion that he put into it and the fire”: Reedy Interview, Aug. 16, 1983, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.
- 307 “We’ve shown we can do it,” he said. “We’ll do it again in a couple of years”: Harry McPherson, in Ellis, *Freedom’s Pragmatist*, p. 98.
- 308 “A man with a vote has his destiny in his own hands”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 308 Even Martin Luther King Jr. wrote a letter to then vice president Richard Nixon that a weak bill “is much better than no bill at all.” But King vowed to keep the struggle for civil rights alive, using this new law as a weapon in the long and grueling battle. He wrote: “History has demonstrated that inadequate legislation supported by mass action can accomplish more than adequate legislation which remains unenforced for the lack of a determined mass movement. This is why I am initiating in the south a crusade for citizenship in which we will seek to get at least two million Negroes registered in the south for the 1960 elections”: “RN, MLK, and the Civil Rights Act of 1957.” Richard Nixon Foundation.
- 308 “The Democratic Party owed Johnson the [presidential] nomination,” Massachusetts senator John F. Kennedy declared a year after the bill’s passage in 1958. “He’s earned it. He wants the same things for the country that I do. But it’s too close to Appomattox”: Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 541.
- 308 Former presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson agreed and, putting it more bluntly, judged Johnson “the best qualified Democrat for the presidency from the standpoint of performance and ability, but plagued with a great weakness: he was a Southerner”: Woods, *LBJ*, p. 573.
- 308 But with his political intuition, Roosevelt also understood that first “the balance of power” would have to “shift south and west”: Elliot Janeway, quoted in Caro, *The Path to Power*, p. 449.
- 309 Like Theodore Roosevelt, Johnson found he simply wasn’t “made to be Vice President”: Dallek, *Flawed Giant*, p. 34.
- 309 Also like Theodore Roosevelt, he felt lost and diminished without the kind of meaningful work and a spotlight that provided justification for his existence. The ceremonial aspects of the office of vice president—“trips around the world, chauffeurs, men saluting, people clapping”—meant “nothing” to Johnson. He “detested every minute of it”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 310 and felt, one friend recalled, “he had come to the end of the political road”: Edwin Weisl Sr. Interview, May 13, 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History.

Chapter Twenty-Four

- 311 “It is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice”: Lyndon B. Johnson, “Special Message to the Congress: The

American Promise,” *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, 1:281, 284.

- 311 “Everything was in chaos,” Lyndon Johnson recalled of the hours and days following President Kennedy’s assassination: Caro, *The Passage of Power*, p. 353.
- 311 “I went in to see Mrs. Kennedy and though it was a very hard thing to do, she made it as easy as possible. She said things like, ‘Oh, Lady Bird, we’ve liked you two so much,’” Lady Bird described in her audio diary of that very day. “I tried to express something of how we felt. I said, ‘Oh, Mrs. Kennedy, you know we never even wanted to be Vice President and now, dear God, it’s come to this.’ I would have done anything to help her”: Lady Bird Johnson, *Audio Diary*.
- 312 Upon arriving at Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington, DC, with President Kennedy’s casket aboard the plane, the new president gave a brief statement: “This is a sad time for all people. We have suffered a loss that cannot be weighed. For me, it is a deep personal tragedy. I know that the world shares the sorrow that Mrs. Kennedy and her family bear. I will do my best. That is all I can do. I ask for your help—and God’s”: Lyndon B. Johnson, “Remarks Upon Arrival at Andrews Air Force Base.”
- 313 Sixteen-year-old Luci Johnson was in Spanish class at the National Cathedral School in Washington, DC, but “no one ever said a word about my father or mother,” she recalled many years after: Kaplan, “Luci Baines Johnson Reflects on Kennedy Assassination.”
- 313 “We were all spinning around and around, trying to come to grips with what had happened,” recalled President Johnson. “We were like a bunch of cattle caught in the swamp, unable to move in either direction, simply circling round and round.” With this imagery, Johnson harkened back to his childhood in the Texas Hill Country, to the stories his grandfather had told. “I knew what had to be done,” he continued. “There is but one way to get the cattle out of the swamp. And that is for the man on the horse to take the lead, to assume command, to provide direction. In the period of confusion after the assassination, I was that man”: Lyndon B. Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, p. 172.
- 314 “And I’m going to pass it without changing a single comma or a word,” he told his aides: Jack Valenti, “Lyndon Johnson: An Awesome Engine of a Man,” in Cowger and Markman, eds., *Lyndon Johnson Remembered*, p. 37.
- 314 In the early 1960s, Black and white Freedom Riders traveled on buses through the South and were met by arrests, beatings, and mobs threatening to “burn them alive”: Arsenault, *Freedom Riders*, p. 97.
- 314 The images on the news shocked and sickened the nation and prompted President Kennedy to introduce his civil rights bill to end segregation in the

