

Running from New England: Will It Ever Lead the Nation Again?*

Garrison Nelson
University of Vermont

Abstract

New England's early historical political prominence has declined in recent years. That decline has been affected by the image of New England as a liberal haven and the relative decline of its population, congressional seats, and electoral votes. The New England region will continue to educate the politically ambitious because of the preponderance of its prestigious colleges and universities. But those aspirants generally will leave the region to pursue their political ambitions from other, less contentiously perceived regions and states.

Introduction

With 24 hour news cycles defining American presidential politics, it is not surprising that the 2012 election already is on the screen of opinion pollsters. A New England-connected politician—former Massachusetts Republican Governor Mitt Romney—has vaulted into the early lead (Gallup Poll July 10-12, 2009). This is not uncommon.

Since 1960, when Massachusetts Democratic Senator John F. Kennedy emerged as that year's front-runner who went on to win the nomination and the election, presidential aspirants with New England ties—birth, residence, and/or education—have been among the early leaders. Whether they be Massachusetts natives like the Kennedy brothers—Jack (1960), Bobby (1968), and Teddy (1980); Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (1964); George H.W. Bush (1980, 1988, and 1992), Michael Dukakis (1988), Paul Tsongas (1992); Maine natives Nelson Rockefeller (1960, 1964, and 1968) and Edmund Muskie (1972); or Connecticut natives George W. Bush (2000 and 2004) and Joe

* This article is based upon a paper that originally was presented at "The State of New England" Conference at the Joseph Martin Institute for Law and Society, Stonehill College, Easton, Massachusetts, March 28, 2008.

Lieberman (2004) – all have been in the front row of prospective presidential nominees. Adding Colorado-born John Kerry (2004), the child of Bay Staters, who spent his first four months of life out west to this list of natives, is not much of a stretch.

Including the alumni of New England's two most notable universities, the number of major presidential contenders reaches even higher with Harvard graduates Al Gore, Jr. (1988 and 2000); Mitt Romney (2008); and Barack Obama (2008); and Yale graduates Gerald Ford (1976), Howard Dean (2004), Bill Clinton (1992 and 1996) and Hillary Rodham Clinton (2008), who is also an alumna of Wellesley, the region's most prominent women's college. Apart from 1984, each of the past thirteen presidential election cycles has seen a New England-connected politician emerge as a major contender. Even in that year, the incumbent vice president, George H.W. Bush was a Massachusetts-born, Yale-educated summer resident of Maine. In spite of this abundance of New England-linked presidential candidacies, the only success story for a candidate who was simultaneously a New England native, resident, and college graduate was John Kennedy and that was a half century ago. Overall, the record for New England-linked candidacies is mixed. The natives who remained have been unsuccessful while the natives who moved elsewhere – the Bushes – succeeded. It is the New England university alumni who have enjoyed the most national success with each of the last six presidential elections won by a New England-educated nominee.

Has this always been the case? Or have there been oscillations in the appeal of New England-linked candidacies to the Nation's electorate? What factors helped or detracted? This paper will examine the political recruitment process of presidential and vice presidential nominees over the past two-plus centuries.¹ While most political

¹ The data used for this paper came from the conventional biographical sources on American political leaders and any number of web pages maintained by state historical societies. A very valuable website used was *The Political Graveyard* that provided a number of links to relevant sources. Among the valuable biographical compendia were: American Council of Learned Societies, *Dictionary of American Biography* (1941-1980); Congressional Quarterly, *American Leaders, 1789-1994* (1994); John A. Garraty, John A. and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (1999), 24

research on New England adopts the separate six-state format of Duane Lockard's classic *New England State Politics*,² this paper focuses upon the region as a whole as it relates to national office-holding. History shall be the guide in this analysis. However, not all of New England-linked politicians value history, as is obviously the case with our most recent President George W. Bush, a Connecticut-born alumnus of Phillips Andover, Yale, and Harvard Business School who stated, a few months ago: "I'll be frank with you; I don't spend a lot of time really worrying about short-term history. I guess I don't worry about long-term history, either, since I am not going to be around to read it." (George W. Bush to Charles Gibson, ABC News, December 1, 2008.) Given the fact that Princeton's Sean Wilentz (2006) and a number of other prominent historians have decreed his presidency to be the worst ever, President Bush may be wise to ignore historians if not history, itself.

