Presidents and Speakers: An Electoral Overview, 1789-2020

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The two highest ranking official in the United States federal government are the President who is atop the Executive Branch and whose powers are described in Article Two of the U.S. Constitution and the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives who is identified in Article One and has authority over the legislative branch that has the all-important taxing power. Unlike parliamentary systems, presidential systems separate the two posts from one another. They have different term lengths, different electoral constituencies and even different age requirements. Since neither depends upon the other, their relationships can be supportive or contentious. A key factor in those relationships is their respective political party affiliations. This 232 year overview identifies the names of those two key political actors and their respective affiliations. With divided party government between the presidency and the House increasing, identifying these two political actors and their affiliations provides a useful guide to whether cooperation or conflict may exist between these two major governmental institutions.

Keywords: Congress, Democrat, Democratic-Republican, divided government, Electoral College, Federalist, Jacksonian, Jeffersonian, Populist, president, Progressive, Republican, Speaker of the House, united government, vice president

INTRODUCTION

Assembling in Philadelphia in the late spring of 1787 to draft the new Constitution of the United States were fifty-five white men. Most were middle-aged, largely Protestant, most well-educated, some quite wealthy; others not; most but not all with legal training and a large proportion having served in prior legislative bodies, their provincial assemblies or in the Continental Congress. They were up to the task.

Years earlier, when the legendary Captain Ethan Allen of Vermont's Green Mountain Boys seized Fort Ticonderoga in upstate New York, he reputedly declared that he was seizing the fort "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." It was not only the colonists' first military victory over the British, the statement itself made clear that the United States of America would be the first major nation on earth to be founded by a legislature. The nation's legislative tradition is a lengthy and illustrious one.

That is why the First Article of the Constitution deals with Congress and it is why the first major public office designated in the document is the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives many

paragraphs before the office of President is designated in Article Two. It does not mean that the Speaker of the House is more important than the president. Rather, it simply means that the Founding Fathers were much more aware of legislative presiding officers than they were of executive ones. This is not surprising since most of the executive posts were filled with appointees of the Crown, not elected officials of the American colonists.

The thrust of this article is to provide a chronological rendering of which presidents served with which Speakers of the House and which pair of these leaders were from the same party and which pairs came from opposing ones. From 1789 to 2020, there have been 94 president-speaker pairs --fifty-seven same party pairs and thirty-seven different party pairs. Two presumed pairs have been eliminated: the 1841 President William Henry Harrison-Speaker John White pair was eliminated since Speaker White was elected by the House on May 31, 1841 close to two months after President Harrison died on April 4, 1841. The other eliminated pair is that of President Andrew Johnson and the one-day speakership of Theodore Pomeroy of New York who held the office on March 3, 1869 after Speaker Schuyler Colfax of Indiana resigned to be sworn the next day as vice president under President Ulysses S. Grant.

There are four cases of duplicated pairs. The first involves President George Washington and Speaker Frederick A.C. Muhlenberg who served as a partisan ally of Washington in the First Congress, 1789-91 and an adversary in the Third Congress, 1793-95. These pairs will be retained. Other cases occurred when Speaker Henry Clay left the House twice and returned twice resulting in two separate stints paired with both Presidents Madison and Monroe. Democratic Speaker Sam Rayburn had two separate stints with President Harry Truman, 1945-47 and 1949-53 following the loss of the House to Republicans in 1946. While Washington-Muhlenberg is a different party pair, the two non-concurrent pairs and the three duplicates are same party ones. Eliminating these five brings the overall number of cases to 89 – 53 same-party pairs and 36 different party ones.

There have been 45 different presidencies with 44 men holding the office with Grover Cleveland, the nation's 22nd and 24th president holding the office twice. There have been 54 different Speakers of the House, 53 men and one woman, Nancy Pelosi of California. The longest serving speaker was Sam Rayburn of Texas who served for seventeen years while the shortest was that of the one-day speakership of Theodore Pomeroy of New York in 1869.

Since 1789, there have been 116 Congresses of which 72 had presidents and speakers belonging to the same party and 44 belonging to opposing parties. Eight occupants of the speakership contended for the presidency with only James K. Polk of Tennessee victorious in 1844. Two were elected vice president: Speaker Schuyler Colfax of Indiana with President Ulysses S, Grant in 1868 and Speaker John Nance "Cactus Jack" Garner of Texas with President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936. One future Speaker, Paul D. Ryan of Wisconsin was nominated for vice president with Mitt Romney of Massachusetts in 2012.

The four longest same-party president-speaker pairs lasted six years: President Thomas Jefferson and Speaker Nathaniel Macon, 1801-07; President U.S. Grant and Speaker James G. Blaine, 1869-75; President Woodrow Wilson and Speaker James B. "Champ" Clark, 1913-19; and President George W. Bush and Speaker Dennis Hastert, 2001-07. Other lengthy same-party pairs of five years in length included those of President Andrew Jackson and Speaker Andrew Stevenson, 1829-34; President Harry Truman and Speaker Sam Rayburn, 1945-47 and 1949-53; and President Lyndon B. Johnson and Speaker John W. McCormack.

The two longest-serving opposing party pairs lasted six years each and were those of President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Speaker Sam Rayburn and President Ronald Reagan and Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr. 1981-87. With divided government increasingly common since 1947, it is not surprising that the longest opposing president-speaker pairs should be of relatively recent vintage.

Six states have produced 25 of the 54 speakers for 127 of the 232 years of the House's existence – eight speakers from Massachusetts serving for 39 years; four from Kentucky with 23 years of service; three from Texas with 21.5 years; three from Illinois with 17+ years; four from Virginia with 13 years; and three from Ohio with 13 years. More than half of the nation's history have seen the speakership held by men from only six states and the two longest continuous speakerships were held by the mentor-protégé

speakers from Massachusetts; the nine years of John McCormack, 1962-71 and the ten years of Tip O'Neill, 1977-87.

The president-speaker pairs are listed in this article in chronological order and their respective parties will be noted. Officers linked to the Democratic-Republican and Democratic parties will be CAPITALIZED while officers linked to the Federalist, National Republican, Whig and post-1854 Republican parties will be *italicized.* The lone third party Speaker Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts of the American Party who presided over the 34th Congress, 1855-57 will be underlined.

There are six different political party eras identified in this paper distinguished by a dominant party as determined by presidential victories and augmented by the number of united and divided Congresses within each era.

Era I: 1789-1824: Jeffersonian Period
Presidential Victories: Federalists three; Democratic-Republicans six. President and Speaker --seventeen same party Congresses and one different party Congress.

Era II: 1824-1860: Jacksonian Period
Presidential Victories: Democrats six; Whigs, two; and National Republicans one. President and Speaker -- eleven same party and seven different party Congresses.

Era III: 1860-1896: Early Republican Period
Presidential Victories: Republicans seven; Democrats two. President and Speaker --ten same party and eight different party Congresses. (Note: Andrew Johnson was a Union Democrat elected with Lincoln, a Republican President)

Era IV: 1896-1932: Republican Dominant Period
Presidential Victories: Republicans seven and Democrats two. President and Speaker -- fifteen same party and three different party Congresses.

Era V: 1932-1980: Democratic Dominant Period
Presidential Victories: Democrats eight and Republicans four. President and Speaker -- sixteen same party and eight different party Congresses.

Era VI: 1980-2020 Divided Government Period
Presidential Victories: Republicans six and Democrats four. President and Speaker: -- six same party and fourteen different party Congresses.

Era I: 1789-1824: Jeffersonian Period

Presidential Victories: Federalists Three; Democratic-Republicans Six. President and Speaker -- Seventeen Same Party and One Different Party Congresses

In his play about the American Revolution, *The Devil's Disciple*, Irish-born playwright George Bernard Shaw has a dramatic episode when a New England Presbyterian minister pulls off his ministerial vestments to reveal his Continental Army uniform. While it may be a bit of drama, it also was true. The minister was Pennsylvanian Lutheran John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg. It was his brother, also trained for the ministry, Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg who was the first elected Speaker of the US House of Representatives.

The new government that commenced in 1789 placed leaders from the four largest states of the Union in key places of power: Virginia's George Washington as President, John Adams of Massachusetts as Vice President, John Jay of New York as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Muhlenberg as Speaker of the House. (Washington-Muhlenberg, 1789-91) It was a time before political parties had started to take form and Washington's hope that factions would not cripple the government led him to name his ally, Alexander Hamilton as the first Secretary of the Treasury and fellow Virginian Thomas Jefferson as

Secretary of State. But the hoped-for subdued partisanship did not last long and tension between Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians erupted quickly. Hamilton supported a strong, centralized government to protect the economy and Jefferson favored state-centered decentralization to serve the interests of the yeoman farmer.

Jefferson's ally in the early Congresses, US Representative James Madison, espoused the Jeffersonian cause in the House while Muhlenberg, the Speaker, ostensibly represented the president's position. The second Speaker Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut was more committed to the Federalist agenda. (Washington-Trumbull, 1791-93) However, tension between Hamilton and Jefferson would lead to Jefferson leaving the Cabinet early in 1793 and creating a new political party. Jefferson's party was the Republicans, often designated as the Democratic-Republicans to distinguish it from the post 1854 Republican Party which exists to this day. Hamilton's faction was known as the Federalists because of their commitment to the authority of the federal government.

While the first election between these two factions resulted in Washington's 1792 unanimous re-election, the Jeffersonian Republicans won control of the House of Representatives with Muhlenberg regaining the speakership (Washington-Muhlennerg, 1793-95) Hamilton's Federalists continued their Senate majority. Thus, the first divided government in American political history was the House on one side versus the president and the Senate on the other. For most of American history, this was how divided government generally looked, with the House at variance from the other two elective institutions. Muhlenberg returned to the speakership as tensions with Great Britain began to escalate. The Jeffersonians were accused of being "Franco-men" supportive of France while the Federalists were "Anglo-men" supportive of Great Britain. The conflict came to a head over the Jay Treaty, negotiated by former Chief Justice John Jay, which was considered to be favorable to the interests of Great Britain. The conflict between the Franco-men and the Anglo-men was intense and Speaker Muhlenberg himself was stabbed on the street by his brother-in-law who opposed the Jay Treaty and was outraged by Muhlenberg's last-minute vote to fund the treaty.