South, which, Kennedy said in a nationally televised address, “denied equal rights, denied the opportunity to eat at a restaurant or lunch counter or go to a movie theater. . . . It seems to me that these are matters which concern us all, not merely Presidents or Congressmen or Governors, but every citizen of the United States”: Kennedy, “Radio and Television Report to the American People on Civil Rights.”

- 315 The march was a huge success, as more than a quarter of a million people gathered around the Reflecting Pool on the National Mall to peacefully protest, and Martin Luther King Jr. declared, “I have a dream”: Morrison, “At March on Washington’s 60th Anniversary.”
- 315 On this particular call, King told the new president that “one of the great tributes we can pay in memory of President Kennedy is to enact” some of the progressive legislation that the slain president had championed. Chief among these was the civil rights act: “Draft transcript of taped conversation between LBJ and Martin Luther King, Jr.”
- 317 Believing that Kennedy’s death had created “a sympathetic atmosphere”: Caro, *The Passage of Power*, p. 435.
- 317 for the passage of his stalled agenda, Johnson planned to turn the “dead man’s program into a martyr’s cause”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 317 From the outset, Johnson decided his number one priority would be civil rights. But Johnson’s advisers were hesitant and skeptical. “The presidency has only a certain amount of coinage to expend,” one of them told Johnson, “and you oughtn’t to expend it on this. It will never get through,” he said about the civil rights bill. “Well,” Johnson replied with an unambiguous answer, “what the hell is the presidency for?”: Miller, *Lyndon*, p. 337.
- 317 “All that I have,” he began, “I would have given gladly not to be standing here today”: Lyndon B. Johnson, “Address before the Joint Session of Congress,” *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, 1:8–10.
- 318 Like Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin Roosevelt, Johnson knew that people were “more easily influenced” by stories “than any other way”: Phillips, *Lincoln on Leadership*, p. 158.
- 318 So now, when talking with civil rights leaders and die-hard Southern segregationists, Johnson told variations of the same personal story to underscore his conviction that the oppressive system of segregation that had governed daily life in the South for three quarters of a century must stand no longer. He told of his longtime Black employees—his maid and butler, Helen and Gene Williams, and his college-educated cook Zephyr Wright—and how when they would drive his extra car from Washington back to Texas each year, there was no place on the road they could stop and go in and eat on the difficult three-day trip. “It gets pretty hot. We want to wash up. But the

only bathroom we're allowed in is usually miles off the main highway," Gene Williams related to Johnson, who then in turn shared the story. And Zephyr Wright had to "go squat in the middle of the field to pee": Lyndon B. Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, pp. 153–54.

