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JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2017



Electoral College Primer Women On The Ballot

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CAMPAIGNING A FOR PRESIDENT







Library of Congress Magazine Vol. 7 No. 1: January/February 2017

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In This Issue DANUARY/FEBRUARY 2017

FEATURES

A Primer on the Electoral College

At the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the founding fathers devised a system to elect the president that was designed to be fair to all of the states, no matter how populous.

Campaigning for President Presidential candidates have used the tools of popular culture to promote their campaigns and capture the imagination of the public for nearly 200 years.

Women on the Ballot American woman have sought the presidential nomination for more than a century—even before they had the right to vote.

DEPARTMENTS

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Uncle Sam on the "Electoral College" campus





Doris Kearns Goodwin

ON THE COVER: Illustration | *Ashley Jones*

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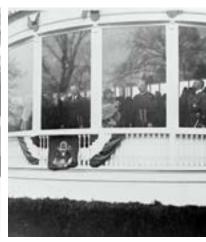
▲ From left: Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump at the Iowa Caucus celebration on Feb.1, 2016 | Dennis Van Tine, MediaPunch/ IPX; Barack Obama takes the oath of office on Jan. 20, 2009. Susan Walsh, Associated Press Photo/Corbis; Bill Clinton takes the oath of office on Jan 20, 1993, Official White House photo, Prints and Photographs Division; Chief Justice Warren E. Burger administers the oath of office to Ronald Reagan on Jan. 20, 1981. Architect of the Capitol, Prints and Photographs Division















THE INAUGURATION WILL NOT (JUST) BE TELEVISED

THE INAUGURATION OF THE 45TH PRESIDENT WILL BE THE SOCIAL MEDIA EVENT OF THE YEAR.

Today, social media provides an unlimited opportunity for individuals and media outlets to record and be a witness to such historical events as the presidential inauguration. These sounds and images are then instantaneously shared through computers and mobile devices with a global audience.

This is, of course, a relatively new development.

For the nation's first 100 years, people got their news by word of mouth and from the printed page. Newspaper accounts of presidential inaugurations—with images largely engraved—informed the public. A number of prolific diarists provided first-person accounts for those unable, or uninvited, to attend the festivities in the nation's capital. Those who received telegrams or glimpsed the first photographic image of the event—James Buchanan's 1857 inaugural—must have felt that the modern age had truly arrived.

William McKinley's March 4, 1897, inauguration was the first to be recorded by a movie camera. The 2-minute film footage shows the inaugural procession down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. Film footage from McKinley's second inauguration in 1901 shows the president addressing crowds on Pennsylvania Avenue, riding in a processional to the Capitol and taking the oath of office. The short clips, produced by Thomas Edison, came to the Library through the copyright registration process and are part of the Library's Paper Print Collection. Discovered in 1942, the paper copies were converted into projectable celluloid images.

McKinley was shot by an assailant while attending the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, on Sept. 6, 1901, and died a week later

from complications. The Library holds film footage of McKinley's day at the exposition and scenes from his funeral in Canton, Ohio.

Calvin Coolidge's inauguration in 1925 was the first to be broadcast nationally on radio. The address delivered by the man known as "Silent Cal" could be heard by more than 25 million Americans, according to a New York Times report, making it an unprecedented national event.

Herbert Hoover's inauguration in 1929 was the first to be recorded by a sound newsreel. It marked the second and last time that a former president, William Howard Taft, administered the presidential oath.

Harry S. Truman's inauguration in January 1949 was the first to be televised, though few Americans owned their own set. In 1981, Ronald Reagan's inauguration was broadcast on television with closed captioning for the hearing-impaired. During Reagan's second inauguration in 1985, a television camera was placed inside his limousine—another first—to capture his trip from the Capitol to the White House.

Bill Clinton's 1997 second inauguration was the first to be broadcast live on the Internet. President Clinton had signed the Telecommunications Act of 1996 at the Library of Congress the previous year.

Barack Obama's historic first inauguration on Jan. 20, 2009, garnered the highest Internet audience for a presidential swearing-in. It was the first inaugural webcast to include captioning for the hearing-impaired. According to the Wall Street Journal, President Obama's second inauguration generated 1.1 million tweets—up from 82,000 at the 2009 event.

-Audrey Fischer

OMORE INFORMATION

Presidential Inaugurations

loc.gov/rr/program/bib/inaugurations/

William McKinley Films

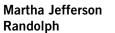
loc.gov/collection/mckinley-and-the-pan-american-expo-films-1901/

▲ From left: President Dwight Eisenhower responds to the crowd at his inauguration on Jan. 20, 1953. Associated Press. New York World-Telegram and the Sun Newspaper Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division; Herbert Hoover, Mrs. Hoover and William Howard Taft watch the inaugural parade on March 4, 1929, National Photo Company Collection, Prints and Photographs Division; Calvin Coolidge speaks at his inauguration on March 4, 1925, National Photo Company Collection, Prints and Photographs Division; William McKinley takes the oath of office for a second term on March 4, 1901, Prints and Photographs Division.

SURROGATE FIRST LADIES

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION SPECIALISTS JULIE MILLER, BARBARA BAIR AND MICHELLE KROWL DISCUSS SOME NON-SPOUSAL FIRST LADIES.





Because Thomas Jefferson was a widower when he became president, with his daughters Martha Randolph and Maria Eppes, helped him entertain. Jefferson did not believe that women should participate in politics, as he had seen them do in Revolutionary Paris, so his daughters' role at his dinners was mainly ornamental. Not so Dolley Madison, who seated herself at the head of the table when she



Andrew Jackson was

newly widowed when

was the wife of his

following Emily's

term in office.

death near the end

of Jackson's second

adopted son. Sarah

continued as hostess

Sarah Yorke Jackson **Angelica Singleton** Van Buren

Martin Van Buren was a widower when he became president in 1837. He was aided in White House social functions by his daughter-in-law Angelica Singleton Van Buren, the wife of his son Abraham. Former First Ladv Dolley Madison had been their social graces, having attended a female academy in South



Harriet Lane

James Buchanan was a bachelor when he became president in 1857. His niece, Harriet Lane, for whom he was legal guardian, managed social events in the White House. While Buchanan had a troubled presidency, Harriet is ranked among the most popular first ladies. She used her position to promote music and the arts and to advocate various reform causes setting a trend for first ladies of the future.



Rose Cleveland

Grover Cleveland first entered the Executive Mansion in 1885 as a bachelor and consequently hostess duties fell to his sister, Rose Elizabeth Cleveland. A scholar, lecturer and teacher by training, the feminist Rose continued her intellectual pursuits while first lady and in 1885 published "George Eliot's Poetry and Other Studies." President Cleveland's June 1886 White House wedding to the young Frances Folsom ended Rose's tenure as first lady, and she gladly returned to her successful literary career.

Martha Jefferson

Dolley Madison, along became first lady.

he came to the White House in March 1829. He was helped in his hosting duties by his daughters-in-law, Emily Donelson and Sarah Yorke Jackson. Emily, his wife's niece, was married to his foster son and his presidential secretary A. J. Donelson. Sarah

matchmaker. Angelica was well-tutored in the Carolina and a French school in Philadelphia.