The Puritan Imperative

While the Pilgrims of Plymouth are celebrated every Thanksgiving Day, it was the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony who truly set the tone for New England's

vols.; John A. Garraty and Jerome L. Sternstein, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Biography* (1996); Steven O'Brien and Paula McGuire, eds., *American Political Leaders: From Colonial Times to the Present* (1991); Robert Sobel, ed., *Biographical Directory of the United States Executive Branch, 1774-1989* (1990); Robert Sobel and John W. Raimo, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1789-1978* (1978), 4 vols.; updated with John W. Raimo, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1978-1983* (1985); and U.S. Congress, *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1989* (1989).

² Lockard's *New England State Politics* (1959) ranks behind only V.O. Key Jr.'s magisterial *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949) as the most influential of the regional political studies. While Key focused on the diversity of political organizations within the Southern states, he also saw them unite politically against the nation on issues of racial segregation. Lockard's book contrasted rural mainly Protestant northern New England with urban multi-ethnic, religiously diverse southern New England. The deep sub-regional ethno-religious tensions Lockard detected have been missing from subsequent efforts to update his analysis. Most of these presumed updates have stressed inter-party competition over ethno-religious tension, see the six-state comparisons of George Goodwin and Victoria Schuck, *Party Politics in the New England States* (1968); Josephine F. Milburn and William Doyle, *New England Political Parties* (1983); and Jerome M. Mileur, ed., *Parties and Politics in the New England States* (1997). An uneven topical treatment of the region's politics may be found in Josephine F. Milburn and Victoria Schuck's *New England Politics* (1981). The most comprehensive six-state overview is Neal R. Peirce's sadly outdated *The New England States: People, Politics, and Power in the Six New England States* (1976).

political prominence. The Puritans, in their escape from East Anglia across the Atlantic Ocean, who wished to renew English Protestantism from the multiple corruptions of the Stuart kings and their concept of “divine right” by creating a “New” England that would be peopled by the truly righteous (Fischer 1989). Led by John Winthrop, an ancestor of John Kerry’s mother, the Puritans hoped to establish within this “New” England an encampment that would “be like a city on a hill, a city that could not be hid” in the translated words of the Book of Matthew, chapter five, verse fourteen. Winthrop declaimed on the *Arbella* in his 1630 sermon, “Model of Christian Charity”:

For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken ... we shall be made a story and a by-word throughout the world. We shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God... We shall shame the faces of many of God’s worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us ‘til we be consumed out of the good land whither we are a going (1985, 89-92).

This arduous trans-Atlantic journey was to be the “Errand into the Wilderness” that would redeem English Protestantism (Miller 1956). From the crest of their Boston settlement—Beacon Hill—of this “city on a hill” would be a brightly burning beacon of goodness and light that would radiate back to the European continent that a true Christian colony had been established in the New World. This was a people that intended to lead and lead they did.

From the 1770 Boston Massacre and continuing through the Boston Tea Party, the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, it would be the colonists of Massachusetts, many of whom were the descendants of the Puritans who first settled the colony, who led the fight to liberate the American colonies from the reach of the English crown. Thus, it was no surprise that it was New Englanders John Hancock and Sam Adams (who played prominent roles in the early phases of the Revolution), New England natives John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and Roger Sherman, who helped draft the Declaration of Independence; and once the revolution succeeded it was Sherman’s

Connecticut Compromise that saved the 1787 Constitutional Convention from collapse and preserved the Union during its first great challenge. It was part of the culture. As sociologist E. Digby Baltzell (1995) of the University of Pennsylvania pointed out in *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia*, his masterful comparison of the early Nation's two most prominent cities, Boston and Philadelphia:

... the elitist Puritan ethic firmly established class authority and deference democracy in Boston and Massachusetts and lasted from the colonial period down to the twentieth century; on the other hand, the egalitarian and victim ethic of Quakerism failed to produce class authority, resulting in the defiant democracy that has marked Philadelphia and Pennsylvania ever since. . . the hierarchical culture of Massachusetts produced great leaders on the local and national scene, while Philadelphia and Pennsylvania have produced hardly any leaders of distinction.

Not all Americans have been impressed by the New England tradition of leadership and trumpeting of its past. The abundance of published material on Boston and Massachusetts most provokes irritation. As U.S. House Speaker Champ Clark (D-Mo.), a 1912 presidential contender, wryly observed in his autobiography, *My Quarter-Century in American Politics* (1920) that "Massachusetts books, a great multitude which no man can number" have created the "erroneous" belief that "Massachusetts, single handedly and alone, originated and achieved the Revolution, created the Republic, and has sustained it and governed it from the first (120)." While intellectual ability and political accomplishment are seldom conjoined in democratic America, they seemed to define the early years of the Republic and New England's leaders benefited from it.

