

# Contents

---

Preface xi

## CHAPTER 1

**The Constitutional Convention 1**

Antecedents 2

The Constitutional Convention 8

## CHAPTER 2

**Creating the Presidency 26**

The Making of the Presidency: An Overview 26

Number of the Executive 29

Selection and Succession 31

Term of Office 34

Removal 35

Institutional Separation from Congress 38

Enumerated Powers 40

The Vice Presidency 54

Ratifying the Constitution 57

## CHAPTER 3

**Implementing the Constitutional Presidency:**

**George Washington and John Adams 68**

The Election of George Washington 68

Making the Presidency Safe for Democracy 71

Forming the Executive Branch 73

Presidential “Supremacy” and the Conduct of the Executive Branch 75

Presidential Nonpartisanship and the Beginning of Party Conflict 78

Washington’s Retirement and the Jay Treaty:

The Constitutional Crisis of 1796 84

The 1796 Election 87

The Embattled Presidency of John Adams 88

The Alien and Sedition Acts 91

**CHAPTER 4**

<b>The Triumph of Jeffersonianism</b>	<b>97</b>
The “Revolution” of 1800	98
Jefferson’s War with the Judiciary	101
The Democratic-Republican Program and the Adjustment to Power	102
The Limits of “Popular” Leadership	106
The Twelfth Amendment	107
Jefferson’s Mixed Legacy	108
The Presidency of James Madison and the Rise of the House of Representatives	109
The Presidencies of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams	112

**CHAPTER 5**

<b>The Age of Jackson</b>	<b>121</b>
Jacksonian Democracy	122
The Rise of the Party Convention	125
Jackson’s Struggle with Congress	125
The Aftermath of the Bank Veto	127
The Decline of the Cabinet	129
The Limits of the Jacksonian Presidency	130
Martin Van Buren and the Panic of 1837	133
The Jacksonian Presidency Sustained	134
John Tyler and the Problem of Presidential Succession	137
The Presidency of James K. Polk	140
The Slavery Controversy and the Twilight of the Jacksonian Presidency	143

**CHAPTER 6**

<b>The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln</b>	<b>151</b>
Lincoln and the Slavery Controversy	153
The Election of 1860	155
Lincoln and Secession	157
Lincoln’s Wartime Measures	158
The Emancipation Proclamation	163
The Election of 1864	165
Lincoln’s Legacy	168

**CHAPTER 7**

<b>The Reaction against Presidential Power:</b>	
<b>Andrew Johnson to William McKinley</b>	<b>173</b>
Reconstruction and the Assault on Executive Authority	174
The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson	178
Ulysses S. Grant and the Abdication of Executive Power	180
The Fight to Restore Presidential Power	185
Congressional Government and the Prelude to a More Active Presidency	195

**CHAPTER 8****Progressive Politics and Executive Power:**

- The Presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft 208**  
 Theodore Roosevelt and the Expansion of Executive Power 210  
 The Troubled Presidency of William Howard Taft 226

**CHAPTER 9****Woodrow Wilson and the Defense of Popular Leadership 237**

- Woodrow Wilson's Theory of Executive Leadership 239  
 Wilson and Party Reform 241  
 The Art of Popular Leadership 242  
 Wilson's Relations with Congress 243  
 Wilson as World Leader 247

**CHAPTER 10****The Triumph of Conservative Republicanism 258**

- The Harding Era 260  
 The "Silent" Politics of Calvin Coolidge 267  
 Herbert C. Hoover and the Great Depression 271  
 The Twentieth Amendment 275

**CHAPTER 11****The Consolidation of the Modern Presidency:**

- Franklin D. Roosevelt to Dwight D. Eisenhower 280**  
 Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Modern Presidency 281  
 The Modern Presidency Sustained:  
 Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower 298

**CHAPTER 12****Personalizing the Presidency: John F. Kennedy to Jimmy Carter 323**

- John F. Kennedy and the Rise of the "Personal Presidency" 324  
 Lyndon B. Johnson and Presidential Government 331  
 The Twenty-fifth Amendment 337  
 The Presidency of Richard Nixon 340  
 Gerald R. Ford and the Post-Watergate Era 352  
 A President Named Jimmy 355

**CHAPTER 13****A Restoration of Presidential Power?**

- Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush 366**  
 The Reagan Revolution 366  
 Reagan's Legacy and the Accession of George Bush 379  
 The Bush Presidency 386

**CHAPTER 14**

<b>Bill Clinton and the Modern Presidency</b>	<b>398</b>
The Election of 1992	399
The First Year of the Clinton Presidency	401
The 1994 Election and the Restoration of Divided Government	406
The Comeback President	408
Balanced Budgets, Impeachment Politics, and the Limits of the “Third Way”	413

**CHAPTER 15**

<b>George W. Bush and Beyond</b>	<b>423</b>
The 2000 Election	424
<i>Bush v. Gore</i>	426
The Early Days of the Bush Presidency	428
September 11 and the War on Terrorism	431
An Expanded Presidency	433
Bush and the Republican Party	437
The Modern Presidency in the Twenty-first Century	441

**CHAPTER 16**

<b>The Vice Presidency</b>	<b>451</b>
The Founding Period	452
The Vice Presidency in the Nineteenth Century	455
Theodore Roosevelt to Harry S. Truman	458
The Modern Vice Presidency	461
Conclusion	474

**Appendix** 479

Constitution of the United States	481
U.S. Presidents and Vice Presidents	500
Summary of Presidential Elections, 1789–2004	503

**Index** 513