In 1856 Jared Sparks, retired president of Harvard, received a letter from an autograph-seeker who wanted a sample of

WASHINGTON'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

George Washington's handwriting. Sparks rummaged in the papers he had taken from Mount Vernon decades earlier, snipped two fragments from a speech, and pinned them to his reply. He apologized that he had no signatures left, since "collectors have long ago exhausted my stock."

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Washington's handwriten yared Sparks

first DRAFTS

The speech Sparks cut up was the first draft of George Washington's first inaugural address. Washington had commissioned it from poet David Humphreys, but after copying out all 73 pages, decided not to use it.

Sparks acquired his "stock" in 1827 when he visited Mount Vernon to begin work on what would become his 12-volume "Writings of George Washington." With the permission of Bushrod Washington, the president's nephew, Sparks borrowed Washington's papers and took them home to Massachusetts to work on.

The irony of Sparks' destruction of Washington's speech

is that he was an early and influential promoter of the preservation of what he called the "materials of American history." However, he also believed that manuscripts that had "nothing in them to command the admiration, or awaken the sympathy of mankind" did not deserve preservation.

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In an 1827 letter to Sparks, James Madison explained his belief that only Washington's sensitivity to Humphreys' feelings led him to consider "so strange" an address at all. Since so little of it is left, it is hard to characterize it in its entirety, though it must have been an amalgam of Washington's and Humphreys' thinking. Today the surviving fragments are mostly in private hands. The Library of Congress has copies of many of them (pictured). The address that Washington did deliver at his inauguration in 1789 is with the rest of his papers, safe and unsnipped, in the Library's Manuscript Division.

> —Julie Miller is a historian in the Library's Manuscript Division.

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All photos: Prints and Photographs Division

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page from the past

STONEWALL WILSON

In today's presidential campaigns, sound bites abound on radio and television, websites and socialmedia platforms. Candidates in modern times have used alreadypopular songs for their campaign



music, but in the past songs were often written specifically for and about candidates.

The Library of Congress holds campaign sheet music representing elections from 1868 to 1920. Looking at these songs can inform students and researchers about past political parties, issues of the day and presidential nominees—including how a candidate wanted to be perceived

A century ago, President Woodrow Wilson was challenged by former New York Gov. Charles Hughes for a second term. At the time of the 1916 campaign, the Mexican Revolution was taking place south of the U.S. border. Across the Atlantic, the Great War was well underway.

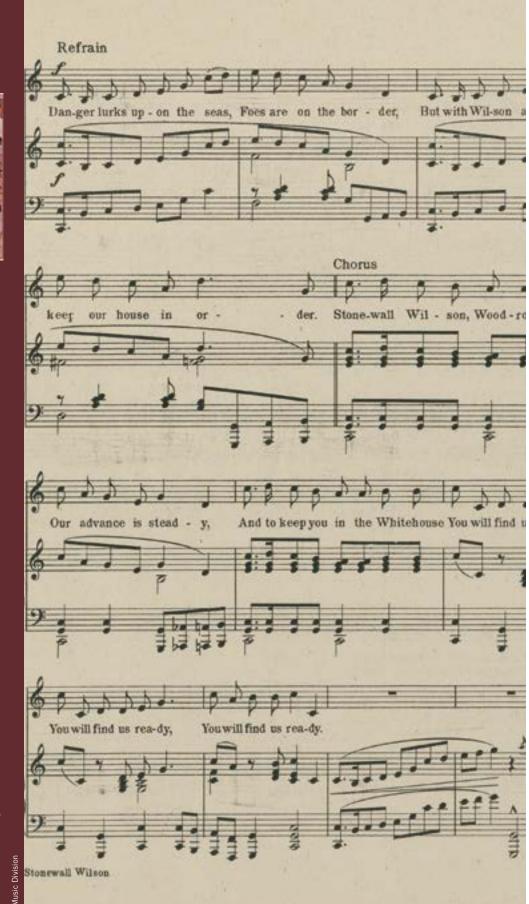
With words and lyrics by Robert Mortimer, "Stonewall Wilson" (pictured) hearkened back to Confederate Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson to portray Wilson as a strong military leader.

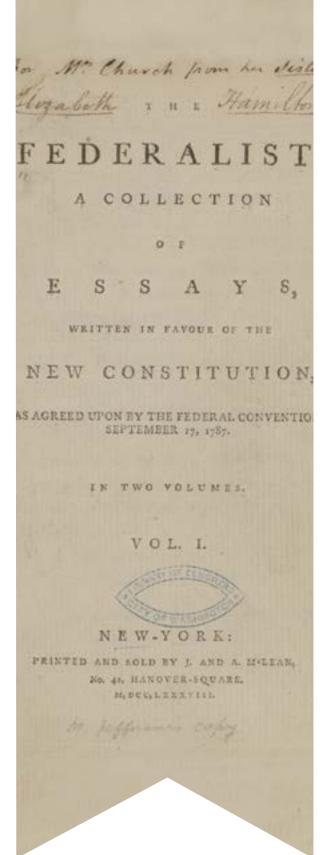
Mortimer wrote, "Danger lurks upon the seas, Foes are on the border. But with Wilson at the front, We'll keep our house in order."

Wilson won by a narrow margin, becoming the first Democrat since Andrew Jackson to be elected to two consecutive terms.

His second term would witness America's entry into World War I and passage of the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, giving women the right to vote.

—Tom Bober was the Library's 2015-16 audiovisual teacher-in-residence.





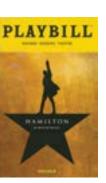
↑ "The Federalist: A Collection of Essays, Written in Favour of the New Constitution," Vols. 1 and 2, New York: J. and A. McLean, 1788 | American Imprint Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division



THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

THE LIBRARY'S LIST OF "BOOKS THAT SHAPED AMERICA" INCLUDES A WORK THAT HELPED ESTABLISH AND GOVERN THE NEW NATION.

Two centuries after his death, Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804) is being introduced to new generations through the popular musical named for him. Based on Ron Chernow's 2005 biography of Hamilton and adapted for the stage by Lin-Manuel Miranda, "Hamilton: An American Musical" depicts one of the 18th-century statesman's many contributions to the new nation—as a principal author of a work known as "The Federalist."



Considered to be a significant American contribution to political thought, "The Federalist" is "a collection of essays written in favour of the new Constitution, as agreed upon by the Federal Convention, September 17, 1787."

The work is among the 100 titles selected by the Library of Congress in 2013 as "Books That Shaped America." Thousands of readers responded with their choices, and the top 40 vote-getters were added to the list in 2016. The Library's exhibitions of the books on these lists may be viewed online.

Eighty-four of the essays first appeared in New York newspapers between October 1787 and August 1788 under the pseudonym "Publius." All 85 essays were published in two volumes by J. and A. McLean in New York in 1788. Although it was widely known that the 85 essays were the work of Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, the initial curious speculation about authorship of specific essays gradually developed into a heated controversy.