- 318 "My strength as President was then tenuous—I had no strong mandate from the people. I had not been elected to that office": *Ibid.*, p. 157.
- 318 The next presidential election was only eleven months away. Nor did he make the decision without a tremendous sense of personal loss: "It was destined to set me apart forever from the South, where I had been born and reared. It seemed likely to alienate me from some of the Southerners in Congress who had been my loyal friends for years": *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- 319 And yet, as a consequence of the civil rights movement, the country was changing, and so was Johnson. He intended to use "every ounce of strength": *Ibid.*, p. 157.
- 319 "struck by the enormous difference between Kennedy and Johnson." While Kennedy was personally sympathetic to the plight of Black Americans, he was "dry-eyed, realistic," whereas Johnson was passionate. Civil rights leaders Martin Luther King Jr. and Whitney Young also came away from their first meetings with the new president profoundly impressed by his "deep convictions": Caro, *The Passage of Power*, p. 90.
- 319 and "the depth of his concern": *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1963.
- 319 Indeed, King told friends that "it just might be that he's going to go where John Kennedy couldn't": Caro, *The Passage of Power*, p. 491.
- 319 "I knew that the slightest wavering on my part would give hope to the opposition's strategy of amending the bill to death": Lyndon B. Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, p. 157.
- 319 "Dick, I love you and I owe you," Johnson began. "I wouldn't have been leader without you. I wouldn't have been vice-president, and I wouldn't have been president. So everything I am, I owe to you, and that's why I wanted to tell you face to face, because I love you: Don't get in my way on this civil rights bill, or I'm going to run you down." "Well, Mr. President," Russell responded, "you may very well do that. But if you do, I promise, you'll not only lose the election, but you'll lose the South forever." Johnson retorted: "Dick, you may be right. But if that's the price I've got to pay, I'm going to gladly do it": McPherson and Valenti, "Achilles in the White House," p. 94.
- 320 For his part, Johnson envisioned a time when the old South could be freed from "old hostilities" and "old hatreds," when a new South would rise, "growing every hour," joined "in single purpose" with "every section of this country": Lyndon B. Johnson, "Remarks in Atlanta at a Breakfast of the Georgia Legislature," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, 1:648.

- 320 From the outset, Johnson knew that Russell's objective was "to talk the bill to death": *Lake Charles American Press* (Louisiana), April 7, 1964.
- 320 A master political strategist, Johnson was certain "that without Republican support"—given the split in the Democratic Party between Southerners and Northerners—"we'd have absolutely no chance of securing the two-thirds vote to defeat the filibuster. And I knew there was but one man who could secure us that support, the Republican senator from Illinois, Everett Dirksen," the Republican minority leader: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.
- 321 For Johnson, this issue went beyond party politics. Bipartisan unity was essential: "Unless we have the Republicans joining us," unless we "make this an American bill and not just a Democratic bill," there will be "mutiny in this goddamn country": *The Presidential Recordings of Lyndon B. Johnson*, 6:696.
- 321 "a laundry list": Kotz, *Judgment Days*, p. 117.
- 321 "I saw your exhibit at the World's Fair, and it said, 'The Land of Lincoln,'" Johnson pointed out. "And the man from Lincoln is going to pass this bill and I'm going to see that he gets proper credit": *The Presidential Recordings of Lyndon B. Johnson*, 6:662.
- 321 With a gift for flattery equal to Dirksen's vanity, he assured the senator "if you come with me on this bill, two hundred years from now there'll be only two people they'll remember from the state of Illinois: Abraham Lincoln and Everett Dirksen!": Califano Jr., *The Triumph & Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson*, p. xxvi.
- 322 "Happy anniversary," she told him with a laugh: *New York Times*, July 3, 1964.
- 322 "the sad truth that to the extent Negroes were imprisoned, so was I. On this day, July 2, 1964, I knew the positive side of that same truth: that to the extent Negroes were free, really free, so was I. And so was my country": Lyndon B. Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, p. 160.
- 323 As television cameras recorded the scene, "the mounted men charged. In minutes it was over, and more than sixty marchers lay injured, old women and young children among them. More than a score were taken to the hospital": *Independent Press Telegram* (Long Beach, Calif.), March 14, 1965.
- 324 "I speak tonight for the dignity of man and the destiny of democracy," Johnson began, speaking with determination. "I urge every member of both parties, Americans of all religions and of all colors, from every section of this country, to join me in that cause. At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama. . . . There is no Negro

problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight as Americans—not as Democrats or Republicans—we are met here as Americans to solve that problem. . . . There is no issue of States rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights. . . . But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and State of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life. Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice.” Here Johnson stopped briefly. He raised his arms and repeated the words of the old Baptist hymn. “And we . . . shall . . . overcome”: Lyndon B. Johnson, “Special Message to the Congress: The American Promise,” *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, 1:281, 284.

325 “There was an instant of silence,” one White House staffer recalled, “the gradually apprehended realization that the president had proclaimed, adopted as his own rallying cry, the anthem of Black protest, the hymn of a hundred embattled Black marches.” Then, in a matter of seconds, “almost the entire chamber—floor and gallery together—was standing, applauding, shouting, some stamping their feet”: Richard Goodwin, *Remembering America*, p. 334.