It is contended that the battle over the Jay Treaty was the first party-creating cleavage (Charles). The Hamilton wing regained control of the House in 1794 with Federalist Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey becoming speaker. The government was no longer divided (Washington-Dayton, 1795-97) between its elective institutions. Federalist control was extended in 1796 when Vice President John Adams defeated Thomas Jefferson in that year's presidential election --71 electoral votes to 68. An examination of electoral votes indicates that it was a serious regional split, with Adams obtaining 59 of his 71 electoral votes north of the Potomac River while Jefferson obtained 56 of his 68 electoral votes south of the Potomac. Regional politics, which have continued to convulse the nation, were manifest as early as 1796. However, the Constitution originally stipulated that the Electoral College should give the presidency to the person with the most electoral votes, which was Adams, and the vice presidency to runner-up Thomas Jefferson. Adams and Jefferson, two men who had once collaborated on the Declaration of Independence and were ambassadors to England and France respectively during the writing of the Constitution were now obliged to serve together at the top of the government. While the government was ostensibly united with the President and both houses of Congress in the hands of the Federalists with Dayton continuing as speaker (J. Adams-Dayton, 1797-99) having Jefferson as Vice President made the appearance of unity more a façade than a reality. Jefferson was excluded from cabinet meetings and had little to do but preside over a Senate that was relatively inactive at the time. With little else to do, Jefferson wrote the manual of procedure for the House of Representatives, a document still in use today.

The Federalists held control of the government in 1798 (J. Adams-Sedgwick, 1799-1801) and named Hamilton ally Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts as speaker but it was in that year that the 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts were implemented. The Alien Act was intended to limit the naturalization of European newcomers to the States; by requiring a 14-year residency before one could apply for naturalization. The intent was to limit pro-French immigrants from voting out the Federalist Party. The Sedition Act was intended to punish newspaper editors who were critical of President Adams. Among the more notable targets of this act was Matthew Lyon of Vermont whose *Fair Haven Gazette* regularly assailed President

Adams and his policies, for which Lyon was imprisoned. Opposition to these acts was intense and Jeffersonians were eager to capitalize on that opposition.

The election of 1800 brought Adams and Jefferson into direct conflict once again. This time Jefferson won in large part due to the activities of Senator Aaron Burr, who delivered New York's 12 electoral votes to Jefferson after they had been lodged in the Adams column four years earlier. While Jefferson bested Adams in the Electoral College 73 to 65, Jefferson and Burr were tied with 73 votes. Because neither man had an absolute majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives had the constitutional duty to select the President. There were sixteen states in the union and the fear that the states would split evenly was borne out. Eight states voted for Jefferson, six states for Adams, and two states, Maryland and Vermont, were split; 4-4 for Maryland and 1-1 for Vermont. For 35 ballots, the House remained deadlocked between Jefferson and Burr. Finally, on the 36th ballot Vermont Representative Lewis Morris, nephew of Gouvernor Morris, an ally of Burr opponent Alexander Hamilton, chose not to attend, leaving only one Vermont Representative to cast his vote. It was Matthew Lyon who avenged his imprisonment by the Federalists by giving Thomas Jefferson a ninth state and the presidency.

Jefferson's House ally, James Madison joined the administration as secretary of state and the new Speaker of the US House would be Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina whose commitment to Jefferson was less than that of Madison. (Jefferson-Macon, 1801-07) This was a time when Speakers made all committee assignments for House members and Macon regularly chose Virginian John Randolph of Roanoke to be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. It was the House committee entrusted with generating revenue for the government through the imposition of taxes and tariffs. Since this power was lodged in the House by the Constitution and the House lodged in the Ways and Means Committee, this was clearly the most important committee in Congress. For many years the chairs of Ways and Means were regarded as the majority floor leaders of the US House. Jefferson and Randolph, who were distant cousins, were not fond of one another. Conflict between the two was inevitable. But Jefferson had other challenges, notably the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase that virtually doubled the size of the continental United States and the growing tension between Vice President Aaron Burr and his old rival Alexander Hamilton which would lead eventually to the fateful duel in 1804 between the two men in Weehawken New Jersey that ended the life of Hamilton.

Jefferson removed Burr from the ticket in 1804 and Congress passed the 12th Amendment changing the Electoral College's role in presidential selection. However, Macon remained as Speaker and Randolph as chair of Ways and Means. Jefferson's 162 to 14 electoral vote victory in 1804 and congressional victories in both chambers in 1806 enhanced his control of the party. Jefferson's allies removed Macon from the speakership and Randolph from chairing Ways and Means. It was the only time in the history of the House that a Democratic-affiliated party would remove a speaker who continued to serve in that chamber. Jefferson now had a compliant speaker in the person of Nathaniel Varnum of Massachusetts. (Jeffeson-Varnum, 1807-09).

Jefferson stepped aside in 1808 and Madison succeeded him as president. Madison also benefitted from Varnum's willingness to support presidential initiatives. (Madison-Varnum, 1809-11) But change was on the horizon. Varnum left the speakership for the Senate while young Representatives from the South and the West rose up to challenge the Virginia dynasty. Led by Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. These new members were able to get Henry Clay elected Speaker of the US House on his first day in that chamber in 1811. Clay had been a US Senator earlier, but found it much too tame for his tastes. As a House member, he would be able to rally supporters around his ambitious political and personal agenda (Madison-Clay, 1811-14).

In 1812, Madison won a narrow re-election victory over New York City Mayor DeWitt Clinton, nephew of Madison's first vice president George Clinton. Clay remained as speaker and focused on tensions with Great Britain that would eventuate in the War of 1812, which was one of the many international conflicts between Napoleon's France and Great Britain. Clay's "War Hawks" seized the agenda and hoped to wrest Canada from Great Britain. Although the British were primarily occupied with Napoleon, they were able to repulse American advances in Canada, capture Washington, and burn the

White House. It is doubtful if Britain wanted to reclaim authority over the wild and wooly Americans, so a truce was negotiated with the Treaty of Ghent concluded between these two contending parties. Unsurprisingly, one of the treaty's negotiators was Henry Clay, the war's major congressional instigator who resigned the speakership in favor of fellow "War Hawk" Langdon Cheves of South Carolina (Madison-Cheves, 1814-15). Although the War of 1812 is often described as "Mr. Madison's War," it may be more accurate to call it "Mr. Clay's War."

Clay's ambition was to become president. He returned to the speakership serving during Presidents Madison's last Congress, 1815-17 (Madison-Clay, 1815-17). Secretary of State James Monroe of Virginia followed Madison to the White House in 1817 and Clay served as speaker for five of James Monroe's eight years as president, 1817-20 and 1823-25. (Monroe-Clay, 1817-20). In 1820 Clay crafted the Missouri Compromise that allowed for the admission of Maine as a "free" state and Missouri as a "slave" one. These "free state-slave state" pairs were intended to preserve slavery by creating state parity in the US Senate. It also permitted the westward extension of slavery beyond the Mississippi River. Personal financial troubles led Clay to resign the speakership in 1820 and be replaced by John W. Taylor of New York, 1820-21 who was then followed by Philip P. Barbour of Virginia, 1821-23 (Monroe-Taylor, 1820-21 and Monroe-Barbour, 1821-23). Barbour would later be named to the Supreme Court in 1836 by Andrew Jackson, the only speaker to gain that honor.

The collapse of the Federalist Party following its ill-fated anti-war Hartford Convention had given the Virginia Dynasty unfettered control of the White House and both chambers of Congress, providing President Monroe with two electoral landslides – 183 to 34 in 1816 and 231 to 1 in 1820. Clay returned to the House in 1823 and was once again elected speaker (Monroe-Clay, 1823-25). Clay's eyes were now fastened on the presidency.

Era II: 1824-1860: Jacksonian Period

Presidential Victories: Democrats Six; Whigs, Two; and National Republicans One. President and Speaker -- Eleven Same Party and Seven Different Party Congresses

In 1824, Monroe's departure from the presidency led to a wide-open intraparty battle. With no opposition party, the 1824 election produced five Democratic-Republican candidates for president: Secretary of State John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford of Georgia, U.S. Senator Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, the victor of the battle of New Orleans, Speaker Henry Clay, and his fellow War Hawk Secretary of War John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. Calhoun was the first to drop out, and chose to run for vice president with the two front-runners, Jackson and Adams. The remaining four candidates split the electoral vote with Jackson finishing first, Adams second, Crawford third and Clay fourth. But none had a majority. The 12th Amendment of 1804 had ended the practice of giving the presidency to the Electoral College winner and the vice presidency to the runner-up. It limited presidential candidacies to the top three electoral vote getters who would be chosen in the House with each state casting one vote and the vice presidency to the top two contenders. Clay finished third in the first ever popular vote count but fourth in the electoral vote tally and was eliminated from contention. However, Clay was Speaker of the House and it was in the House that the final selection would be made making Clay the kingmaker in this contest. Thanks to Clay, John Quincy Adams, who trailed Jackson in the popular and electoral votes, won most of the House votes over Jackson, Clay's regional rival. Andrew Jackson's supporters were outraged, and their antipathy intensified when Adams named Henry Clay to be secretary of state, an office seen as penultimate to the presidency as evidenced by the ascendancies of Secretaries of State Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams to the White House.

Clay's 1825 departure from the House led to the return of John W. Taylor, now identified as an Anti-Jacksonian or National Republican, the new name of the JQ Adams-Clay party (JQ Adams-Taylor, 1825-27). Called "the corrupt bargain" by Jacksonians, Clay's naming led to yet another cleavage in American life, with the Jacksonians renamed as the Democrats and the Adams-Clay faction calling themselves National Republicans and later the Whigs. Two-party politics had returned to American life. Jackson's

Democrats gained control of the House in 1826 and with it, divided government returned with Jackson ally Andrew Stevenson of Virginia becoming speaker (JQ Adams-Stevenson, 1827-29).

Jackson's victory in 1828 over John Quincy Adams and Stevenson's continuance as speaker ended divided government. (Jackson-Stevenson, 1829-34) Party organization was consolidated in 1832, the first year in which Democrats used a national nominating convention to replace the resigned Vice President Calhoun with Secretary of State Martin Van Buren of New York. With Stevenson continuing as speaker, Jackson would have a compliant ally in the chair. Jackson, who first avenged his 1824 defeat by beating Adams in 1828, finished off Clay's second presidential bid in 1832. Stevenson provided Jackson with a very supportive House of Representatives. But Jackson's Democrats lost control of the House in 1834 as Stevenson's retirement and fragmented parties led to a one-year victory of the Whigs and the installation of John Bell of Tennessee as speaker (Jackson-Bell, 1834-35)

Democrats regained the House in the 1834 midterm and installed James K. Polk of Tennessee known as "Young Hickory" to serve with "Old Hickory" Andrew Jackson (Jackson-Polk, 1835-37). Vice President Van Buren was the presidential nominee of the Democrats in 1836 along with Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky. The opposition renamed themselves as the Whigs in deference to England's anti-monarchical party, contending that Jackson had become "King Andrew the First."