New England's Early Political Peak, 1789-1852

New England's early contributions to nation-building were suitably rewarded as John Adams of Massachusetts became the Nation's first Vice President in 1789 and its second president in 1797. New Englanders populated the initial presidential cabinets with Boston-born General Henry Knox serving as the first Secretary of War; Oliver Wolcott of Litchfield, Connecticut serving as the second Secretary of the Treasury, while Samuel Dexter of Boston held two Cabinet posts and Timothy Pickering of Salem

held three Cabinet posts in the Nation's first decade. In the Congress, Jonathan Trumbull of Lebanon, Connecticut was chosen as Speaker of the House in the Second Congress and Connecticut-born Theodore Sedgwick of Sheffield, Massachusetts occupied the speakership in the Fifth and Sixth Congresses (1797-1801) (Welch, 1965). It was Sedgwick who sought to prevent Thomas Jefferson from gaining the White House in 1801, but it was Irish-born Representative Matthew Lyon of Fair Haven, Vermont, who had been jailed for violating the Sedition Act whose lone vote from the Green Mountains helped Jefferson gain the House majority on the 36th ballot that broke the deadlock and ended the Federalist era.³

From 1789 to 1852, five New England natives won major party nominations for president in seven of seventeen elections (41.2%): **John Adams** of Braintree, Massachusetts in 1796 and 1800; **Rufus King** of New York who was born in Scarborough (then a Massachusetts town in Maine) in 1816; **John Quincy Adams** of Braintree, Massachusetts in 1824 and 1828; two natives of New Hampshire, **Lewis Cass** of Exeter in 1848 and **Franklin Pierce** of Concord in 1852. An eighth New England presidential nomination occurred when **Daniel Webster**, a native of Salisbury, New Hampshire (then serving as a U.S. Senator from Massachusetts) was part of a three-man presidential ticket concocted by the Whigs to toss the 1836 election into the House of Representatives (Silbey 1971).

Seven vice presidential nominations were won by five New England natives during those same years: John Adams in 1789 and 1792 with George Washington; Rufus King in 1804 and 1808 with Charles Cotesworth Pinckney; Harvard-educated **Elbridge Gerry** of Marblehead, Massachusetts in 1812 with James Madison; New Haven-born and Yale-educated **Jared Ingersoll** of Pennsylvania who ran with DeWitt Clinton in 1812; and Suffield, Connecticut-born and Yale-educated **Francis Granger** of

³ "Lewis Morrison, the Vermont Federalist, did not appear in his seat. That enabled Matthew Lyon to cast Vermont's vote for Jefferson and assure his election" (Van Der Linden 1962, 312).

New York who was part of the Whigs two-man vice-presidential team. While the Whig presidential troika failed to derail Martin Van Buren's presidential candidacy, Granger's efforts forced the only Senate vote on a vice presidency.

Taken together, these nine New England natives received fifteen nominations in seventeen elections with those New Englanders occupying one of the two top slots for one of the major parties in all but four of these election contests from 1789 to 1852. Exceptions occurred in 1820, 1832, 1840 and 1844. In 1820, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams received the one electoral vote that was not cast for President James Monroe. It was Newburyport, Massachusetts native William Plumer, a former Federalist U.S. Senator, who was then residing in Epping, New Hampshire who cast the lone vote for the son of his old hero (Turner 1962).⁴ With the 1820 contest eliminated, New England natives were on major party tickets in thirteen of sixteen contests--81.2%.

A recurring theme among the earlier and the later New England candidacies would be the prevalence of Ivy League degrees among the nominees with all four of the Massachusetts natives educated at Harvard—the two Adams's, King, and Gerry; the two Connecticut natives at Yale - Ingersoll and Granger; and one at Dartmouth—Webster. All three Hampshire men went to Exeter Academy with Webster graduating from Dartmouth and Pierce from Bowdoin while Cass did not attain further formal education.

⁴ Turner contends that Plumer's vote was in opposition to Vice President Daniel Tompkins of New York (pp. 310-320).