Hamilton left an authorship list with his lawyer before his fatal duel with Aaron Burr on July 11, 1804. In his copy of the published edition, Madison identified the author of each essay with their initials. Thomas Jefferson penned a similar authorship list in his copy. None of these attributions exactly match, and the authorship of several essays is still being debated by scholars.

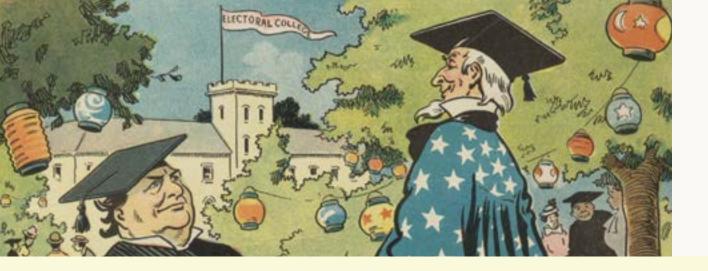
—Audrey Fischer

○ MORE INFORMATION

"Books That Shaped America"
loc.gov/exhibits/books-that-shaped-america/

"America Reads"

loc.gov/exhibits/america-reads/









Established by the founding fathers, the Electoral College system still decides the outcome of presidential elections

BY BARBARA BAVIS AND ROBERT BRAMMER



The June 12, 1907, cover of "Puck" magazine shows three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan greeting Uncle Sam on the "Electoral College" campus. Louis M. Glackens, N.Y.: J. Ottmann Lith. Co., Prints and Photographs Division

hen Americans go to the polls to elect a president, they are participating in an election process that dates back to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Not only do they cast individual ballots that comprise the popular vote, but they participate in a system under which they elect representatives called "electors," who pledge to vote for particular candidates in their stead. Those electors are members of a body known as the Electoral College.

The concept of the Electoral College—although not specifically mentioned by name—appears in Article II, Section I of the U.S. Constitution. It represents the Founding Fathers' effort to create a mechanism by which the states select the president and vice president of the United States.

Section I created a select group of electors, determined by state. The number of electoral votes awarded to each state is equal to the number of senators and representatives that state possesses. For example, California has two senators and 53 representatives, so the state has 55 electoral votes. The states cast their electoral votes through the 538 electors who comprise the Electoral College. The candidate who receives a majority of the electoral votes—currently at least 270—is declared the winner.

The Founders established the Electoral College in the Constitution as a compromise between election of the president by a vote in Congress and election of the president by a popular vote of qualified citizens. Alexander Hamilton, a New York delegate to the Constitutional Convention, shed some light on the intent of the founders through his description of the Electoral College in the Federalist Papers, a collection of essays written in 1787-1788 in support of the federal Constitution as ratification conventions met in each state. In essay #68, Hamilton stated that "the sense of the people should operate in the choice of the person to whom so important a trust was to be confided." He also expressed the importance of having electors, who he expected were "men most capable of analyzing the qualities adapted to the station, and acting under circumstances favorable to deliberation, and to a judicious combination of all the reasons and inducements which were proper to govern their In addition to having the benefit of such educated and interested individuals involved in the election of the president, the state-dependent Electoral College system was also intended to avoid a scenario where a populous region of the country was able to elect a candidate who enjoyed great popularity within that region, but not neccessarily in other areas.

Despite these lofty ambitions the Electoral College system did not operate as intended during the elections of 1796 and 1800. Specifically, the practice of voting for two individuals for president, with the runner-up becoming vice president, was flawed. The 1796

which selected John Quincy Adams. In the 1876 election, Samuel Tilden won the popular vote, but after a lengthy, bitter dispute over the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina, Rutherford B. Hayes carried the Electoral College. The storm over this result only intensified after a controversial electoral commission was created to resolve the dispute, and determined the result via a vote along party lines. Again, in 1888, incumbent president Grover Cleveland won the popular vote but lost the Electoral College to Benjamin Harrison.

In the 2000 presidential election George W. Bush won the Electoral College while the sitting



election resulted in a president (John Adams) and vice president (Thomas Jefferson) from different parties. The 1800 election resulted in a tie between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The election was decided by the House of Representatives in favor of Jefferson for president and Burr as vice president, by default.

In order to avoid such challenges in the future, Congress drafted the 12th Amendment, which refined the electoral process so that the president and vice president were elected separately. By the Civil War, the system had been further refined such that each presidential candidate had a running mate on its party's ticket, making the selection of a vice president an indirect choice.

The 12th amendment was proposed by Congress on Dec. 9, 1803, and was ratified by the requisite three-fourths of state legislatures on June 15, 1804. But the 19th century saw several bitter contests in which candidates carried the Electoral College, but lost the popular vote. In 1824, Andrew Jackson won the popular vote, but none of the four candidates received a majority of the Electoral College. As a result, the election was decided by the House of Representatives,

Vice President, Al Gore, held a slim popular vote victory. After recounting the votes in Florida, Bush was declared the winner in that state by a margin of 537 votes. Numerous court battles ensued. Those lawsuits escalated to the U.S. Supreme Court, where its final 5-4 decision resulted in Florida's electoral votes going to George W. Bush.

The 2016 election resulted in an Electoral College win for Donald Trump while Hillary Clinton garned the popular vote—once again focusing national attention on the Electoral College system.

An illustration in the March 10, 1877, issue of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper shows the Electoral Commission meeting in secret. Prints and Photographs Division

MORE INFORMATION

Election Law

loc.gov/law/help/guide/federal/elections.php

Legal Resources on Elections

loc.gov/law/find/elections.php

Presidential Elections and the Electoral College

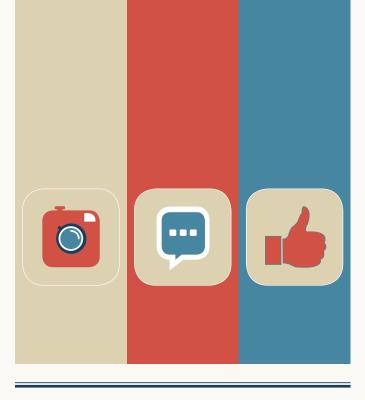
memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwec.html

Teachers Resources on Elections

loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/themes/elections/

Barbara Bavis is an instructional librarian and Robert Brammer is a senior legal reference specialist in the Law Library of Congress

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GAMPAIGUIUG * * FOR * * PRESIDENT

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN CAMPAIGN

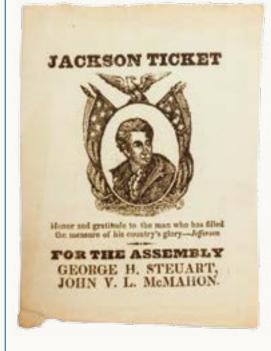
Presidential candidates have used popular culture to promote their campaigns for nearly 200 years.