In 1836, the Whigs concocted an electoral strategy never attempted before or ever again. They ran three candidates for president – William Henry Harrison of Ohio, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee -- against Van Buren and two candidates for Vice President – John Tyler of Virginia and Francis Granger of New York -- against Richard Johnson. The intention was to force the election into the US House where 108 Democrats and 107 Whigs were almost evenly divided. The strategy failed in the House, as Van Buren had enough votes to win (Van Buren-Polk, 1837-39) but it partially succeeded in the Senate, where Granger forced vice presidential nominee Johnson to two ballots. When the Panic of 1837 struck and markets collapsed, Democrats lost the House and Robert M.T. Hunter of Virginia, a "Cotton Whig" became Speaker (Van Buren-Hunter, 1839-41).

Van Buren's presidency was in jeopardy. "Van Van the used-up man" was the 1840 cry echoing through the nation, and he was clobbered in the Electoral College by the elderly General William Henry Harrison and his vice-presidential nominee John Tyler. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was their rallying cry, and it was successful. Harrison's stint as president lasted 31 days and Tyler succeeded him but was known as "his accidency." The Whigs held the House with John White of Kentucky named as Speaker (W.H. Harrison-White, 1841 and Tyler-White, 1841-43). Since Harrison died on April 4, 1841 one month after being sworn in and the House chose White as Speaker on May 31, 1841, the two men never served conterminously. President Tyler was never wholly committed to the Whig agenda and his cabinet collapsed leading to the victory of the Democrats who named Jackson loyalist John W. Jones of Virginia as speaker (Tyler-Jones, 1843-45). Tyler would not run for renomination in 1844.

In 1844, for the third time, Henry Clay would be nominated. Opposing Clay was Tennessee Governor and ex-Speaker Democrat James K. Polk, often referred to as "Young Hickory." Polk thus became the first and only Speaker of the House to be elected President. John W. Davis, Democrat of Virginia was elected speaker (Polk-Davis, 1845-47). Polk's aggressive geopolitical agenda and his commitment to the concept of "manifest destiny" would lead to the Mexican War, 1846-48 and the annexation of Texas – a state the South was eager to acquire in order to maintain congressional majorities in support of slavery. Whigs regained the House in 1846 and named "Conscience Whig" Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts as speaker. (Pplk-Winthrop, 1847-49) Polk's presidency, generally regarded as a success, ended when health issues overtook him, and he chose not to run for renomination in 1848.

The Democrats nominated General Lewis Cass, a New Hampshire native who was the military governor of Michigan. A northerner by birth and not a slave-holder, Cass was a defender of slavery. He would be the first of four northern Democratic nominees known as "dough-faces," the term abolitionists used to describe northern defenders of slavery. Having succeeded earlier with a general, the Whigs chose another general as their nominee in 1848, Zachary Taylor, "Old, Rough and Ready," to be their nominee. Taylor was fundamentally apolitical and was unaware that he had been nominated for president until the Whigs sent a delegation to his Louisiana home to inform him of that fact. Taylor's one-time son-in-law

was Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, who was briefly married to Taylor's daughter who died at a very young age. Davis who would serve as Franklin Pierce's Secretary of War, 1853-57 would become the future president of the Confederacy.

General Taylor easily defeated General Cass in 1848 but neither house of Congress was won by the Whig party, making Taylor the first newly-elected president whose party held neither chamber of Congress. Democrat Howell Cobb of Georgia was chosen speaker (Taylor-Cobb, 1849-50) Like fellow General Harrison, Taylor would not survive his term, dying in July 1850. He was succeeded by Vice President Millard Fillmore of New York who had once been chair of the House Ways and Means Committee. Fillmore served with both Speakers Cobb and Linn Boyd of Kentucky (Fillmore-Cobb, 1850-51] and (Fillmore-Boyd, 1851-53). The issue of slavery heated up throughout the 1850s due to the results of the Census. The arrival of hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Europe, most notably Irish and German, had swollen the populations of the northern states. That growth led to a massive increase in the number of northern House members relative to the South.

The South, fearful of losing control of Congress and its protection of slavery, sought two avenues to protect their "peculiar institution." One was the Ostend Manifesto, a plan to invade Cuba and bring it into the union as a slave state with its substantial population of slaves; the other was the Compromise of 1850. The Compromise of 1850 was Senator Henry Clay's last major legislative achievement, along with Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois. Its centerpiece was the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which prevented slaves from gaining freedom by escaping north of the Mason Dixon line or the Ohio River. Slaves could now be pursued in the North, which led to the creation of the Underground Railroad to enable slaves to escape bondage by fleeing to Canada. The act, which essentially legitimized slavery throughout the nation, created a major backlash in the North, whose citizens were generally content to allow slavery to thrive in the South but to remain absent from the North. Fillmore did not run for re-nomination in 1852 so the Whigs chose another general to run in his stead, Mexican War General Winfield Scott, "Old Fuss and Feathers." It was that year that the two most charismatic Whig personalities, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster passed away. With their deaths and the overwhelming defeat of General Scott, the Whig Party faded into history.

Winning the presidency was Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, yet another doughface. Speaker Linn Boyd continued in office as the Democrats retained control of the House (Pierce-Boyd, 1853-55). The absence of a major party in 1854 led to the emergence of two new parties, one was the American Party, a northern anti-immigrant party with most of its ire directed at Irish Catholics who had settled in the cities. The Germans on the other hand, who outnumbered the Irish, moved to the agricultural Midwest and thus were less of a prominent target. The other new party to fill the vacuum was the Republican Party, comprised of the northern Whigs known as the "conscience Whigs" as opposed to the Southern Whigs known as the pro-slavery "cotton Whigs." Pierce, whose ineptitude was furthered by his alcoholism, lost control of his own administration.

It was during Pierce's time in office that the Kansas Nebraska Act of 1854 was passed. Written by Stephen Douglas, this act intended to let settlers in those two territories decide whether slavery would be permitted. It was an attempt to push slavery west across the Missouri River much as the1820 Missouri Compromise had pushed it past the Mississippi. It was anticipated that Nebraska would become a free state, but the real battle was in Kansas. New Englanders came to Kansas to bring it into the Union as a free state while pro-slavery Missourians tried to bring it in as a slave-state. Violence erupted throughout Kansas as Missourians called the "border ruffians" sacked Lawrence, the major abolitionist encampment. A band of northerners led by Connecticut-born John Brown executed five pro-slavery men in one night. It was a precursor to the Civil War. Congress was not immune as abolitionist US Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was brutally beaten on the floor of the Senate by pro-slavery US Representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina.

With both sides on the slavery question, holding firm to their positions, it is not surprising that it took two months and 133 ballots to elect American Party nominee Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts as speaker. (PIERCE-Banks, 1855-57) Pierce's inability to control his own party led him to be denied renomination in 1856, the only elected incumbent President to be so denied. The new Democratic

nominee was former Secretary of State James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, yet another dough-face. Buchanan was one of the architects of the Ostend Manifesto to invade Cuba and bring it in as slave state.

Buchanan was aided by the split within his opposition – the new Republican Party nominated John C. Fremont of California while the American Party which was presently holding the speakership nominated former President Millard Fillmore. The split within the opposition enabled Buchanan to win the presidency and Democrats to regain the House. with James L. Orr of South Carolina as speaker (Buchanan-Orr, 1857-59). Divided government returned in 1859 when the newly created Republicans elected freshman Representative William Pennington of New Jersey (Buchanan-Pennington, 1859-61) as speaker. But legislative matters would soon be overtaken by events as the South, fearful of northern congressional majorities, chose to strike first by attacking Fort Sumter in 1861. The Civil War had begun.

Era III: 1860-1896: Early Republican Period

Presidential Victories: Republicans Seven; Democrats Two. President and Speaker --Ten Same Party and Eight Different Party Congresses. (Note: Andrew Johnson was a Union Democrat Elected with Lincoln, a Republican President)

Outgoing President Buchanan was incapable of dealing with the secession crisis as six more states joined South Carolina in seceding from the Union. There is little question that it was mostly the election of Republican Abraham Lincoln that sped their departure, fearing that at long last their "peculiar institution" of slavery would be challenged more directly. Lincoln's victory over pro-slavery Southern Democrat Vice President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, ex-Speaker John Bell of Tennessee, the Constitutional Union nominee, and US Senator Stephen A. Douglas, the fourth and last dough-faced northern Democratic nominee was seen as a harbinger of what was to come and the South wanted no part of it. Four more states would leave the Union bringing the total to eleven within the Confederacy. With the departure of Southern Democrats from Congress, the newly empowered Republicans had large majorities in both chambers. Following Pennington's retirement after just one term, Galusha Grow of Pennsylvania gained the speakership. (Lincoln-Grow, 1861-63). Grow was unpopular in the House as well as in his district and was voted out of office in 1862. Lincoln was now a war time president and operated with minimal congressional constraints.

The new Speaker, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana was a charming political hack, known generally as "smiler Colfax." (Lincoln-Colfax, 1863-65) The real power in the House was wielded by Vermont-born Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania who left his chairmanship of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee in 1863 to become the first chair of the new Appropriations Committee. Stevens, who would be a mentor to James Garfield and James G. Blaine, was a deeply committed abolitionist. Lincoln was pushed by Senate abolitionists Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts and Benjamin Wade of Ohio who chaired the Select Committee on the Conduct of the War. They pressured Lincoln throughout the conflict.

Lincoln's declaration of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863 only applied to states "in rebellion" against the United States. A fuller declaration of opposition to slavery required a constitutional amendment. With Stevens pushing the House and Wade pushing the Senate, the 13th Amendment resulted in the abolition of slavery. Ratification was aided by northern military successes -- the 1863 Battle of Gettysburg, the takeover of the Union Army by General Ulysses S. Grant, and General William T. Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea that split the Confederacy in half. The end was near for the Confederacy and its commitment to slavery. This confluence of factors led to Lincoln's easy reelection in 1864 over Democratic candidate General George McClellan, Lincoln's first general, whom he had relieved of command.