Table 1: New England as Birth Region and Campaign Residence of Major Party Presidential and Vice Presidential Nominees, 1789-1852

<u>Office/Year</u>	<u>Nominee</u>	<u>Birth State</u>	<u>Residence</u>
F/V 1789	Ambassador John Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
F/V 1792	Vice President John Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
F/P 1796	Vice President John Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
F/P 1800	President John Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
F/V 1804	ex-Ambassador Rufus King	Massachusetts	New York
F/V 1808	ex-Ambassador Rufus King	Massachusetts	New York
DR/V 1812	Governor Elbridge Gerry	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
F/V 1812	Pennsylvania Attorney-General Jared Ingersoll	Connecticut	Pennsylvania
F/P 1816	ex-Ambassador Rufus King	Massachusetts	New York
1820	Electoral vote for John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
DR/P 1824	Secretary of State John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
NR/P 1828	President John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
1832	None		
W/P 1836	U.S. Senator Daniel Webster	New Hampshire	Massachusetts
W/V 1836	U.S. Representative Francis Granger	Connecticut	New York
1840-1844	None		
D/P 1848	U.S. Senator Lewis Cass	New Hampshire	Michigan
D/P 1852	ex-US Senator Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	New Hampshire

New England Natives/Residents

6 Pres./3 V.P.

New England non-Natives/Residents:

0 Pres./0 V.P.

New England Native/non-Residents:

2 Pres./4 V.P.

From 1789 to 1852, seventeen elections with 35 presidential nominees: only one in 1789, 1792 and 1820; four in 1824 and four in 1836 and 33 vice presidential nominees: only one in 1789, 1792, 1820, and 1824 and three in 1836 = 68 total nominees.

15 New England nominations of 68 = 22.1%

Election Years with New England nominees: 13 of 17 = 76.5%

Shutout years: 1820, 1832, 1840 and 1844 (4)

Politically, eleven of the nominations came from the opponents of the Jefferson Republicans and the Jackson Democrats with New England-connected politicians collecting nine nominations—six from the Federalists, one from the National Republicans and two from the Whigs (Formisano 1983). The two Democratic-Republican nominees from New England were Elbridge Gerry for vice president in 1812 and John Quincy Adams as one of four contenders in 1824. The only two New England-connected Democrats to be nominated were the two New Hampshire natives – Lewis Cass in 1848 and Franklin Pierce in 1852. Both men were classified by the abolitionists as “doughfaces” – northern defenders of slavery (Heimbinder 1973).

While the major parties of the later part of the era condoned slavery, anti-slavery parties with New Englanders among their leaders formed the Free Soil movement to keep slavery from extending west of the Missouri River. Among them were Boston-born and Harvard-educated **Charles Francis Adams**, son of John Quincy Adams who ran for vice president on Martin Van Buren’s Free Soil ticket in 1848 and U.S. Senator **John P. Hale**, a Rochester, New Hampshire native was its presidential nominee in 1852. Hale lost to Franklin Pierce, a fellow alumnus of both Exeter Academy and Bowdoin College. However, of the fifteen major party nominations received by these nine New Englanders, only six were successful—three for John Adams and one each for Gerry, John Quincy Adams, and Franklin Pierce. All three of New England’s presidents would be one-termers with both of the Adams’s defeated for re-election in 1800 and 1828, respectively, and Pierce (whose alcoholic demons had overtaken him) would be the only elected president to be denied re-nomination by his party. This would be another recurring theme.

New England’s Political Eclipse, 1856-1956

For the Whigs, the 1852 election sealed their fate as their two elderly champions, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, were visibly fading and both would die within the year. Twice, the Whigs had successfully captured the White House before with superannuated generals—William Henry Harrison in 1840 and Zachary Taylor in 1848, both of whom would die in office. The Mexican War had brought forth another set of

generals, most notably General Winfield Scott. General Harrison was known as “Old Tippecanoe” (the site of a successful battle in the War of 1812) and General Taylor was known by the macho nickname, “Old Rough and Ready.” This was not the case with General Scott, whose vanity and regalia had earned him the nickname of “Old Fuss and Feathers” –hardly one to inspire much confidence. Scott’s loss to Democrat Franklin Pierce and the deaths of Clay and Webster led to the collapse of the Whigs.

To fill the second party void as opposition to the Democrats, two political parties emerged: the anti-immigrant American Party anchored among the Southern Whigs and nativist groups in the Northeast and the Republican Party—an agglomeration of Northern Whigs, anti-slavery members of the Liberty Party and Free Soilers who wanted to prevent the extension of slavery into the new territories west of the Missouri River. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had already extended slavery west of the Mississippi and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 envisioned a similar fate for the western territories beyond the Missouri.