BY BARBARA BAIR, MICHELLE KROWL AND JULIE MILLER











Clockwise from top left: William Henry Harrison and John Tyler emblem from the 1840 presidential campaign | Prints and Photographs Division; Andrew Jackson ticket I Rare Book and Special Collections Division; campaign buttons from the presidential campaigns of Ulysses S. Grant and Abraham Lincoln | Prints and Photographs Division

oday's political candidates can reach millions of people— on a 24/7 basis—in ways their predecessors could only dream of.

American presidential campaigns from 1789 through the 1820s were different from modern ones in almost every way. Presidential candidates thought it was undignified to campaign. Political parties were embryonic and in flux—nothing like the organizational powerhouses they are today. Before the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 there was no mass electorate. In most states, legislatures, not citizens, chose presidential electors. Enslaved people, free women, and free propertyless men—constituting most of the adult population at the time—were denied the vote.

Throughout this period, however, both an electorate and campaign machinery began to develop. As Americans moved west and into cities, states began to drop their property requirements for voting. Citizens gradually replaced state legislatures as voters in presidential elections. Political parties evolved from informal "factions" into effective organizations. By the early 1830s, cheap newspapers, known as the "penny press," allied themselves with political parties, and a growing network of roads, canals and railroads began to carry political information nationwide.

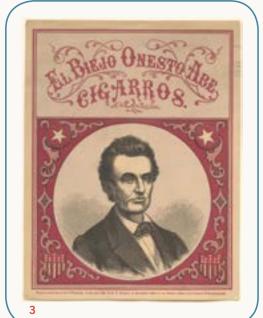
By the Jacksonian era and the elections immediately following, presidential candidates still let their surrogates do most of their campaigning for them. As the franchise continued to expand to include more working-class and propertyless male voters, campaigns involved greater popular participation. The presidential election process was also increasingly competitive and campaign posters began to appear.

In the 1836 presidential election, the Whig Party chose former military commander William Henry Harrison of Ohio to challenge Democrat























1. "The Result of the Fifteenth Amendment," May 19, 1870 | Metcalf and Clark, Prints and Photographs Division 2.1920 issue of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper reminds women to vote. Prints and Photographs Division 3. An Abraham Lincoln cigar box label | Manuscript Division 4-5. bumper stickers for Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon

presidential campaigns | Manuscript Division 6. a screen shot from the "Daisy Girl" television ad sponsored by Goldwater's 1964 campaign | Motion Picture Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division 7. Jack Kemp in 1988 license plate | Manuscript Division 8-9. campaign buttons for Wendell Willkie's 1940 campaign and for the John F. Kennedy/Lyndon B. Johnson ticket in 1960 | Manuscript Division

Martin Van Buren, the incumbent vice president. A past New York governor, senator and secretary of state, Van Buren was a consummate politician. It was during the 1836 campaign that the donkey—that faithful beast of burden who could also be an ornery, strong-willed opponent—emerged as the symbol of the Democratic Party. In his 1870s illustrations, political cartoonist Thomas Nast would associate the elephant with the Republican Party, which succeeded the Whig Party.

The presidential campaign of 1840 is often called the first "modern" grassroots campaign. It was also one that further solidified the two-party system of the time—Whigs and Democrats. The campaign was a rematch between Harrison and Van Buren. This time Harrison prevailed. The son of an aristocratic Virginia family, Harrison was nonetheless depicted as a western folk hero. That image was in keeping with the party's theme of "Log Cabin and Hard Cider Democracy" and Harrison's frontier status as the first governor of Indiana territory.

Harrison gained fame at the 1811 Battle of Tippecanoe, part of a military campaign to suppress a confederation of Indians loyal to the Shawnee leaders Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh. With southerner John Tyler of Virginia as Harrison's vice presidential running mate, one of the most famous campaign slogans of all time emerged: "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too." Campaign souvenirs of all types proliferated, as did commercial products such as Tippecanoe Tobacco and Tippecanoe Soap. Political hype was high and campaigns became popular entertainment. The campaign song emerged, pairing political lyrics with popular tunes.

By the election of 1860, parades, banners and music were part of the political landscape, as were newspapers that openly supported political parties. Advances in printing technology by the mid-19th century allowed Americans to express their political sympathies through their choice of cigars and stationery. Cigar box labels in 1860 included images of Republican presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln and his democratic opponent, Stephen A. Douglas. For those who might have heard of "Honest Old Abe" and the "Little Giant" but had never seen their likenesses in print, the cigar box label introduced the candidates' faces to the public.

Political buttons touting presidential candidates increased in popularity during the 19th century. Metal campaign buttons were available in 1860, but the election of 1896 saw the first use of the mass-produced, pin-backed, metal buttons. These became ubiquitous and collectible in 20th-century presidential campaigns and remain so today.

The electorate continued to expand. In 1870, the 15th Amendment granted the right to vote to male citizens "regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920 gave women nationwide the right to vote. The first election in which all American women could vote was a match between two Ohioans—Democratic Governor James M. Cox and Republican Sen. Warren G. Harding, who prevailed. Campaigns reached out to the ladies, reminding them to do their civic duty and vote.

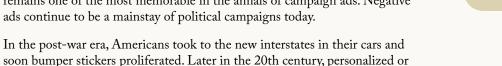
The advent of film and radio in the early 20th century, followed by television in the early 1950s, provided even larger audiences for political campaigns. Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1952 campaign for president was the first to run a television advertisement. The black-and-white ad featured cartoon characters singing "I like Ike, You like Ike, Everybody likes Ike for President."



Screen shot of the Library's U.S. Elections Web Archive



A decade later, television ads would become more dramatic, with Lyndon Johnson's "Daisy Girl" ad against Barry Goldwater. Created by media consultant Tony Schwartz, whose collection is housed at the Library, the ad featured a child counting daisy petals, followed by a countdown to a nuclear explosion. "These are the stakes," warned Johnson. The spot only ran once but remains one of the most memorable in the annals of campaign ads. Negative ads continue to be a mainstay of political campaigns today.



As it had a century earlier, technological development at the turn of the 21st century—namely the internet—ushered in a new model of political campaigning. The web also allows the Library a new means of documenting modern campaigns. Since 2000, the Library has archived websites related to the U.S. presidential, congressional and gubernatorial elections.

"vanity" license plates began promoting candidates.

Al Gore, the 2000 Democratic presidential candidate, was a big proponent of the "information superhighway," but Barack Obama was the first presidential candidate to harness the power of social media. His use of social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook began in early 2007. On the eve of the 2008 election, Obama had more than 1 million "friends" on Facebook—significantly more than his opponent, John McCain. By the 2012 presidential campaign, both Obama and his Republican opponent, Mitt Romney, were actively campaigning on social media.

Use of Twitter by both candidates in the 2016 presidential election was unprecedented. Both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton tweeted into the wee hours of the morning, delivering their messages directly to the voters, and reaching them in record numbers. The 2017 inauguration promises to set new records for all of today's social media platforms.

Julie Miller, Barbara Bair and Michelle Krowl are historians in the Library's Manuscript Division.