Lincoln's second inauguration was in March 1865. Barely a month passed before he was assassinated. His successor, Tennessee war governor Andrew Johnson was a Union Democrat and a defender of both slavery and the Union. (A. Johnson-Colfax, 1865-69) His propensity to veto multiple pieces of legislation that sought to ameliorate the hardships facing the newly freed former slaves led to open warfare between the President and the Congress. Johnson issued 21 regular vetoes and eight pocket ones. Fifteen of his regular vetoes were overturned -- 71.4%, the highest percentage in American history. Stevens and the

House Republicans passed the Tenure of Office Act to protect anti-Johnson Secretary of War Edwin Stanton whose anticipated firing by Johnson led the House to impeach him. Ultimately, 11 articles against Johnson were passed by a majority in the House and sent to the Senate. In the Senate, Johnson's presidency was saved by a single vote, but it was clear that the anti-slavery Republicans were now dominant in Washington.

In 1868, Republicans nominated General Grant, the most successful of the Union generals, for president. Grant chose Speaker Colfax as his running-mate. The Grant-Colfax victory in 1868 created a one-day speakership replacement for Republican Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York (A. Johnson-Pomeroy, 1869)

The new speaker was Stevens' protégé James G. Blaine, Republican of Maine. It was a time when the war's expenditures led to criminal activity compromising both President Grant's Cabinet and Speaker Blaine. (Grant-Blaine, 1869-75) Grant was re-elected in 1872 over a strange amalgam of Democrats and liberal Republicans dismayed by the discernible corruption in the Grant administration. The return of many southern states to the Union and concerns about corruption gave Democrats control of the House in 1874 for the first time since 1858. The new Speaker, Michael Kerr of Indiana died at the midpoint of his term (Grant-Kerr, 1875-76) and he was replaced by Samuel Randall of Pennsylvania, a high-tariff Democrat (Grant-Randall, 1876-77). Divided government had returned to Washington.

The stakes were high in the 1876 election, with Republicans nominating former general and Ohio Governor Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrats nominating New York Governor Samuel J. Tilden. It was the closest electoral vote election in American History, with Hayes winning a one vote majority 185-184 thanks to the Union Army's remaining control of three southern states, despite his loss by two hundred and fifty thousand popular votes. To legitimize Hayes' election, a compromise was worked out: Hayes and William Wheeler of New York his vice president would not run for renomination, Union troops would be removed from the last three southern states, and Reconstruction would end. (Hayes-Randall, 1877-81) Thus began a period of American history with nine of the 11 Congresses between 1875 and 1897 with divided governments, most often with Republican presidents and Senates countered by Democratic Houses

The closest popular vote election occurred in 1880 with Republican U.S. Representative James A. Garfield of Ohio, Jim Blaine's closest ally and Thaddeus Stevens protégé defeating Democrat General Winfield S. Hancock of New Jersey. In the 1880 contest every former Confederate state voted for the Democratic Party. The solid South had emerged.

Republicans regained the House in 1880 and elected J. Warren Keifer of Ohio as speaker (Garfield-Keifer, 1881) Intraparty tension among Republicans led to two major factions; the Stalwarts, loyal to President Grant, were the more conservative faction while the Half-Breeds, led by Garfield and new Secretary of State James Blaine were more moderate. Charles Guiteau, a Stalwart, sought to tip the party balance in favor of his faction by murdering Garfield and placing Vice President Chester A. Arthur, a Stalwart, in the White House. (Arthur-Keifer, 1881-83) Republican factionalism contributed to the Democrats regaining the House in 1882 who installed John G. Carlisle of Kentucky as speaker (Arthur-CARLISLE, 1883-85)

US Senator Roscoe Conklng of New York, the leader of the Stalwarts failed in his efforts to obtain a third nomination for ex-President Grant in 1880 and an 1884 presidential nomination for his ally, President Arthur. Instead, it was the Half-Breed Senator and ex-Speaker James G. Blaine who would be nominated. The continuing closeness of the contests made it clear that the presidential succession system could be adversely affected by murder. The conflict within the Republican Party led to the election of New York Governor Grover Cleveland in 1884. Anxiety about presidential succession led to the passage of the Presidential Succession Act of 1886, which removed the Senate President pro tem and the House Speaker from the line of succession and replaced them with the Cabinet officers in order of the creation of their departments. It was now assumed that murder would not jeopardize the partisan results of an election.

Cleveland was a conservative fiscal Democrat and worked well with Speaker John G. Carlisle (Cleveland-Carlisle, 1885-89). In 1888, Cleveland won a plurality of the popular vote but with New York

and Indiana switching their 51 electoral votes from him to Senator Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, he was defeated in the Electoral College 233 to 158.

With Benjamin Harrison, grandson of ninth President William Henry Harrison as president, Republicans recaptured the House and elected the forceful Thomas B. (Czar) Reed of Maine as the new Speaker. (B. Harrison-Reed, 1889-91). He manipulated parliamentary procedure to guarantee Republican victories on the House floor. Reed's parliamentary procedures to thwart the Democratic minority were labeled "Reed's Rules" and Reed was often designated as the "Czar" of the House.

Financial troubles in Harrison's administration cost him popularity and the controversial McKinley Tariff ended Republican control of the House. A new force appeared from the Upper Midwest and the new Mountain states -- the Populists. Greatly angered by the fact that bankers in the East held their mortgages and lessened their livelihood, the Populist movement and statehood for North and South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming and Utah later brought to Congress fourteen new senators and eight new House members who would change the composition of those bodies. With Harrison's presidency in decline, Democrats reclaimed the House and installed English-born Charles Crisp of Georgia as speaker (B. Harrison-CRISP, 1891-93).

Grover Cleveland sought to return to the White House in 1892. The new third party, the Populists nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa for president. With the Populists cutting Republican vote margins, Cleveland regained the White House and with Crisp continuing as speaker, Democrats had only their third president-speaker pairing of the eighteen Congresses in this era. (Cleveland-Crisp, 1893-95).

In his second term, Cleveland named ex-Speaker Carlisle to be secretary of the treasury, but they were unable to undo the financial damage of the Panic of 1894 that would cost Democrats control of the House. With Republicans back in charge of the House, Thomas B. Reed returned as Speaker. (Cleveland-Reed, 1895-97) By 1896, the Democratic Party was in disarray. Its traditional eastern strongholds were now challenged by western Democrats who had allied themselves with the Populists and had anointed a champion in William Jennings Bryan. Their new firebrand champion from Nebraska took command of the Democratic convention with his spellbinding "Cross of Gold" speech and a Democratic Party that had nominated Cleveland three times for president refused to commend him for his presidency, dooming the party in the electoral vote rich states of the urban east. The Democrats were now a party of the South and the West, but with few electoral votes, it was not a party likely to win a presidential election.

Era IV: 1896-1932: Republican Dominant Period

Presidential Victories- Seven Republicans and Two Democrats. President and Speaker -- Fifteen Same Party and Three Different Party Congresses

William McKinley of Ohio who had lost his own seat in the 1890 congressional election, had been rehabilitated by Republican strategist Mark Hanna, who got McKinley elected governor of Ohio. At the 1896 convention McKinley and Reed faced off once again and this time it was McKinley who was successful while Reed gained the unpleasant chore of guiding McKinley's agenda through the House. (McKinley-Reed, 1897-99) It was an onerous task and Reed retired after just two years in the post to join a New York City law firm. That Reed chose to use the annexation of Hawaii, 5000 miles from Maine as his justification for leaving the House seemed contrived but a McKinley presidency was not one he wished to facilitate. Reed's ally and Appropriations Chair Joseph Cannon of Illinois hoped to succeed Reed as speaker but Senate Republicans had tired of Reed's dominance in Congress and engineered the election of David B. Henderson instead. Henderson was a one-legged, Scottish-born, Civil War veteran from Iowa. (McKinley-Henderson, 1899-1901) The Senate had asserted itself and now led by Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island, it sought to be the dominant branch. The Senate was aided by the Spanish-American War, with foreign policy moving to the top of the national agenda, the Senate would replace the House as the leading congressional chamber.

McKinley, who was easily re-elected in a 1900 rematch with Bryan, replaced his deceased Vice President Garrett Hobart of New Jersey with New York Governor Theodore Roosevelt, who had emerged from the Spanish-American War as a certifiable national hero. McKinley's murder in August of 1901 brought Teddy Roosevelt into the White House, prompting Mark Hanna to say, "that damned cowboy is

now President." (T. Roosevelt-Henderson, 1901-03) Speaker Henderson departed the House as a consequence of a rumored affair with the daughter of a US Senator who was a lobbyist. This opened the speakership for Joe Cannon. Yet another internal Republican conflict would emerge, this time between President Teddy Roosevelt who pushed a progressive agenda and Speaker Cannon who supported a conservative one. Roosevelt's ability to capture public attention through American mass media gave him the edge in these conflicts with Speaker Cannon. (T. Roosevelt-Cannon, 1903-09)

Roosevelt won the 1904 election in a landslide, seizing greater power from the House. Cannon, once dubbed "the tyrant from Illinois" sought to counter TR and increase his power by removing moderate Republicans from committee chairmanships and replacing them with his fellow conservatives. Cannon's heavy handedness would backfire.

Roosevelt chose to step aside from the presidency in 1908 and let his then good friend and Secretary of War William Howard Taft of Ohio run in his stead. Taft had the good fortune to run against William Jennings Bryan, whose third run for the presidency revealed his diminished appeal. With Taft as president instead of Roosevelt, rebels in the Republican Party of the House saw an opportunity to diminish the power of the speakership. (Taft-Cannon, 1909-11) With Democratic allies, led by Minority Leader Champ Clark of Missouri, the progressive Republicans were able to strip power from the speakership by removing Cannon from the chairmanship of the Rules Committee, removing his power to name all committee chairs, and by limiting his power of floor recognition.. For Clark, who had presidential aspirations, limiting the power of the speaker made sense. Democrats regained the House in the 1910 midterm and named Clark as Speaker (Taft-Clark, 1911-13).

In 1912, the eager Democrats met to name their nominees for the presidency. The Democrats had a two-thirds rule on its selection process since their inception as a party. It gave the South a veto over presidential and vice-presidential nominees. However, whatever its intent, its consequence was to prolong Democratic conventions often resulting in first ballot leaders denied the nomination. Clark had a lead on the first 29 ballots out of 46, but when it became clear that he would not get the necessary two thirds, New Jersey's Virginia-born Governor Woodrow Wilson gained the nomination with support from William Jennings Bryan.