325 Johnson then continued. “The real hero of this struggle is the American Negro. His actions and protests, his courage to risk safety and even to risk his life, have awakened the conscience of this Nation. His demonstrations have been designed to call attention to injustice, designed to provoke change, designed to stir reform. He has called upon us to make good the promise of America. And who among us can say that we would have made the same progress were it not for his persistent bravery, and his faith in American democracy.” And then, as Johnson neared the close of his speech, he returned to his own experience as a teacher in the poor Mexican American community of Cotulla, Texas—the place where his ambitions were first joined with a deep sense of purpose. “Somehow you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of a young child. I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. It never even occurred to me in my fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students and to help people like them all over this country. But now I do have that chance—and I’ll let you in on a secret—I mean to use it. And I hope that you will use it with me”: *The Presidential Recordings: Lyndon B. Johnson*, 1:285, 286.

326 “What convinces is conviction,” Johnson liked to say. “You simply have to believe in the argument you are advancing”: Goodwin and Lyndon B. Johnson, *Conversations*.

326 In this instance, Johnson spoke directly from the heart. Listening to the

speech from Selma, John Lewis and Dr. King were overcome: “tears came down his face. Dr. King started crying and we all cried,” Lewis remembered years later. “And Dr. King said to me, ‘John, we will make it to Montgomery and the Voting Rights Act will be passed’”: Boeri, “The Making Of LBJ’s Historic ‘We Shall Overcome’ Speech.”

- 327 “Today is a triumph for freedom as huge as any victory that has ever been won on any battlefield”: Lyndon B. Johnson, “Remarks in the Capitol Rotunda at the Signing of the Voting Rights Act,” *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, 2:840–42.
- 327 “We are going to Congress because there are going to be some courageous men and women who may not be returning to Congress because of the stand they have taken on voting rights,” Luci remembered her father saying. “And there are going to be some extraordinary men and women who will be able to come to the Congress because of this great day”: Fields, “LBJ’s Daughter Luci Watched Him Sign Voting Rights Bill.”
- 327 The president told the assembled group: In just four months’ time, “this good Congress” worked together to pass “one of the most monumental laws in the entire history of American freedom.” Yet, even as he proclaimed the collapse of “the last of the legal barriers” to oppression, Johnson insisted that the fight for freedom had only just begun: Lyndon B. Johnson, “Remarks in the Capitol Rotunda at the Signing of the Voting Rights Act,” *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, 2:840–42.

EPILOGUE

- 331 “Let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation’s wounds. . . .”: Abraham Lincoln, “Second Inaugural Address,” in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8:332–33.
- 335 “an extension of the Bill of Rights,” an expanded definition of freedom requiring that every American have “the opportunity to develop to the best of his talents”: Lyndon B. Johnson, *The Vantage Point*, p. 104.
- 336 “to take a hard look at the racial injustice that continued to plague America” in 1972: Updegrove, “Progressives Have Failed to Heed LBJ’s Final Warning.”
- 336 Johnson was ill and attended against the advice of his doctors, focused keenly on the future—knowing full well his legacy had been cut in two by the Vietnam War. “Our objective must be to assure that all Americans play by the same rules and all Americans play against the same odds. . . . We know there is injustice. We know there is intolerance. We know there is discrimination and hate and suspicion, and we know there is division among us. But there is a larger truth. We have proved that great progress is possible. We know how much still remains to be done. And if our efforts continue, and if our will is strong, and if our hearts are right, and if courage remains our