New England’s political landscape was transformed by waves of Irish immigrants pouring into Boston to escape the ravages of the Great Famine (Handlin 1969, O’Connor 1995). Both the American Party and the Republican Party had success in New England with national implications as American Party leader Nathaniel Banks of Waltham, Massachusetts was elected Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1855 (Baum 1978, Mulkern 1990). Former President Millard Fillmore of New York, the son of two Vermonters, who had succeeded Zachary Taylor in 1850, was the American Party’s 1856 presidential nominee. Fillmore was the first of four American presidents to be the son of a Vermont native.

However, it was the Republicans who were able to capture the electoral votes of all of New England in 1856, their initial presidential contest. In the century following the formation of the Republican Party in 1854 to 1956, 26 presidential elections occurred with Republicans winning sixteen (61.5%) and Democrats only ten. New England was not competitive as regional electoral vote majorities were recorded in the Republican

column twenty-two times (84.6%). Woodrow Wilson's 1912 victory over the two bitter Republican rivals, Teddy Roosevelt and William Howard Taft and Franklin D. Roosevelt's three victories in 1936, 1940 and 1944 were the exceptions. In twelve of the twenty-six elections, all six New England states voted Republican unanimously. Even in the four Democratic victories, Vermont remained relentlessly Republican throughout and Maine only defected once from the GOP and that was in 1912. Of the 156 New England state electoral decisions made in those years, 128 (82.1%) were recorded in the Republican Party column (Moore, Preimesberger, and Tarr 2001).

Much as the white South used their control over the Democratic Party to exclude blacks from power in the decades following the Civil War, it appears that New England's Protestants may have used their control of the Republican Party to limit the political influence of the Democratic-affiliated Irish, Italian, and French-Canadian Catholic immigrants whose arrival in the region threatened their hegemony (Solomon 1965). Even today, instances remain of the persistence of ethnicity in New England local politics (Gimpel and Cho 2004).

So safe was the Republican one-party hegemony of New England that the GOP seldom chose New Englanders for their tickets and Democrats only did so once. Of the 105 major party presidential and vice presidential candidacies named in those years, only eleven nominees (10.5%) were New England-connected. Only two New England residents were nominated for president—Pennsylvania-born **James G. Blaine** of Portland, Maine, the Republican nominee in 1884 and 1924's incumbent president, Plymouth, Vermont native **Calvin Coolidge** of Northampton, Massachusetts. Four New England residents were nominated for vice president—three Republicans, **Hannibal Hamlin** of Paris Hill, Maine who ran with Abraham Lincoln in 1860, Farmington, New Hampshire native **Henry Wilson** of Natick, Massachusetts who ran with Ulysses S. Grant in 1872; Coolidge who ran with Warren G. Harding in 1920 and the lone Democrat, **Arthur Sewall** of Bath, Maine who ran with William Jennings Bryan in 1896.

Table 2: New England as Birth Region and Campaign Residence of Major Party Presidential and Vice Presidential Nominees, 1856-1956

<u>Office/Year</u>	<u>Nominee</u>	<u>Birth State</u>	<u>Residence</u>
1856	None		
D/P 1860	U.S. Senator Stephen Douglas	Vermont	Illinois
R/V 1860	U.S. Senator Hannibal Hamlin	Maine	Maine
1864-1868	None		
D/P 1872	NYC editor Horace Greeley	New Hampshire	New York
R/V 1872	U.S. Senator Henry Wilson	New Hampshire	Massachusetts
1876	None		
R/V 1880	ex-Port Collector Chester Alan Arthur	Vermont	New York
R/P 1884	ex-Secretary of State James Blaine	Pennsylvania	Maine
R/V 1888	ex-Ambassador Levi Morton	Vermont	New York
1892	None		
D/V 1896	Ship builder Arthur Sewall	Maine	Maine
1900-1916	None		
R/V 1920	Governor Calvin Coolidge	Vermont	Massachusetts
R/P 1924	President Calvin Coolidge	Vermont	Massachusetts
1928-1932	None		
R/V 1936	Publisher Frank Knox	Massachusetts	Illinois
1940-1956	None		

New England Natives/Residents 1 Pres./4 V.P.
 New England non-Natives/Residents: 1 Pres./0 V.P.
 New England Native/non-Residents: 2 Pres./3 V.P.

From 1856 to 1956 - twenty-six elections - with 52 presidential and 53 vice presidential nominees (R/V 1912, Butler) = 105 total nominees. New England natives or residents received only 11 of 105 major party nominations for president or vice president = 10.4%.