The real conflict was in the Republican Party. Teddy Roosevelt had been disappointed that his progressive agenda had been replaced by the much more conservative one of President Taft. Taking advantage of a major political innovation, presidential preference primaries, Roosevelt easily captured most of the primary votes cast that year. However, only a dozen states held primaries and the Republican Convention was not obliged to honor them. Taft was re-nominated, and Teddy Roosevelt and his followers created a new political party. Calling themselves the Progressive Party, they nominated Teddy for president, and California Governor Hiram Johnson for vice president, they would win six states. Taft would win only two: Vermont and Utah. The split in the Republican Party gave Woodrow Wilson an electoral victory in 40 states. Wilson would now enter the presidency with a united Democratic Party; Champ Clark, first elected Speaker in 1911, remained at his post and committed himself to the Wilson agenda, (Wilson-Clark, 1913-19] very much unlike what Reed had done to McKinley.

Ratified in 1913, the 17th Amendment to the Constitution had removed state legislatures from the selection of senators and replaced them with the popular vote. Wilson's presidency benefitted from popularly-elected Democrats in both chambers for most of his presidency. As a one-time college professor, Wilson resurrected the practice of giving the State of the Union Address in person in the Hall of the House. Wilson was taken by the parliamentary system of Great Britain and sought to replicate aspects of it in the United States by acting as much as prime minister as he was president. With united government in his first six years, Wilson was a very successful legislative president.

However, across the ocean in Europe a crisis was emerging as "the Great War" pitted Great Britain, France, and Russia against Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Italy. Wilson hoped to keep the United States out of the battle and running for reelection in 1916, his campaign slogan "He Kept Us Out of War" was a successful one against ex-Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes, a former New York Governor. Wilson's victory kept the Democrats in charge of the presidency as well as the House, with Speaker Clark returning to his post as well. But the sinking of the Lusitania by German

submarines made it impossible to keep the United States out of the war. Congress voted to enter the war with 50 House members including Majority Leader Claude Kitchin (Dem-N.C.) voting against it. The entrance of the United States shortened the war and it was over by November 1918. However, it was an unpopular war and Wilson's Democrats lost control of both houses of Congress earlier that month.

The new speaker would be Republican Frederick Gillett of Massachusetts, who had defeated Minority Leader James R. Mann of Illinois, a Joe Cannon protégé, in the conference vote. (Wilson-Gillett, 1919-21) Leading the Republicans in the Senate was another native of Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge. Wilson's dream of a League of Nations which would guarantee post-war peace was scuttled by Senator Lodge. Wilson's effort to rally Americans in favor of his treaty was cut short by a debilitating stroke. The 1920 election would also prove problematic for the Democrats. Once again, the two-thirds rule would lead to a 44-ballot nomination battle with Ohio Governor James M. Cox named as the presidential nominee and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York named as his running mate. Eager Republicans took ten ballots to nominate Ohio US Senator Warren G. Harding for president and Massachusetts Governor Calvin Coolidge for vice president. The election was a mammoth landslide for the Republicans as they captured 37 states and lost only ten Confederate states and Oklahoma. Even Tennessee voted for Harding.

One less well-known fact of 1920 was that the Census revealed that immigration-related gains in urban places outnumbered those in rural ones for the first time in US history. Consequently, Republicans return to congressional power led to anti-immigrant legislation in 1921 and 1924 and to cancel reapportioning the House following the 1920 Census.

Massachusetts Republicans led both the House (Harding-Gillett, 1921-23) and the Senate with Speaker Gillett and Senate Majority Leader Henry Cabot Lodge respectively. Harding, an amiable but fundamentally underequipped president, quickly lost control of his administration. Yet another round of post-war largesse found its way into the pockets of Harding Cabinet members. Public knowledge of the scandal would lead the Democrats to make major gains in the 1922 midterm elections but not enough for control. Harding, beset with the scandal, went west and much like Wilson, would suffer a stroke, but unlike Wilson he would die. Harding's death brought Calvin Coolidge into the presidency.

The president, the speaker, and the Senate leader now all came from Massachusetts. With President Coolidge and Speaker Gillett graduates of Amherst College and Gillett and Lodge holding graduate degrees from Harvard, the trio formed a tight bond. (Coolidge-Gillett, 1923-25) The conservative policies emanating from this trio reanimated progressive Republican opposition that initially resulted in a 1923 nine ballot floor challenge to the re-election of Gillett as speaker and later to the 1924 Progressive presidential candidacy of Senator Robert M. LaFollette Sr. of Wisconsin.

While Coolidge was nominated easily in his own right the Democrats imploded. The post-war revival of the racist Ku Klux Klan sent more than three hundred voting delegates to the Democratic Convention in New York City making Democratic Party stances hugely unpopular. Emerging on the 103rd convention ballot was former Wilson Solicitor General John W. Davis and in a bow to their former populist roots, the vice-presidential nod went to Nebraska Governor Charles Bryan, brother of their former champion, William Jennings Bryan. The results were devastating. Although the electoral vote results for the Democrats were almost identical to 1920 their percentage of the popular vote was less than 30 percent, the worst popular vote defeat in the party's history. The Progressives did relatively well, but only captured electoral votes in LaFollette's home state of Wisconsin. Speaker Gillett was elected to the Senate in 1924 and was replaced as speaker by Nicholas Longworth of Ohio, the debonair husband of Teddy Roosevelt's vivacious oldest daughter Alice.

Longworth's charm and geniality lowered the tension level within the House Republican Party greatly aiding the limited agenda of President Coolidge (Coolidge-Longworth, 1925-29) Democrats, having been thumped badly in 1924, chose to reach out to urban constituencies by nominating a Catholic son of immigrants, Governor Al Smith of New York. President Coolidge, who had lapsed into clinical depression following the death of his younger son, announced that he would not run for reelection in 1928. Coolidge's departure opened the White House for Iowa-born Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover of California, who had successfully managed relief programs in Europe following the war.

With the urban Catholic Smith running against the rural Quaker Hoover, religion played a powerful role in the election, which was exacerbated by Americans' growing awareness that Prohibition "the noble experiment" mandated by the 18th Amendment was a failure. In spite of which, the "dry" Hoover carried 40 states while the "wet" Smith carried only eight – six in the South and the two most Catholic states in the Union, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. While Smith's electoral vote was smaller than that of 1924 Democratic nominee Davis, his popular vote percentage of 40.8% was much higher than Davis's 28.8% owing to increased city voters.

In 1928 House Democratic leader Finis Garrett of Tennessee ran unsuccessfully for the US Senate and was replaced by John Nance "Cactus Jack" Garner of Texas. Garner and Longworth both enjoyed alcohol and violated Prohibition by meeting in a small anteroom in the House that would be known as "the board of education." Hoover was sworn March 4, 1929 (Hoover-Longworth, 1929-31) but within seven months his presidency was stunned by the October collapse of the Stock Market. Republicans chose to raise rates in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930 thereby exporting American financial troubles to Europe. In 1930 Democrats gained the House due to Hoover's unpopularity and the deaths of a number of senior Republicans including Speaker Longworth.

Democrat Jack Garner was now speaker (Hoover-GARNER, 1931-33). Eager to regain the presidency, three Democrats emerged for their party's nomination, New York Franklin Roosevelt, ex-New York Governor Al Smith, and Speaker Garner. Roosevelt did well on the early ballots but fearing that the two thirds rule would doom him, efforts were made to reach out to California and Texas, states committed to Garner, by Boston-born New York financier Joseph P. Kennedy. He was instrumental in convincing William Randolph Hearst to shift Garner's votes to Roosevelt. When California switched, so too did Texas. The deadlock was broken, and Franklin Roosevelt was the presidential nominee with Garner the vice presidential one.

The Republican convention was far less sanguine. Hoover gained the nomination in spite of the fact that Republican challenger ex-U.S. Senator Joseph France of Maryland had won a popular vote plurality in the party's primaries. But as they had in 1912, Republican leaders ignored the primaries and re-nominated the sitting President.

Era V: 1932-1980: Democratic Dominant Period

Presidential Victories- Eight Democrats and Four Republican. President and Speaker -- Sixteen Same Party and Eight Different Party Congresses

In an election caught in the depths of the Depression, the Democrats went on to win a resounding victory. Hoover, who had carried 40 states four years earlier, would only win six in this contest. Democratic landslides in both the House and the Senate guaranteed that FDR would have a legislative mandate to implement his New Deal agenda. With Garner now presiding over the Senate as Vice President, Henry T. Rainey of Illinois, a Champ Clark ally, became speaker. (F. Roosevelt-Rainey, 1933-34) Rainey let FDR's minions set the legislative agenda and the 100 days led to the most ambitious agenda of a president in American history. Rainey, at 72, the oldest first-time elected speaker, died in 1934 but Roosevelt's success led the Democrats to expand their majority in the 1934 midterm election, one of the rare times in American history that this occurred.

The new Congress chose 66-year-old Joseph W. Byrns of Tennessee to be speaker (F. Roosevelt-Byrns, 1935-36) as FDR pushed the far-reaching programs of Social Security and the Wagner-Connery National Labor Relations Act. Byrns would die in 1936, the third speaker to die within five years.

Roosevelt's popularity peaked in the 1936 presidential election as he won the electoral votes of all but two of the 48 states. Congress in 1937 would open with Will Bankhead of Alabama as the new speaker. (F. Roosevelt-Bankhead, 1936-40) Bankhead, whose father and brother had both served in the US Senate, was congressional royalty. The Democratic majority was huge – 333 to 89 but much too large a majority to control effectively. With his giant majority in both the House and Senate, FDR made an ill-advised move to expand the Supreme Court by up to six additional Justices. FDR was incensed that the Court had declared unconstitutional eleven pieces of New Deal legislation. He failed in this effort and a revolt erupted in Congress, creating an alliance between Republicans and a large swath of conservative Southern

Democrats. Known as the Conservative Coalition, this alliance brought an end to many of FDR's more ambitious later initiatives. Democrats lost 71 seats in the 1938 election but retained party control of the chamber although they lost philosophical control of the House to the Conservative Coalition.

Trying to push the President's agenda in the face of this opposition caused a strain on Speaker Bankhead who would die in September 1940, the fourth consecutive speaker to die in office. Bankhead would be succeeded by Sam Rayburn of Texas (F. Roosevelt-Rayburn, 1940-45) who would be joined in the leadership by John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. The alliance of Rayburn and McCormack would be described as the "Austin-Boston Connection." These two would lead the House Democrats for the next 21 years, 1940-61 with no votes cast against their re-elections in the Democratic caucus.

War broke out again in Europe in 1939 following the Molotov-Von-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact that enabled Germany and the USSR to invade Poland. The Second World War had begun. Many Americans who were hesitant about World War I were adamant about not returning to European battlefields. This isolationist movement bothered FDR as he pondered running for an unprecedented third term in 1940. Convinced that he was the only Democrat who could hold his fragmented coalition together, he ran for renomination and was chosen once again. This time he carried 38 states and won another victory.