○ MORE INFORMATION

U.S. Elections Web Archive

loc.gov/collections/united-states-elections-web-archive



In 2016, The Washington Post presented a podcast series called "Presidential" that featured 44 episodes examining the American presidents during the months leading up to the November election. Hosted by Lillian Cunningham, editor of The Washington Post's "On Leadership" section, and archived online, the series features interviews with journalists, biographers, historians and other experts on the American presidency. Among them are Julie Miller, Barbara Bair and Michelle Krowl, three historians from the Library's Manuscript Division who together discussed 17 presidents from George Washington to William H. Taft. Their remarks were informed by primary sources, including presidential papers, housed in the Library of Congress.

As curator of the papers of the earliest presidents, Miller was the first of her colleagues to be interviewed. Cunningham asked a question that she would pose in reference to each of the presidents: What would it be like to go on a blind date with George Washington? Miller observed that Washington, as a model 18thcentury gentleman, knew how to dress, how to dance, and how to behave in public. He would have been a charming date, as the widowed Martha Custis discovered. Miller also noted that institutions such as the Library of Congress care for primary sources such as the letters in George Washington's papers because each generation will want to bring its own questions to them, such as the one Cunningham posed.

Bair joined NPR reporter Steve Inskeep and biographer Jon Meacham in analyzing the limitations of Jacksonian democracy. She spoke of Jackson as a "man of the people." But which people? In solidifying white land ownership in the South and fostering the expansion of slavery and the repression of Indians, Jackson primarily represented "white wage workers and [those] who wanted to settle on farms," as well as the "southern slave-owning gentry." Bair and historian Mark Cheathem looked at the "Little Magician" Martin Van Buren as a political master-mind, and commented on the rise of the two-party system. William Henry Harrison died soon after taking office, likely from the contaminated water supply in Washington. Bair read a letter documenting the trepidation Vice President John Tyler expressed upon finding himself unexpectedly the leader of the land. Tyler



set the precedent for vice presidents taking on the full power of office

in event of a presidential death—even ones that violated the political platform of their own party.

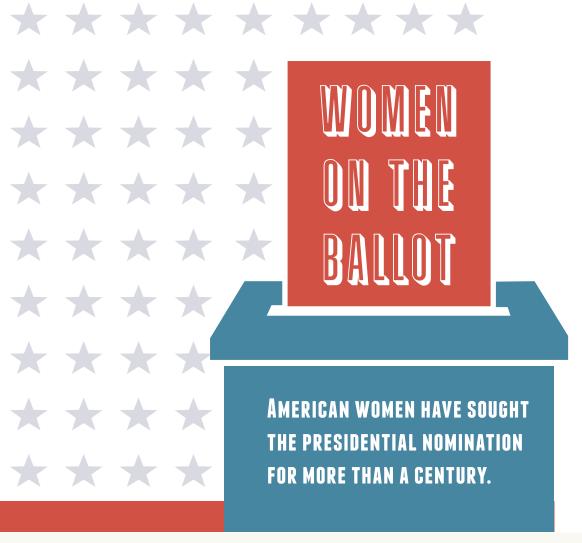
Krowl suggested that presidents sometimes make surprising moves. Chester A. Arthur supported civil service reform, though his history made him the least likely person to support political change. Adding to observations by Stateline executive editor Scott Greenberger, Krowl demonstrated how the Arthur papers at the Library of Congress help fill in the details of Arthur's story. Documenting Arthur's life is challenging because he ordered the destruction of most of his personal papers just before his death. Elements of his life and character must be gleaned from the limited sources that were saved. These include a love letter to his fiancée, a few letters to a bosom friend in early adulthood, an abundance of bills and receipts and a particularly interesting set of letters written by a woman named Julia Sand, who encouraged Arthur to make a positive contribution as president. "Julia Sand saw something noble in Arthur," Krowl said. "She urged him to create a presidential legacy that was 'pure and bright.' Significantly, her letters were among the few that were saved."

Barbara Bair, Julie Miller and Michelle Krowl I *Shawn Miller*

MORE INFORMATION

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washington post com/graphics/business/

washingtonpost.com/graphics/business/presidential-podcast/



BY BARBARA BAIR

Hillary Clinton made history in the summer of 2016 when she became the first woman nominated by a major party to run for president of the United States.

Many women helped pave the way over the years, having run for president as third-party candidates and as potential Democratic or Republican party nominees. Some of them ran for president long before women could vote in the United States, when it was unusual for women to seek any public office, and when women in professions of any kind were still viewed as pioneers.

Women who have run for president faced not just the usual forms of judgment regarding background, viewpoints and experience. They carried with them the burden of masculine definitions of leadership itself—ideas of who looks or seems "presidential."

Some women ran to promote particular issues, reacting to events specific to their day or developments within their own political parties. All needed to deal with, or overcome, stereotypes about women and systemic prejudices based on long-held beliefs about the suitability of women for public office. Each candidate built on the precedent of women who had come before her—be they female members of Congress, activist First Ladies, or fellow stalwarts who, like themselves, had entered the presidential fray.

The century between 1872 and 1972 is a particularly significant one in the history of women candidates for U.S. president. Victoria Claffin Woodhull









has the honor of setting off the whole tradition stretching from the 19th century to today, as a candidate for the Equal Rights Party in the 1872 election. Woodhull was an avowed feminist and suffragist. Her party stood for the eight-hour day for working people, income-tax reform, free love and sexual liberation, and the equality of women—including in legal matters such as divorce. To say she was before her time is to under emphasize how long these positions have been part of American culture. Woodhull in many ways thrived on controversy and scandal. She is forever memorialized in Thomas Nast's famous political cartoon of 1872 for "Harper's Weekly," in which she was quite literally demonized. Nast depicted Woodhull with bat wings under the title "Get thee behind me, (Mrs.) Satan!"

The forthright Belva Ann Lockwood was an admired champion for the cause of social justice. She not only became an attorney but, in 1879, long before the thought of female Supreme Court justices, she became the first woman admitted to the U.S. Supreme Court bar. In 1884 and 1888 she mounted National Equal Rights Party campaigns for the presidency of the United States, motivated to raise the public profile of the rights of women to vote and to have a place in party politics. The first woman to appear on official ballots, Lockwood was lampooned by "Puck" and other publications. She did poorly at the polls, but succeeded in her goal by getting her issues into popular debate. "I cannot vote" said Lockwood, "but I can be voted for."

From left: Belva Lockwood, 1880-1890 | Brady-Handy Collection; Patsy Mink, 1960-1970; Shirley Chisholm, 1972 | Thomas J. O'Halloran. U.S. News & World Report Magazine Photograph Collection; Hillary Clinton accepts the Democratic Party's nomination for Presidenton July 28, 2016, A. Shaker | Voice of America





Clockwise from left: Political cartoon by Thomas Nast for Feb. 17, 1872, issue of Harper's Weekly depicts Victoria Woodhull, female candidate for president. *Goldstein Foundation Collection*; Margaret Chase Smith takes the oath of office to fill the House seat left vacant by her husband in June 1940; North Carolina Senator Elizabeth Dole, 2006, *Bonnie Englebardt Lautenberg*

All photos | Prints and Photographs Division



Margaret Chase Smith broke ground as a Republican Party candidate for president in the 1964 campaign. She was seasoned politician who represented the state of Maine in both the House and the Senate. She was the only woman when she joined the Senate in 1949. A prominent member of the House Armed Services Committee, she advocated an expanded role for women in the military. She was a voice for independent thought within her own party. Announcement of her candidacy, greeted with huge applause by the national women's press corps, unsettled party hopefuls Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater. Rumors of a "Barry-Maggie" presidential ticket proved not to be.