Election Years with New England nominees: 9 of 26 = 34.6%
 Shutout years: 1856, 1864, 1868, 1876, 1892, 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, 1916, 1928,, 1932, 1940, 1944, 1948, 1952, and 1956 (17)

Five New England natives who had left the region received major party presidential nominations. The Democrats named two for president – Brandon, Vermont native U.S. Senator **Stephen Douglas** who moved as far west as Illinois. As a leading “doughface,” it was Douglas who authored the infamous Kansas-Nebraska Act and

had to debate Abraham Lincoln to hold on to his Senate seat in 1858. In 1860, Douglas was the nominee of the Northern Democrats after he failed to get the required two-thirds vote at his party's initial convention (Bain and Paris 1973). The other native New England Democratic presidential nominee **Horace Greeley** who was born in Amherst, New Hampshire and apprenticed in Poultney, Vermont. Although it was Greeley who uttered the famous phrase, "Go west, young man," Greeley chose to only go as far west as New York City to make his fortune as a publisher.

Three other native New Englanders who left to find financial and political success elsewhere were all Republicans. The first was **Chester A. Arthur** of Fairfield, Vermont who relocated to New York City and was named to run with James A. Garfield in 1880 and became president upon Garfield's assassination in 1881. **Levi P. Morton** of Shoreham, Vermont arrived in New York City at the age of 30 and became a successful businessman and was named vice president on Benjamin Harrison's first ticket in 1888. The third displaced New Englander to receive a Republican nomination for vice president was **Frank Knox**, a Boston native, educated in Michigan and who rode with Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders. Knox, like Greeley, was a newspaperman and published newspapers in New Hampshire before relocating to Chicago. Knox was the vice presidential nominee on Kansas Governor Alf Landon's ill-fated ticket in 1936 and later served as Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of the Navy.

New England Educations: Unlike the early years, Ivy League education was not prevalent among the ten New England-connected nominees selected from 1856 to 1956. None of the New England natives had Ivy League degrees. Coolidge, the only two-time nominee, a graduate of Amherst, was the only one with a New England degree while the three other New England-linked nominees were educated elsewhere. Arthur graduated from Union College in New York; Blaine graduated from Dickinson in Pennsylvania while Frank Knox attended Alma College in Michigan. The six other New England-connected nominees received no collegiate training.

During the region's political eclipse, it was the non-New England natives who were educated in New England. Of the eleven non-New England nominees educated

in New England, nine attended Ivy League schools. Ohio Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, both of whose parents were Vermonters, graduated from Harvard Law while both of the New York Roosevelts, Teddy and Franklin were Harvard undergraduates and Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson attended its law school before completing his legal studies at Northwestern. Yale alumni included U.S. Senator B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, Horace Greeley's 1872 running-mate; New York Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York, the Democratic presidential nominee in 1876; and Secretary of War William Howard Taft, a two-time Republican nominee. It was Taft's father Alphonso, a native Vermonter who held two Cabinet posts under President Ulysses S. Grant, who was one of the co-founders of Yale's powerful secret society, Skull and Bones (Russ 1964). Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee who was Stevenson's 1956 running-mate was a graduate of Yale Law. The other Ivy League representative was Charles Evans Hughes of New York who graduated from Brown. Two other well-regarded New England schools that educated non-New England nominees were the University of Vermont where U.S. Representative William Wheeler, Hayes's 1876 ticket-mate, attended and Williams College that graduated U.S. Representative James A. Garfield, the 1880 Republican presidential nominee.

Vice Presidents: Regarding their electoral fortunes, five of the New Englanders were elected vice president—Hamlin with Lincoln, Wilson with Grant, Arthur with Garfield, Morton with Benjamin Harrison and Coolidge with Harding. Both native Vermonters Arthur and Coolidge became president upon the deaths of Presidents Garfield and Harding respectively. Hamlin and Morton did not fare as well as both were named during successful president's first terms but were replaced for the subsequent contest. Wilson was Grant's vice president in his second term and died before it ended. Less successful were New England-connected presidential nominees Douglas, Greeley, Blaine and vice presidential nominees Sewall in 1896 and Knox in 1936, whose ticket carried only two states—Maine and Vermont.