In 1941, new Speaker Sam Rayburn successfully marshalled the House behind three FDR initiatives, the Draft Extension Act, Lend-Lease, and the repeal of the Neutrality Act. That last act was followed by the December 7th Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, bringing the United States into the war. FDR's domestic initiatives were put aside as the United States fought the war in Europe and in the Pacific. Roosevelt and Rayburn remained steadfast in their commitment to protecting New Deal legislative gains amid the nation's wartime mobilization. Democrats continued to hold the House in 1942 and 1944, albeit with margins far less than had occurred in the decade of the 1930s.

It was in 1944 that Speaker Rayburn, Majority Leader McCormack, and Minority Leader Joe Martin of Massachusetts met with Secretary of War Henry Stimson, Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, and MIT Scientist Vannevar Bush to discuss funding for what Stimson would call "the war winner." It was the atomic bomb. The Manhattan Project, which supervised the building of the bomb, had worked stealthily throughout the war and very few members of Congress knew of its existence, but the three House leaders delivered the funds to complete the project/

Fighting a two-front war took its toll on the nation and pressure built to find a way to end combat on at least one of the fronts. American allies in Europe, the British and the Free French, were able to secure North Africa from General Erwin "The Desert Fox" Rommel, opening up the "soft underbelly" of Europe through the Italian peninsula helping to topple Benito Mussolini. On the Western edge of Europe, American and British forces mounted a successful invasion of France on June 6, 1944 –D Day. This was also an election year and FDR's quest for a fourth nomination met with far less opposition than had his 1940 quest for a third one. In November, FDR would carry 36 states and defeat New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

France would soon be liberated but the Nazi war machine had one last major gasp – the Battle of the Bulge in late 1944. That was the victory for the Allies that spelled the doom of Hitler's Third Reich. Italy's Mussolini was captured and executed. Victory in Europe ended that theater of war in May 1945 punctuated by the suicide death of Adolf Hitler. However, the war in the Pacific remained.

FDR died in April of 1945 and was succeeded by new President Harry Truman, a close friend of House leaders Rayburn and McCormack. (Truman-Rayburn, 1945-47) They knew of the Manhattan Project while Truman did not. Having vanquished Nazi Germany in Europe, Americans became even more anxious to end the war in the Pacific. Truman and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain believed that a land invasion of Japan would produce one million casualties. It was that belief, shared by the Allies' key decision makers, that led the Americans to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima in August of 1945. The Japanese did not surrender. But after a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, Imperial Japan chose to surrender to the Allies. With the war ended, President Truman had a Gallup approval rating of 87 percent, an approval score that remained as Gallup's highest until 1991. Both the leaders of Great Britain and the United States who had led their nations in the successful conclusion of the

war found themselves in electoral difficulty. Churchill was voted out of office in 1945 and Truman's Democrats lost control of both houses of Congress in 1946.

With Republicans in control of Congress and Joe Martin of Massachusetts as speaker, Truman was regarded as a lame duck (Truman-Martin, 1947-49) and it was anticipated that he would be voted out of office in the 1948 contest. The left of the Democratic Party defected in support of ex-Vice President Henry Wallace and the right flank broke with Truman after the 1948 Democratic convention when southern segregationists nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond for President. The Republican nominee opposing Truman was New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey who had lost to FDR in 1944. Dewey chose California Governor Earl Warren as his running mate, combining the electoral votes of two of the nation's largest states along with the two defections increased the odds against Truman retaining the White House. Despite these electoral catastrophes, Truman and the center of the Democratic Party held as black voters who might have returned to the Republican Party were pleased at Truman's executive order desegregating the armed forces and liberal Jewish voters who might have voted for Henry Wallace rewarded Truman for his early recognition of Israel. He was now elected in his own right.

Democrats regained the House and Rayburn returned as speaker (Truman-Rayburn, 1949-53). Truman's new term was fraught with controversy. Exploding inflation rates and tensions with the Soviet Union undermined his presidency. The United States was in a Cold War with the USSR in Europe and in a hot war with Soviet surrogates North Korea and China on the Korean peninsula. General Douglas McArthur, who had guided the Allies to victory over Japan in WWII, sought to break the back of North Korea by crossing the Yalu River into Mongolia. It was an ill-advised move as it brought China and its massive army into the war. China's army overwhelmed the United Nations forces, pushing them back across the 38th parallel that bisected Korea. This led to a stand-off and an uneasy truce would be negotiated. President Truman's popularity sank, and Republicans saw an opportunity to retake the White House and Congress.

Three Republicans sought the 1952 nomination: General Dwight D. Eisenhower, California Governor Earl Warren, and US Senator Robert Taft on his third quest for the office once held by his father William Howard Taft. Eisenhower won a narrow convention victory and named anti-Communist zealot 39-year-old Richard M. Nixon of California as the vice presidential nominee. They would be opposed by the Democratic candidate Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson who was nominated on his party's third ballot. Labeling Democrats the party of "Korea, Communism, and Corruption," Republicans Eisenhower and Nixon won an easy victory for the White House while Republicans gained small majorities in the House and Senate.

Republican Joe Martin became Speaker (Eisenhower-Martin, 1953-55) for the second time and his good friend and rival Sam Rayburn became Minority Leader. The anti-Communist undercurrent of this election burst into view when US Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin attacked Eisenhower's Secretary of the Army, Robert Stevens, for "coddling Communists" in the Army. McCarthy's charges, most of which were without merit, did substantial damage to the bipartisan comity that had flourished in the Congress. McCarthy would be censured by the Senate and his star waned as fast as it had risen, and he would be dead in 1957 at the age of 47. With anti-Communism a spent force by1954, Democrats regained control of both the House and the Senate in 1954.

Eisenhower was fond of the two Democratic leaders from Texas, Sam Rayburn in the House and Lyndon Johnson in the Senate (Eisenhower-RAYBURN, 1955-61) Ike was a Texan by birth, having been born in Rayburn's congressional district. He disliked partisan politicians and he found the two Bay State leaders, Democratic Majority Leader John McCormack and Republican Minority Leader Joe Martin difficult to deal with. Eisenhower's willingness to work with the Democratic leaders preserved most of the gains of FDR's New Deal, notably Social Security and rights for organized labor.

Eisenhower easily won renomination in 1956 and once again trounced Democratic nominee Adlai Stevenson. The most notable aspect of that election was the candidacy of US Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who narrowly lost the vice-presidential nomination to US Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee. Ike's victory in this election was larger than it had been in 1952. However. Democrats retained control of both the House and the Senate. It was the first time a successful presidential candidate

had failed to capture either house of Congress since 1848, when Whig Zachary Taylor was elected President while Democrats gained control of both houses of Congress.

Ike's success would be hindered by the 22nd Amendment. In response to FDR's four elected terms, the Republican-sponsored 22nd Amendment limiting presidents to two elected terms was passed in 1947 and ratified in 1951. Ironically, Republican Eisenhower would be the first president to be affected by this amendment.

The 1960 election was wide open. Republicans easily nominated 47-year-old Vice President Richard Nixon along with UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Although 43-year-old Democratic Senator John F. Kennedy faced more opposition, he too would be nominated on the first ballot along with his major rival, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Speaker Rayburn's favorite protégé. It was the closest election in modern American history, with little more than 100 thousand votes separating Kennedy and Nixon. Kennedy's victory had not produced gains for the House Democrats so he entered the White House with a diminished Democratic majority. Speaker Rayburn sought to guarantee passage of the Kennedy-Johnson agenda by successfully engineering the expansion of the House Rules Committee that had long been a bottle-neck to liberal legislation. (Kennedy-Rayburn, 1961) It would be Rayburn's last great victory. Kennedy struggled with foreign policy as the CIA-backed invasion of Cuba was foiled at the Bay of Pigs in April and an unimpressed Nikita Khrushchev pf the USSR authorized the construction of a wall in Berlin in August separating the city's Communist Eastern Sector from its three Western ones.

Rayburn succumbed to cancer in November and was succeeded as speaker by long-time Majority Leader John McCormack of Massachusetts, who was the leader of the rival political clan to Kennedy in the Bay State. Although both Kennedy and McCormack were Boston-born Catholic Democrats with Irish mothers, theirs would not be a wholly compatible relationship. (Kennedy-McCormack, 1962-63)

Crises on both the foreign and domestic fronts bedeviled President Kennedy. To protect his regime, Cuba's Fidel Castro allied himself with the Soviet Union, which was eager to establish a foothold in the Western hemisphere. On the domestic side, long-simmering racial tensions had led to numerous anti-segregation efforts by young African-Americans in restaurants, drugstores, and interstate busses. President Kennedy's brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was caught between the competing demands of young African Americans and Southern Democratic congressional leaders committed to segregation. Integrating the state universities of Mississippi in 1962 and Alabama in 1963 put the Kennedy administration in a difficult bind, but they chose the side of integration over segregation.

Kennedy's popularity in 1963 was moving downward jeopardizing his 1964 reelection plans. The key to his reelection would be to hold Texas, the largest southern state and one that no successful Democrat had won without. To keep Texas, President Kennedy and the first lady traveled in late November to a state rife with ideological and racial tension. Successful visits to San Antonio and Fort Worth gave Kennedy a false sense of comfort as he traveled in an open-air limousine. All of that ended in Dallas when three shots rang out from the Texas School Book Depository and John F. Kennedy, the nation's 35th President, was dead within the hour at the age of 46.

Kennedy's murder created difficulty for Speaker McCormack because the Presidential Succession Act of 1947 placed the speaker next in line to the vice president. This was a change from the previous 1886 law that had the Cabinet heads following the vice president in order of the department's creation. The photograph of soon-to-be 72-year-old Speaker John McCormack and 86-year-old Senate President pro tem Carl Hayden of Arizona behind new President Lyndon Johnson, who had suffered a serious heart attack, caused great concern. That concern led to the Presidential Succession and Disability 27th Amendment sponsored by Birch Bayh, the then-closest friend of Senator Ted Kennedy, JFK's youngest brother.

Echoes that week of lingering Kennedy-McCormack tension led the Kennedy family to try to prevent McCormack from eulogizing JFK in the Capitol Rotunda. The Kennedys backed off when they learned that the Rotunda belongs to the House and that if McCormack was not allowed to speak, the family would be denied the Rotunda.