1972 was a banner year for Democratic Party women, with the candidacies of Patsy Takemoto Mink and Shirley Chisholm. Both ran to push the





boundaries of their own party platforms in more progressive directions and to win inroads for women and people of color within the rules governing Democratic Party conventions.

In 1964, Mink became the first Asian American woman elected to Congress. She was recruited into the presidential race by Oregon liberals in 1971 to represent voters who were strongly opposed to the Vietnam War—an effort to force frontrunner George McGovern into making the war a centerpiece of the election. She appeared on primary ballots in Oregon, Wisconsin and Maryland. Supporters were urged to "Think Mink."

Chisholm was the first African American woman elected to Congress and a founding member of the Congressional Black Caucus. "Fighting Shirley" ran "unbought and unbossed" to promote the rights of women and African Americans. She appeared on the primary ballots of 12 states.

The true battleground proved to be the Democratic National Convention in Miami, when rules broadening representation in the wake of the 1968 convention went into effect. The National Women's Political Caucus challenged the seating of delegates and pushed for a woman to chair the event.

Another first was reached in 1972 when Frances "Sissy" Farenthold's name was put forward among vice presidential nominees. The party would not have a woman run as vice president until the Walter Mondale-Geraldine Ferraro campaign of 1984. Republicans would reach a similar milestone in 2008 with the John McCain-Sarah Palin ticket.

Many women have run for president over the past 40 years—Ellen McCormack, Sonia Johnson, Patricia Schroeder, Lenora Falani, Elizabeth Dole, Michele Bachmann, Jill Stein and Carly Fiorina, among them. But the 2016 presidential campaign was the first to place a woman at the top of a major party ticket.

OMORE INFORMATION

Patsy T. Mink Papers in the Library of Congress loc.gov/rr/mss/mink/mink-about.html hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/eadmss.ms010008

Barbara Bair is a historian in the Library's Manuscript Division.

U.S. Representatives, including Nita Lowey, Pat Schroeder, Patsy Mink, Jolene Unsoeld, Eleanor Holmes Norton and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, walk by the U.S. Capitol on their way to the Senate, 1992. Maureen Keating, CQ/Roll Call Photograph Collection





▲ From left: George

mother and portrait |

Jefferson portrait and

draft of his inaugural

Jefferson Papers: Andrew

address | Thomas

Jackson inaugural

address and portrait I

Andrew Jackson Papers

John Tyler portrait and

letter to his daughter I

All images | Manuscript

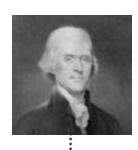
John Tyler Papers

Division

George Washington

Papers; Thomas

Washington letter to his











LINKS TO PAST PRESIDENTS

ADVANCES IN TECHNOLOGY HAVE INCREASED ACCESS TO THE LIBRARY'S PRESIDENTIAL COLLECTIONS.

The papers of 23 U.S. presidents—ranging from George Washington to Calvin Coolidge—are foremost among the Library's manuscript collections. These treasured acquisitions predate the presidential library system, administered by the National Archives and Records System, which has oversight for the papers of the presidents beginning with Herbert Hoover.

Arguably, no other body of material in the Manuscript Division is of greater significance for the study of American history than the presidential collections. Viewed as a whole, they contain some of the most important manuscript treasures in the nation, from Washington's first inaugural address to Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points for negotiating the end of World War I. They cover a broad sweep of American history, documenting periods of prosperity and depression, war and peace. They trace the development of American foreign policy, the roles of political organizations and interest groups and the struggles over definitions of citizenship and the extension of legal rights to African Americans and women. They also reflect the battle over states' rights and slavery, which led to the nation's greatest crisis—the Civil War—and left a legacy after Reconstruction that reverberated a century later in the civil rights movement.

So important are the division's presidential

papers that Congress passed an act in August 1957 directing the Library to arrange, index, and microfilm these collections for distribution to libraries around the nation. This mammoth effort began a year later and concluded in 1976.

The presidential papers were among the first manuscripts proposed for digitizing when the technology became available in the mid-1990s. Under that program, the microfilm editions of the papers of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Abraham Lincoln—totaling 368,948 images—were digitized and put online between 1998 and 2005.

In 2010, work began to digitize the remaining presidential microfilm collections, resulting in more than 3 million additional images that will be put online, including about 462,600 images from the Theodore Roosevelt Papers scanned in collaboration with Dickinson State University in North Dakota. Also added to the image set for each collection are scans of original items acquired since the microfilm editions were created.

In recent years, the Washington, Jefferson, and Madison collections have migrated to a new upgraded web platform, which allows for continued improvements across collections and provides better access on mobile devices. The



Five dollar bill portrait of Abraham Lincoln, Anthony Berger, Prints and Photographs Division

First printed edition of the preliminary version of the Emancipation Proclamation, Washington, D.C., Sept. 22, 1862 | Alfred Whital Stern Collection of Lincolniana, Rare Book and Special Collections Division

newly digitized papers of James Monroe and Andrew Jackson were added to this new web platform in 2015, followed by the papers of Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, Zachary Taylor. The Franklin Pierce, James K. Polk and Ulysses S. Grant papers are slated to go online in 2017, as will a new version of the Lincoln papers, produced in partnership with the papers of Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois. Also available will be smaller collections, such as the papers of Millard Fillmore and James Buchanan, which are not counted among the Library's 23 presidential collections but supplement principal collections held in other repositories.

Like the original presidential papers and the microfilm copies, the digital versions have been used extensively by historians, educators, students and lifelong learners. But what was once only available to researchers on a library microfilm machine is now becoming accessible on computers and mobile devices, any time of day, all over the world.

—Janice E. Ruth is assistant chief of the Library's Manuscript Division.

MORE INFORMATION

Search Presidential Papers Online loc.gov/manuscripts/collections/ Notice of issuance of Proclamation emancipating slaves in States in rebellion on January 1, 1865. (SiC.)

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: A PROCLAMATION.

I, ARRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that bereafter, as heretofore, the war will be presecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all Slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognise and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by Proclamation, designate the States, and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the

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NATIONAL BOOK FESTIVAL VIDEOS & PODCASTS



WHAT: National Book Festival Videos WHEN: Year-round **COST:** FREE

THE LIBRARY'S 2016 NATIONAL **BOOK FESTIVAL**, held Sept. 24 at the Walter E. Washington Convention Center in Washington, D.C., was notable for several debuts—the first major public appearance of newly-sworn-in Librarian of Congress Carla Hayden, and the festival debut of best-selling author Stephen King. The Library of Congress website offers videos of nearly all of the presenters. Videos from some of the Library's past book festivals can also be accessed on the website, along with advance podcast interviews with participating authors.