- constant companion, then, my fellow Americans, I am confident we shall overcome”: Lyndon Baines Johnson Civil Rights Symposium Address.”
- 336 “Death had to take him sleeping,” Vice President Thomas Marshall cabled from Washington, “for if Roosevelt had been awake, there would have been a fight”: Renahan Jr., *The Lion’s Pride*, p. 222.
- 336 Roosevelt had savored “every hour” of being president, “the greatest office in the world,” he said: Straus, *Under Four Administrations*, p. 251.
- 336 He left office with the pride in knowing, as one writer said, that he had given himself to the duties that confronted him “without stint or limit”: Theodore Roosevelt, *The Foes of Our Own Household; The Great Adventure; Letters to His Children*; Wagenknecht, *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 329.
- 337 On the afternoon of April 12, 1945, FDR was having his portrait painted, and as they were about to break for lunch, he said, “I have a terrific pain in my head”: Margaret Suckley, Oral History, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
- 338 The New York Times reported, “in the streets of every American town, strangers stopped to commiserate with one another. Over and over again one heard the same lament: ‘We have lost our friend’”: McCormick, “A Man of the World and the World’s Man.”
- 338 One citizen wrote, “The greatest human tribute is that because one man died 130 million feel lonely”: Ben Vine, in “Tributes to the Late President,” *New York Times*, April 17, 1945.
- 338 Even so, abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass saw Lincoln as the complex man that he was, as well as a product of his times; not nearly as forward-thinking as radical abolitionists but, compared to the majority opinion in the country, a true reformer. “Viewed from the genuine abolition ground,” Douglass said, “Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined”: Douglass, “The Freedmen’s Monument to Abraham Lincoln.”
- 339 The streets were filled with people “drunk with joy,” strolling arm in arm, talking, laughing, singing: Montgomery C. Meigs, quoted in Segal, ed., *Conversations with Lincoln*, p. 393.
- 339 “Enough lives have been sacrificed,” Lincoln said. “We must extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and union.” To the question of what to do with the rebel leaders, Lincoln made clear that “none need expect he would take any part in hanging or killing those men, even the worst of them”: Welles, “Lincoln and Johnson,” p. 526.
- 339 He understood that their continued presence might hobble the process of healing, but he preferred to simply “frighten them out of the country, open the gates, let down the bars, scare them off;” emphasizing his intentions with

a gesture of uplifted palms as if shooin' sheep from the paddock. Lincoln said they should be informed, however, that "no attempt will be made to hinder them" if they voluntarily chose to leave the US. But "if they stay, they will be punished for their crimes": Winik, April 1865, p. 208.

- 340 "Let 'em up easy," Lincoln repeated on several occasions, "let 'em up easy": Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*, Vol. 6, p. 227.
- 340 "more glad, more serene": Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. 4, p. 29.
- 340 In the afternoon, Lincoln and Mary took a leisurely carriage drive. "You almost startle me by your great cheerfulness," Mary told her husband. He replied, "I have never felt better in my life": Winik, April 1865, p. 220.
- 340 When the gaslights dimmed, and the actors took the stage, Lincoln was able to surrender his mind "into other channels of thought": Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Times*, p. 191.
- 340 As the hour reached eight o'clock, Lincoln stood up. "I suppose it's time to go, though I would rather stay," he said: Hollister, *Life of Schuyler Colfax*, p. 253.
- 340 enjoying the evening with friends. "It had been advertised that we will be there and I cannot disappoint the people": Crook, in Gerry, ed., *Through Five Administrations*, p. 67.
- 340 Lincoln's assassin, the actor John Wilkes Booth, was a familiar figure in the theater world. Having learned by midday of the president's plans, Booth had decided that this night would provide the perfect chance to kill the man he considered an "even greater tyrant" than the ancient Roman ruler Julius Caesar. He believed history would honor him for the deed, and he would thereby achieve immortality: Donald, *Lincoln*, p. 597.
- 341 Booth raised his dagger and shouted the words "Sic semper tyrannis" (Thus always to tyrants): Wiley, ed., *The United States*, Vol. 5, p. 464.
- 341 "pulling down" rather than "building up": Abraham Lincoln, "Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois," in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1:114.
- 341 "Mr. Lincoln had so much vitality," doctors reported, that for nine hours after sustaining the wound that "would have killed most men instantly," he continued to struggle: Dr. Charles Sabin Taft, quoted in *The Diary of Horatio Nelson*.
- 341 "Now," Lincoln's secretary of war Edwin Stanton said, "he belongs to the ages": Edwin Stanton, quoted by Robert V. Bruce, "The Riddle of Death," in Boritt, ed., *The Lincoln Enigma*, p. 144.
- 342 "more perfect Union": preamble to the US Constitution (1787).
- 342 "bind up": Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," in Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8:333.