For McCormack, whose relationship with the Kennedys had been difficult, there was the prospect of improved relations with the arrival of Lyndon Johnson in the White House. Both McCormack and Johnson adored Sam Rayburn and the two men exchanged letters of fulsome praise with one another throughout the five-plus years of the Johnson presidency. (L. Johnson-McCormack, 1963-69)

In 1963-64, Johnson initially sought to complete the Kennedy agenda, most notably with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Johnson was able to thwart Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's vice-presidential aspirations with the nomination of U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. McCormack presided over the 1964 convention, much as Sam Rayburn had presided over three previous ones. The rules of procedure for the national conventions are based on those of the House.

Johnson's 44-state landslide election over ultra-conservative US Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona placed 295 Democrats in the House, their largest number since FDR's 1936 landslide. With McCormack working closely with Larry O'Brien, the lone member of JFK's "Irish Mafia" to remain in the Johnson administration, the House succeeded in passing 93 percent of Johnson proposals. That high record of success lasted until 2009 when Speaker Nancy Pelosi delivered on 94% of President Barack Obama' House agenda. The key pieces of legislation of the 89th "Great Society" Congress were the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Immigration and Nationality Act that abolished national origin quotas, and the expansion of Social Security to include Medicare and Medicaid. For LBJ and McCormack these acts completed FDR's New Deal agenda.

However, troubles in Southeast Asia would cause the loss of legislative momentum as protests on college campuses erupted to oppose the Vietnam War. Now seen as Johnson's war, McCormack was a steadfast defender of the war effort, costing him support among the House's Democratic liberals. The 1966 election shrunk the Democratic majority and returned philosophical control of the House to the Conservative Coalition. President Johnson's March 1968 decision to not seek re-nomination coupled with the assassinations of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. in April and U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy in June created a major crisis of American confidence that fueled the candidacies of ex-Vice President Richard Nixon and segregationist Alabama ex-Governor George C. Wallace. Vice President Humphrey running in Johnson's stead received only 42% of the vote, 18 points lower than Johnson's 1964 tally. With Nixon in the White House, divided government returned to Washington. (Nixon-McCormack, 1969-71)

Opposition to McCormack's speakership grew and in 1969, 62 Democrats voted against him in the caucus with 58 votes for Morris Udall of Arizona and four for Wilbur Mills of Arkansas. It was the first voted challenge to a sitting Speaker since 1923. McCormack's grip on power was loosening and an influence peddling scandal involving his Chief of Staff Martin Sweig contributed to McCormack's desire to leave the House. After nine consecutive years as Speaker, McCormack retired from public life in 1971, the first speaker to do so since David Henderson in 1903.

McCormack's successor was Majority Leader Carl Albert of Oklahoma, a Sam Rayburn protégé whose Oklahoma district was directly across the Red River from Rayburn's Texas district. (Nixon-Albert, 1971-74) Albert was joined by Majority Leader Hale Boggs of Louisiana and McCormack protégé Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill, Jr. of Massachusetts who was named Whip. It was Boggs' 1972 disappearance in a flight over Alaska that led to his replacement by O'Neill as the Austin-Boston connection continued.

Opposition to the Vietnam War in 1972 led Democrats to nominate US Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota, who was overwhelmed in 49 states by a Nixon re-election campaign trafficking in "dirty tricks" that would be exposed in the Watergate investigations of 1973-74 resulting in Nixon's August 1974 resignation.

Carl Albert was more accommodating to Nixon than O'Neill would be. It was O'Neill that pushed for the House's Watergate investigation that would lead to Nixon's resignation. Nixon's successor, Vice President Gerald R. Ford Jr. of Michigan, had been House Minority Leader 1965-1973 and was well acquainted with Albert and O'Neill. (Ford-Albert, 1974-77) However, the arrival of 70 Democrats in the House, known as the "Watergate babies," rendered the Ford presidency into near irrelevance. Ford's difficult nomination battle with ex-Governor Ronald Reagan of California made his candidacy vulnerable

to the relatively unknown one-term Governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter. It was a close contest that Carter narrowly won.

Carter/s anti-Washington campaign in 1976 did not endear him to the congressional Democrats. (Carter-O'Neill, 1977-81) Difficulties between new President Carter and new Speaker O'Neill surfaced immediately, with O'Neill convinced that Carter had no interest in understanding the ways that Washington worked. While Democrats held the House in 1978, it was clear that Carter's hold on the party was tenuous. Senator Ted Kennedy mounted a serious challenge to Carter's 1980 re-nomination. Carter won a narrow victory at the Democratic Convention but was confronted with Ronald Reagan, whose third effort at the Republican nomination was successful. Complicating the race was a third candidate – US Representative John B. Anderson of Illinois, a moderate Republican who chose to run as an Independent. Only two debates were held, Reagan defeated Anderson in the first debate that Carter chose not to attend and the second debate where Reagan easily outshone Carter. The election was not close. Carter's six state tally was the worst showing for an incumbent Democrat in American history.

Era VI: 1980-2020 Divided Government Period

Presidential Victories- Six Republican and Four Democratic. President and Speaker: -- Six Same Party and Fourteen Different Party Congresses

While Carter faltered and Reagan succeeded, the House Democrats chose a survivalist strategy avoiding Carter and retained control of the House, but Democratic Senate losses of 12 seats gave control of that chamber to the Republicans for the first time since 1954.

Reagan's popularity was slow to develop. His victory was more a repudiation of Carter than it was an endorsement of him. Reagan was relatively successful with the Democratic House in his first year thanks to the votes of 50+ mostly Southern conservative Democrats popularly known as the "Boll Weevils." (Reagan-O'Neill, 1981-87) Rising unemployment in Reagan's second year led to defections among 20+ northern moderate Republicans, calling themselves the "Gypsy Moths." Fully one fifth of the House members were now voting against their party leaders. O'Neill benefited and became the dominant national figure.

Running for re-election in 1984, Reagan ran against Carter's Vice President Walter Mondale, who was heavily burdened by the Carter legacy. Reagan would go on to win re-election with the second ever 49 state landslide. But O'Neill's Democrats insulated themselves from Mondale and continued to hold the House while Republicans retained the Senate. Speaker O'Neill was quite fond of Reagan personally even though he disliked the president's policies. O'Neill was always careful to attack only Reagan policies and never attacked Reagan personally, believing that Reagan probably knew relatively little about his policies. O'Neill did say that Reagan forgot where he came from -- lower-middle class Irish origins, like those of O'Neill himself.

Fearing that Nicaragua might follow the Communist path of Cuba, Reagan administration operatives sought to remove Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega from office. An earlier CIA effort to mine the harbor of Managua had failed. Other efforts were thwarted by the Boland Amendment written by Eddie Boland (D-Mass.), O'Neill's former roommate. The amendment prevented government money from being used to overthrow Ortega's *Sandinista* government. Reagan operatives then hatched an elaborate scheme to overthrow the Nicaraguan president and to rescue American hostages being held in Lebanon by Hezbollah Shi'ite Muslims. The plan was to sell missiles to the Shi'ite Muslims in Iran, then at war with Sunni Muslims in Iraq, who were our presumed allies. It was hoped that the Iranian Muslims would influence Hezbollah to free the American hostages and send payment for the missiles to a Swiss bank with its numbered only accounts.

The next part of the plan was to give anti-Ortega *contra* rebels access to the Swiss bank funds to get around the Boland Amendment prohibitions. Shortly after the 1986 election returned control of the Senate to Democrats, the plot was exposed when CIA operatives were captured in Honduras. Now known as "the Iran-Contra Affair," Reagan had to face opposition from both chambers that named a joint investigating committee. The scandal touched Reagan, who admitted that although he had once believed that there was no trade of arms for hostages, that is exactly what had occurred.

Reagan's popularity had rebounded from his first term and given that he was on the edge of retirement no serious impeachment efforts were made. New Speaker James C. Wright Jr. of Texas, who had served as O'Neill's majority leader for ten years fancied himself as a foreign policy expert and tried to intervene in foreign policy much as Speaker Henry Clay had done a century and a half earlier. (Reagan-Wright, 1987-89)

When Reagan left the White House, he was succeeded by Vice President George H.W. Bush, the first vice president to succeed a fellow partisan as president by election since Martin Van Buren succeeded Andrew Jackson in 1836. Because Bush, a former director of the CIA, ambassador to China, and representative to the United Nations, was truly a foreign policy expert, Wright's efforts were unappreciated. (GHW Bush-Wright, 1989) When it was learned that Wright had concocted a sweetheart book publishing deal and a no-show job for his second wife, he ran afoul of House ethics rules. Leading the charge against Wright was Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who pressured Wright into resigning from the House in June 1989, thereby ending the Austin-Boston connection to the speakership after more than a half century.

The new Speaker, Thomas S. Foley of Washington State inherited a Democratic House that was confronting a more aggressive House Republican Party urged on by Gingrich. (GHW Bush-Foley, 1989-93) President Bush, facing Democratic control in both the House and Senate, spent most of his time on foreign policy that led to the overthrow of dictator Manuel Noriega in Panama and the liberation of Kuwait from Iraq's Saddam Hussein. Bush was also the presumed beneficiary of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. Anti-Communism had been the glue that kept the social, economic, and foreign policy conservatives united and without this unifying element, each group went their separate ways with social conservatives fixated on abortion and opposition to gay rights; the economic conservatives to the lowering of taxes; and the emboldened foreign policy conservatives committed to nation-building throughout the world along the American model of capitalist democracy.

But Bush's neglect of a serious slow-down in the American economy, then mired in high unemployment and inflation numbers would jeopardize his presidency. The budget deficit had increased due to Republican tax cuts and Democratic entitlement policies. H. Ross Perot, a Texas software billionaire, charged both parties with the nation's growing deficit. Bush violated his 1988 "no new taxes" pledge by raising taxes in 1990, losing some Republican support and obliging him to fend off primary challenger Pat Buchanan en route to re-nomination. On the Democratic side, multiple candidacies emerged with the eventual nominee being Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, a founder of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council. Clinton chose fellow southern moderate liberal Al Gore from Tennessee as his running-mate. The synergy between these two 40-something, young, moderate liberal southerners aided by anti-tax Republicans who voted for Ross Perot overtook President Bush, whose 1992 defeat rivaled that of defeated President William Howard Taft in 1912.