View National Book Festival events online loc.gov/bookfest/

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MY JOD AT THE LIBRARY

DANNA BELL DISCUSSES HER JOB IN THE LIBRARY'S EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH OFFICE.

How would you describe your work at the

I am production coordinator for the Teaching with the Library of Congress blog. I write blog posts and contribute to our Twitter feed. The goal of Educational Outreach is to make primary sources an integral part of classroom activities. Primary sources can engage students, and encourage critical thinking, analysis and exploration. I assist in the creation of teacher resources including Primary Source sets and eBooks. My favorite task is serving as the team's Ask-a-Librarian contact, answering questions from teachers throughout the world.

How did you prepare for your current position?

I have a bachelor's degree in public administration and a master's degree in college student personnel from Miami University. After serving as a dorm director and an academic counselor, I needed a change. When I considered other careers, I realized I enjoy providing information. That, along with a love of libraries bred by the Enoch Pratt library system in Baltimore, my hometown, led me to librarianship.

I started at the Library of Congress in 1998 as part of the National Digital Library, providing reference support for the Library's American Memory project— a gateway to the Library rich primary-source materials relating to the history and culture of the United States. I subsequently worked with the Digital Reference Section and later joined Educational Outreach.

I have held leadership positions in several professional associations. Most recently, I served as president of the Society of American Archivists in 2013-14.

How has technology changed the way the Library shares its resources with students and educators?

Digitizing and providing online access to the resources of the Library of Congress in the early 1990s coincided with school districts asking teachers to use primary sources in the classroom. That was truly perfect timing!



The explosion of educational technology has spurred our work. We have converted several Primary Source Sets into eBooks. we read teachers through webinars and our Teaching With Primary Sources partners. Teachers can also access content when it's convenient for them on the Teachers channel of the Library of Congress YouTube page.

How can the Library help educators teach students about the electoral process?

As the home of the papers of 23 American presidents (from George Washington to Calvin Coolidge), the Library has much to offer teachers and students in the way of election history. A special online presentation documents the presidential inaugurations. The Library's Chronicling America website allows users to see how historical newspapers (1789-1922) covered the presidents.

Educational Outreach staff recently updated our online "Elections" feature. The "Presidential Inaugurations" feature will soon be updated. The Law Library of Congress, and the Library's Prints and Photographs and Music Divisions have special online presentations about elections and inaugurations.

In the case of 21st-century elections, the Library has been archiving websites pertaining to presidential, congressional and gubernatorial elections since 2000.



THE MANUSCRIPT READING ROOM is the access point for more than 65.5 million processed manuscripts in over 11,900 collections, including the papers of 23 American presidents, from George Washington to Calvin Coolidge. The reading room is open to researchers over high school age with a valid Library of

Congress reader registration card and a specific research purpose. Researchers are encouraged to write or call in advance since many collections are located off-site and advance notice is needed to retrieve these items for research use. A growing number of manuscript collections are available on the Library of Congress website.

favorite PLACES

MORE INFORMATION:

Location:

James Madison Memorial Building Room 101 101 Independence Ave. S.E. Washington, D.C. 20540

Hours:

Mondays - Saturdays 8:30 a.m. – 5 p.m.

Manuscript Reading Room:

loc.gov/rr/mss

Reference Assistance:

202.707.5387 loc.gov/rr/askalib/ ask-mss.html

Reader Registration:

loc.gov/rr/ readerregistration.html

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6. An all-star cast of performers pays tribute to Smokey Robinson during the 2016 Library of Congress Gershwin Prize for Popular Song concert at Washington's DAR Constitution Hall on Nov 16. The program will air Feb. 10 on PBS stations nationwide.

- 1. Librarian of Congress Carla Hayden interviews Gershwin Prize for Popular Song recipient Smokey Robinson in the Library's Gershwin Room.
- 2. "Diary of a Wimpy Kid" series author Jeff Kinney enters the Coolidge Auditorium for the launch of his latest book, "Double Down."
- 3. Literacy Awards benefactor David Rubenstein interviews 2016 award winners Allister Chang, Sarah Walzer and Noel Gunther on Oct. 27.
- 4. Secretary of the Army Eric Fanning speaks with Colleen Shogan of National and International Outreach about his career and the future of the Army during a conversation in the Members Room on Nov. 22.
- 5. John Montgomery, a luthier, inspects and cleans instruments from the Library's Stradivari collection.

All photos | Shawn Miller



CEREMONIAL OFFICE OPENED FOR PUBLIC VIEWING

The historic Ceremonial Office in the Library's Thomas Jefferson Building is now open to the public. Previously visited only by permission, the office is now open for public viewing from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., Monday through Saturday, with the exception of periodic times when it is needed for official business. The Ceremonial Office was the office of the Librarian of Congress for more than 80 years, from 1897 to 1980, until the working office was moved across the street to the newly opened James Madison Memorial Building. Since 1980, the room has been used for ceremonial purposes. Visiting kings, queens, presidents and other heads of state have viewed treasures from the Library's collections in the privacy of this room. The Jefferson Building opened its doors to the public on Nov. 1, 1897. Founded in 1800, the Library of Congress was housed in various locations within the U. S. Capitol Building prior

► MORE: loc.gov/today/pr/2016/16-181.html

JOINT PROJECT WILL DIGITIZE THE PAPERS OF KING GEORGE III

The Library of Congress, the Royal Collection Trust and King's College London signed a memorandum of understanding in which they agree to share resources to aid in the digitization of the papers of King George III (1738-1820), the English monarch in power when the American colonies declared independence, creating a new nation. Some 85 percent of the items in the archive, based at England's Windsor Castle, have never before been examined by scholars. They include correspondence, maps and royal household ledgers. Work to be done under the cooperative agreement will also include making the materials available to scholars; holding a conference at the Library of Congress about using collections at various institutions in a synergistic manner; and laying the groundwork for a future exhibition at the Library of Congress.

► MORE: loc.gov/today/pr/2016/16-188.html

JOHN W. KLUGE CENTER DIRECTOR APPOINTED

Historian, author, librarian and presidential speechwriter Edward L. (Ted) Widmer, a senior fellow and adjunct professor of history at Brown University, has been appointed director of the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress. Widmer served as special assistant to President Bill Clinton for National Security Affairs and director for speechwriting at the National Security Council, from 1997-2000. From 2006-2012, he directed the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. In 2012, Widmer served as senior adviser to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. He then returned to Brown as assistant to the president of Brown University for special projects (2012-2015). Widmer holds an A.B. in the history and literature of France and America, an A.M. in history, and a Ph.D. in the history of American civilization, all from Harvard University. Established in 2000 through a generous endowment from philanthropist John W. Kluge, the center invites distinguished scholars from around the world to conduct research at the Library of Congress.