President Arthur was denied nomination in his own right in 1884 losing to former Secretary of State James G. Blaine, who moved to New England with his Maine-born wife to take over her family's business and further his political career. Also competing with Arthur at that convention was U.S. Senator George Edmunds of Richmond, Vermont (Bain and Parris 1973, Hirsch 1971). With three New England-connected politicians simultaneously contending for the Republican nomination that year, it would foreshadow the 2004 Democratic nomination that would find three New England-connected Democrats battling one another through the primaries—U.S. Senator John F. Kerry of Massachusetts, fending off U.S. Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut and former Governor Howard Dean of Vermont (Gittell 2002).

The middle century of American history relegated New England's presidential politicians into a minor place. Only one New Englander was a first-time nominee for president—James G. Blaine in 1884 and he was a transplant from Pennsylvania. Seventeen of the twenty-six elections between 1856 and 1956 had no New Englander--native or resident--on any major party ticket. The region had been eclipsed and it would have become a national "rotten borough" had it not been for the transformative candidacy of John F. Kennedy.

The Kennedy Breakthrough and New England's Transformation

The nomination and election of U.S. Senator **John F. Kennedy**, a Brookline, Massachusetts native in 1960 changed New England's politics and its candidacies. Kennedy's 1960 presidential contest against President Eisenhower's Vice President Richard M. Nixon of California was the closest in the 20th century. At the age of 43, he was the youngest elected president and the nation's first and only Roman Catholic president. Kennedy sought to alleviate Southern Protestant anxieties by naming U.S. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas as his running-mate. To counter the Kennedy-Johnson ticket, Nixon reached deep into New England to select former United Nations Ambassador **Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.**, the ultimate Harvard-educated Brahmin whose grandfather Henry Cabot Lodge had been Senate Majority Leader and whose ancestors included U.S. Senator George Cabot who had served with President George

Washington in the Second through the Fourth Congresses (1791-1796). In 1916, Lodge's grandfather had defeated John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, Kennedy's grandfather and namesake for the U.S. Senate, but Jack Kennedy had ended the younger Lodge's Senate career in 1952. Although not confronting one another directly, this would be a rubber match between the two families. The true rubber match occurred in 1962 when JFK's youngest brother Edward defeated Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.'s eldest son, George Cabot Lodge, in the U.S. Senate contest.

Kennedy carried only 22 states plus five of Alabama's eleven electoral votes. He won the southern New England states of Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island while Vice President Richard Nixon won all three northern New England states, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. But among Kennedy's 22 states were the electoral vote-rich ones of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois and Michigan. That was the key to his victory; not New England. It would be Kennedy's Texas-born successor Lyndon B. Johnson who would be the first Democrat to capture all 37 of New England's electoral votes in 1964—the first-time ever for a Democrat presidential nominee. President James Monroe's 1820 re-election lost New England unanimity when Massachusetts-born William Plumer of New Hampshire cast the lone dissenting electoral vote for Secretary of State John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, the son of the last Federalist president.

In 1968, New England seized center stage once again when the New Hampshire Primary that year awarded more of the state's Democratic delegates to anti-war U.S. Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota than to President Lyndon Johnson, even though Johnson's write-in votes slightly exceeded those of McCarthy ("Presidential Primary Returns" 1995).⁵ McCarthy's success opened the door for LBJ's real nemesis, Boston-born U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York to enter the fray days later.

⁵ President Johnson garnered 29,298 votes (27,520 Democratic and 1778 Republican) to Senator Gene McCarthy's 28,774 votes (23,263 Democratic and 5,511 Republican), ("Presidential Primary returns" 1995).

Faced with two vocal opponents of his Vietnam War strategy, Johnson bowed out nineteen days after the New Hampshire Primary and two days before the Wisconsin one. The bitterly divided 1968 Democratic convention gave the nomination to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey who named as his running-mate U.S. Senator **Edmund S. Muskie**, a Bates-educated native of Rumford, Maine.

While LBJ’s six-state success in 1964 was not repeated in 1968, the Humphrey-Muskie ticket carried Maine as well as southern New England and fared better than the Kennedy-Johnson ticket of 1960. Johnson’s 1964 sweep was generally regarded as more of an anti-Barry Goldwater vote than a pro-Johnson one. The latest Democratic sweeps through the region appear more enduring. Bill Clinton of Arkansas accomplished the feat twice in 1992 and 1996 as did John Kerry in 2004 and Barack Obama in 2008. Had 2000’s Democratic nominee Vice President Albert Gore Jr. done as well as Clinton, Kerry, and Obama and carried New Hampshire’s four electoral votes, he would have been elected president and Florida’s 25 electoral votes could have been safely ignored.