Clinton was able to overcome scandals concerning his avoidance of the draft in Vietnam and allegations of womanizing by focusing on the economy and by the strident defenses of his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, like Bill a Yale Law graduate. Clinton and Speaker Foley worked well together, (Clinton-Foley, 1993-95) Clinton's decisions to permit gays to serve in the military with his "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: policy infuriated conservative Christians and members of the Armed Forces who had served, while Clinton had not. In 1994, Gingrich, now the new Minority Leader along with fellow conservatives drafted a "Contract with America" with poll-tested new labels for old Republican policies. Most House Republican candidates signed on and Gingrich was able to produce a Republican majority in the House for the first time since 1954. Republicans had also succeeded in recapturing the Senate with Robert Dole of Kansas as Majority Leader. New Speaker Gingrich emerged as the most powerful member of the government. (Clinton-Gingrich, 1995-99)

Clinton's popularity plummeted as he readied himself for the 1996 election, with Dole emerging as the likeliest Republican contender. Clinton developed a strategy of "triangulation" with policies that pleased both sides: higher taxes for the rich in 1993-94, pleasing Democrats and in 1995-96, support for welfare reform and the "Defense of Marriage Act" to please Republicans. While it helped Clinton defeat Dole in the 1996 presidential contest, it left Republicans in control of both the House and the Senate. It

was the first time ever that a Democrat had been elected President while his party lost both congressional chambers. It had happened to Republicans Eisenhower in 1956, Nixon in 1968 and 1972, and George H.W. Bush in 1988, but never to a Democrat before.

Clinton's administration was investigated for an Arkansas land deal called Whitewater and in the process some romantic scandals emerged with Paula Jones, an Arkansas state employee, and Monica Lewinsky, a White House intern. Republicans seized upon the Lewinsky case and voted to impeach Clinton on obstruction of justice and lying to a federal grand jury. Because most Americans considered the votes to be an over reach, Clinton scored his highest Gallup Poll favorability number the day that the House voted to impeach him. The 1998 midterms reflected that attitude and Democrats gained seats in both Houses as a consequence. The party split in the Senate was 55 Republicans and 45 Democrats who remained united in support of Clinton. Needing 67 Senate votes to remove Clinton from office, only 50 Republicans supported the obstruction charge and only 45 supported the charge of perjury, nowhere near the votes needed to remove the President from office. Clinton survived.

Republican patience had worn thin with Gingrich's grandiosity and he was urged to leave the speakership. In 1999, Gingrich was replaced by Denny Hastert of Illinois, a solid but unimpressive conservative. With Clinton's presidency ending in 2000, politics moved into a pre-presidential mode. (CLINTON-Hastert, 1999-2001)

Vice President Al Gore easily defeated US Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey for the Democratic nomination while Texas Governor George W. Bush, son of President George H.W. Bush, had a more difficult time gaining the Republican nomination over US Senator John S. McCain III of Arizona. The general election was remarkably close with the results of Florida's 25 electoral votes in doubt for weeks until finally decided when the Supreme Court ruled 5-4 in Bush's favor. All five Bush supporters were Republican appointees while the four opponents consisted of two Democratic and two Republican nominees. Bush's narrow electoral vote victory and non-plurality in the popular vote provided him no "honeymoon" period in his early months. Complicating matters for Bush was the fact that the Senate was evenly split with 50 Democrats and 50 Republicans. Control shifted to the Democrats when Vermont liberal Republican Jim Jeffords left the GOP to sit as an Independent, giving Democrats a 50-49 seat edge.

With minimal momentum the Bush administration had stagnated despite unwavering support from Speaker Hastert. (GW Bush-Hastert, 2001-07) Everything changed on September 11, 2001 when Arab terrorists, mostly Saudi, seized four commercial airplanes, driving two into the World Trade Towers in New York City and one into the Pentagon. The fourth fell to the ground in Pennsylvania after enraged passengers had wrested control of the plane from the terrorists who had hijacked it. In the wake of this direct attack on the nation itself, President Bush's popularity rose to 90 percent, one point higher than the prior high of his father following the successful conclusion of the first Gulf War. George W. Bush now had his mandate and the administration drafted and Congress passed, the far-reaching Patriot Act.

Bush's new-found popularity helped Republicans regain control of the Senate and continue to hold the House in the 2002 midterms. This was the first united government Congress for a Republican President since Eisenhower's 83rd Congress in 1953-54. An emboldened Bush sought to "finish the job" of removing Iraq's Saddam Hussein from power. The Second Gulf War was far less successful, and the US became mired in it, costing Bush popularity. Bush ran for reelection in 2004, winning a very close contest with US Senator John F. Kerry of Massachusetts. This contest was not as close as that in 2000, but Bush lost his electoral mandate. He continued to push his fiscal policies, one of which threatened Social Security. Democrats seized upon this and in 2006 regained control of the House, selecting Minority Leader Nancy D. Pelosi as the first female speaker in 2007.

Pelosi resisted most of Bush's initiatives and his Presidential support score of 14 percent in 2007 was the lowest ever recorded at that time (GW Bush-Pelosi, 2007-09). Bush's popularity fell below 30 percent and eager Democrats rallied around the presidential candidacies of African American US Senator Barack Obama of Illinois and US Senator Hillary Clinton of New York. Theirs was a contentious battle, but Obama prevailed. On the other side, none of Bush's loyalists sought the nomination, which went to US Senator John S. McCain of Arizona who had lost to Bush in 2000. McCain chose Alaska Governor Sarah

Palin as his running mate. It was an effort to counter the positive buzz that Obama's diversity nomination had generated and to gain female votes from disappointed Hillary Clinton supporters. It was quickly revealed that Governor Palin was out of her depth as a national candidate and she emerged as more of a liability than an asset for McCain.

Obama and his running mate US Senator Joseph R. Biden of Delaware had bonded during their service on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and were an effective team. Speaker Pelosi was amenable to Obama initiatives and he achieved a House support score of 94.4% in 2009. His signature policy was the Affordable Care Act. (Obama-Pelosi, 2009-11). Republican opposition to "Obamacare," as it was known, held that "death panels" would shorten the lives of elderly expensive patients. Leading the opposition were highly conservative Republicans calling themselves the Tea Party. Republicans quickly seized the electoral narrative and cost the Democrats over sixty House seats in 2010. The new speaker was John Boehner of Ohio, who was less conservative than the Tea Party and found himself fending off fellow Republicans during his time as Speaker (Obama-Boehner, 2011-15). The sizable loss of the House in 2010 led Republicans to believe that they would recapture the White House in 2012. A highly contentious nomination battle occurred in 2012 with ex-Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney defeating former Speaker Gingrich among others. Romney chose Paul Ryan of Wisconsin , a rising Republican star in the House to run with him. Unlike 2008, this contest was much closer. But when the dust settled, Obama had been re-elected. Much like Clinton, he had to face a Republican House and Senate for his second term (Obama-Ryan, 2015-17).

Voting turnout had declined in 2012 due to the disappearance of many white males from the polls. It had become clear that white resentment toward African American Obama would be a potent political force. Realizing that, New York hotel magnate Donald J. Trump chose to promote the belief that Obama was born in Africa and as such was ineligible to be president since he was not a native-born citizen. The belief was known as 'birtherism."

With Obama unable to run for a third term in 2016, Democrats had virtually conceded the nomination in 2016 to Hillary Clinton, whose credentials apart from being President Clinton's wife included being a Senator from New York, 2001-08 and Obama's Secretary of State, 2009-12. But she was burdened with her husband's scandals and her own difficulty in projecting a positive campaign identity. Three minor Democrats, Maryland Governor Martin O'Malley, US Senator Jim Webb, of Virginia and US Senator Lincoln Chaffey of Rhode Island disappeared early, leaving Clinton with only one major unlikely challenger: US Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont who had run as an Independent but chose to caucus with the Senate Democrats.

A 74-year-old Jewish senator identified as a socialist Independent from the second smallest state in the Union should have been easy to defeat. However, Mrs. Clinton's negative baggage was sufficiently large so that Senator Sanders was able to capture victories in 23 primaries, a clear indication of Mrs. Clinton's electability difficulties.

On the other side, 17 Republicans stepped forth to run for their nomination; eight Governors, five US Senators, and a few private citizens, most notably New York real estate developer and television celebrity Donald J. Trump. Trump's appeal to resentful less well-educated white males enabled him to eliminate his opposition one by one and to win the nomination easily. Trump's penchant for grandiose claims about himself and his willingness to verbally disparage and insult his opponents made him a curious nominee for the nation's highest office. However, many Americans had tired of conventional politicians and wished to "shake things up." With a unique alliance of resentful white males, rural voters, evangelicals troubled by legislative gains by gays, and others tired of politics as usual carried the day for Trump. His victory, like that of George W. Bush, was not in the popular vote, but in the Electoral College in which his victories in long-time Democratic states of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, had given him the win over Mrs. Clinton.

Trump entered the White House with Speaker Paul Ryan of Wisconsin who had replaced John Boehner in 2015. (Trump-Ryan, 2017-19) Ryan, who opposed Trump earlier had become aware that Trump's followers constituted a solid base within the Republican Party and one that would retaliate against any Republican who challenged Trump's policies. Intimidated by the Trump base, Ryan delivered

on every one of Trump's initiatives in the US House. Long-time Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell of Kentucky was similarly cowed by the Trump base. Consequently, despite multiple allegations of wrongdoing by several Trump appointees and ongoing turmoil within the White House itself, Trump's congressional successes were remarkable. All that would end in the 2018 midterm election when Democrats, mostly thanks to educated suburban women, would gain 40 seats in the US House. Republicans gained two seats in the Senate, but it was the House that would alter the political equation.

Facing initial internal opposition to her return to the speakership, Nancy Pelosi regained the office after an eight-year absence. (Trump-Pelosi, 2019-21) She had now become the symbol of resistance to Donald Trump. President-speaker divided government had returned to Washington for the fourteenth of the twenty Congresses since 1980.

Divided government has serious consequences and they are in evidence today as the Pelosi-led Democratic House voted for two articles of impeachment against Republican President Donald Trump which were voided by the Republican Senate in 2020.

Republican President Richard Nixon was cited by the Democratic House of the 93rd Congress in 1974 for three impeachable articles. Rather than face removal by the Democratic Senate, Nixon chose to resign the presidency in August 1974. Democratic President Bill Clinton was cited by the Republican House of the 105th Congress for two impeachable offenses – perjury and obstruction of justice. However. the Republican-controlled Senate voted not to remove Clinton on either count.

This latest impeachment threat arising from a government divided between a president and a House is complicated by the further division of a Democratic House and a Republican Senate. This simple fact makes it highly unlikely that Senate Republicans will echo any impeachment resolution launched by House Democrats. Divided government may ultimately spare the Trump presidency from an ignominious ending. It is yet another irony of the Constitution's complex separation of powers. Whether the Founding Fathers would be pleased with this outcome can never be known but this is the government they designed and it is one we must accept, if not necessarily extol.

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