► MORE: loc.gov/today/pr/2016/16-172.html

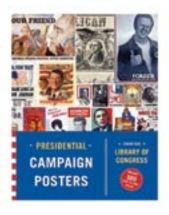
LITERACY AWARDS

The winners of the 2016 Library of Congress Literacy Awards are WETA Reading Rockets of Arlington, Virginia; the Parent-Child Home Program of Garden City, New York; and Libraries Without Borders of Paris, France. Reading Rocket works with more than 50 national partner organizations to promote literacy and reading. Parent-Child Home Program develops school readiness in children with disadvantages. Libraries Without Borders supports community development in 20 countries around the world through the promotion of literacy. Sponsored by philanthropist David M. Rubenstein, who originated the awards program in January 2013 the Library of Congress Literacy Awards honor organizations working to promote literacy and reading in the United States and worldwide. The awards recognize groups doing exemplary, innovative and replicable work, and they spotlight the need for the global community to unite in striving for universal literacy.

► MORE: loc.gov/today/pr/2016/16-159.html



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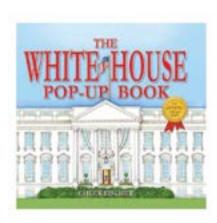
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► MORE INFORMATION | Order online: loc.gov/shop | Order by phone: 888.682.3557

SUMMER IN THE STACKS

GENEROUS SUPPORT FROM PRIVATE DONORS PROVIDES SUMMER INTERNSHIPS IN THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION.

"There is no place on Earth I'd rather be than the Library of Congress. I got wonderful help in every reading room that I used here, and I used just about every one. But I must especially single out the Manuscript Division [and its] very knowledgeable staff."

So said award-winning historian and U.S. diplomat Elizabeth Brown Pryor when she discussed her book about Robert E. Lee at the Library in 2007.

At the time of her death in a car accident on April 13, 2015, Pryor had just completed a new book on Abraham Lincoln, drawing on the Lincoln papers in the Library's Manuscript Division. Also researched at the Library, Pryor's 1987 biography, "Clara Barton, Professional Angel," is considered the authoritative work on the founder of the American Red Cross.

During her lifetime, Pryor not only expressed her gratitude to the Library in words. She also remembered the Library's Manuscript Division in her will. A bequest from her estate will support a summer intern in the Manuscript Division. The first Pryor intern joined the Wolfskill Trust Fund Intern in the Manuscript Division as part of the Library's 2016 Junior Fellows Summer Internship Program.

Named for a longtime Manuscript Division staff member who retired as the head of the division's Reference and Reader Services Section in 2005, the Mary Wolfskill Trust Fund is used to support internships in the Manuscript Division that will foster interest in archival work among graduate and undergraduate students, particularly minorities or students from smaller and lesser-known schools. The fund was established in Wolfskill's memory with a generous gift from her sister, Edie Hedlin of Arlington, Virginia. The first Wolfskill intern was appointed in 2009.

Interns in the Manuscript Division Reading Room assist the staff and researchers in accessing the division's collection of more than 65 million items relating to American history and culture.



Under the direction of the professional staff, interns respond to reference inquiries received via telephone, electronic means, or in-person; analyze reference requests; investigate sources of information; draft, revise, and deliver responses; retrieve and re-shelved manuscript materials; and compile reader usage statistics. The interns have also worked on special finding aids projects that improve researcher access to the materials, and select items of interest for a special Library display.

Logan Tapscott, the 2015 Wolfskill summer intern, summed up her experience in a Library blog post:

"Each day, I learn something new while working in the reading room, such as finding the location of a particular collection or how to assist readers accessing collections. I don't have a favorite collection, but I enjoy finding collections through the simple but large online catalog entries, published shelf lists and walking through the individual doors of the stacks. This is my adventure!"

MORE INFORMATION

Make a Gift to the Library

Phone 202.707.2777 loc.gov/donate

Library of Congress Internships

loc.gov/hr/employment

► From left: Junior Fellow Mohamed Abdirahman and Wolfskill Summer Intern Logan Tapscott, discuss their work in the Manuscript Division at a special display on July 30, 2015. Shawn



HISTORIAN DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN DISCUSSES HER PROCESS OF CHRONICLING THE LIVES OF PRESIDENTS.

The most important decision that I have to make when I choose who I'm going to write about is who I'm going to want to wake up with in the morning and go to bed with at night, because it takes me so long to write my books. It took me longer to write about Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt and World War II than it took the war to be fought! It took 10 years to write about Abraham Lincoln—twice as long as the Civil War. So knowing that I'm going to spend that amount of time ... it has to be somebody that I really care about, feel affection for and am fascinated by—even if they'll disappoint me at some point, as all people do, as human beings do.

Teddy Roosevelt always was somebody that interested me. I taught a seminar on the Progressive era when I was a young teacher at Harvard. So the combination of Teddy's manic energy, his extraordinary intellect, his wide-ranging interests and that era at the turn of the 20th century—my favorite era—I thought, yes, this is the man I want to live with as a biographer.

So when I choose people like Abraham Lincoln or Franklin Roosevelt or Teddy Roosevelt, then the whole problem becomes that lots of other people have chosen to live with them, too. So, it's not unique to be thinking of writing a biography of them. So in the case of my Lincoln biography, I had to come up with some angle that might be fresh. It became the team of rivals—Lincoln, William Seward, Salmon Chase, Edward Bates and eventually Edwin Stanton. With my book on FDR it became about FDR and Eleanor and the home front rather than the war front and World War II.

So, I started thinking what can I do to introduce characters besides Teddy Roosevelt? Early on in my research I read 400 letters housed in the Library of Congress between Teddy and his successor, William Howard Taft. It was clear from the time they were in their early 30s that they had a really intimate friendship. Letters are the best! There's nothing better than diaries and letters when you're a historian. I don't know what will happen 200 years from now. They'll see how we walked and talked, but not necessarily have 10-page letters written to our families at night describing how we felt.

Seeing and reading those letters I realized that this friendship was more important than I knew. And, of course, I knew the friendship broke up, but I didn't realize how hard the breakup was in 1912. So that was the second strand of the story—the Teddy-Taft relationship.

I also realized early on that Teddy Roosevelt's great way of leadership was to have a partnership with the press unlike anything we've ever seen before or since. He invited them for lunch and dinner to his house. They could criticize him, he could criticize them. At the time, the most important publication was "McClure's Magazine," run by this wonderfully manic-depressive, brilliant guy named Sam McClure. It had the best journalists probably ever assembled in one place at one time—Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Ray Baker and William Allen White. These muckraking journalists created the investigations on Standard Oil, on the railroads, on the meat packing plants, on the corruption in the cities that mobilized the public to pressure the Congress from the outside in. So suddenly that was the third leg of my book. No wonder it took seven years to complete!

Doris Kearns Goodwin's most recent book is "The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and the Golden Age of Journalism."

MORE INFORMATION

Listen to the full interview with Doris Kearns Goodwin loc.gov/today/cyberlc/feature_wdesc.php?rec=6321







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