Table 3: New England and the Nation: Presidential Politics, 1990-2002
Democratic Presidential Percentages in New England, 1900-2008

<u>Year</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>CT</u>	<u>ME</u>	<u>MA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>RI</u>	<u>VT</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>H/L</u>
1900	45.5	41.1	34.8	37.8	38.4	35.0	22.9	35.0	18.2	CT/VT
1904	37.6	<u>38.1</u>	28.5	37.2	<u>37.8</u>	36.2	18.8	32.8	19.3	CT/VT
1908	43.0	35.9	33.3	34.0	37.6	34.2	21.8	32.8	15.8	NH/VT
1912	41.8	39.2	39.4	35.5	39.5	39.0	24.4	36.2	15.1	NH/VT
1916	49.2	46.7	47.0	46.6	49.1	46.0	35.2	45.1	13.9	NH/VT
1920	34.1	33.0	29.8	27.8	<u>39.4</u>	32.8	23.3	31.0	16.1	NH/VT
1924	28.8	27.5	21.8	24.9	<u>34.7</u>	<u>36.5</u>	15.7	26.8	20.8	RI/VT
Avg., 1900-24	40.0							34.2	17.03	
1928	40.8	<u>45.6</u>	31.0	<u>50.2</u>	<u>41.0</u>	<u>50.2</u>	32.9	<u>41.8</u>	19.2	MA+RI/ME
1932	57.4	47.4	43.2	50.6	49.0	55.1	41.1	47.7	14.0	RI/VT

1936	60.8	55.3	41.5	51.2	49.7	53.0	43.2	49.0	13.8	CT/ME
1940	54.7	53.4	48.8	53.1	53.2	<u>56.7</u>	44.9	51.7	11.8	RI/VT
1944	53.4	52.3	47.4	52.8	52.1	<u>58.6</u>	42.9	51.0	15.7	RI/VT
1948	49.6	47.9	42.3	<u>54.7</u>	46.7	<u>57.6</u>	36.9	47.7	20.7	RI/VT
Avg., 1928-48	52.8							48.2	15.87	
1952	44.4	43.9	33.8	<u>45.5</u>	39.1	<u>49.0</u>	28.2	39.9	20.8	RI/VT
1956	42.0	36.3	29.1	40.4	33.8	41.7	27.8	34.8	13.9	RI/VT
Avg., 1952-56	43.2							37.4		
1960	49.7	<u>53.7</u>	43.0	<u>60.2</u>	46.6	<u>63.6</u>	41.3	<u>51.4</u>	22.3	RI/VT
1964	61.1	<u>67.8</u>	<u>68.8</u>	<u>76.2</u>	<u>63.9</u>	<u>80.9</u>	<u>66.3</u>	<u>70.6</u>	17.0	RI/NH
1968	42.7	<u>49.5</u>	<u>55.3</u>	<u>63.0</u>	<u>43.9</u>	<u>64.0</u>	<u>43.5</u>	<u>53.2</u>	20.5	RI/VT
1972	37.5	<u>40.1</u>	<u>38.5</u>	<u>54.2</u>	34.9	<u>46.8</u>	36.5	<u>41.8</u>	19.3	MA/NH
1976	50.1	46.9	48.1	<u>56.1</u>	43.5	<u>55.4</u>	43.1	48.8	13.0	MA/VT
1980	41.0	38.5	<u>42.3</u>	<u>41.7</u>	28.4	<u>47.7</u>	38.4	39.5	19.3	RI/NH
1984	40.6	38.8	38.8	<u>48.4</u>	30.9	<u>48.0</u>	<u>40.8</u>	<u>41.0</u>	17.5	MA/NH
1988	45.6	<u>46.9</u>	43.9	<u>53.2</u>	36.3	<u>55.6</u>	<u>47.6</u>	<u>47.2</u>	19.3	RI/NH
1992	43.0	42.2	38.8	<u>49.8</u>	38.9	<u>47.0</u>	<u>46.1</u>	<u>43.8</u>	11.0	MA/ME
1996	49.2	<u>52.8</u>	<u>51.6</u>	<u>61.5</u>	<u>49.3</u>	<u>59.7</u>	<u>53.4</u>	<u>54.7</u>	12.2	MA/NH
2000	48.4	<u>56.1</u>	<u>48.9</u>	<u>59.8</u>	46.9	<u>61.4</u>	<u>51.0</u>	<u>54.0</u>	14.5	RI/NH
2004	48.0	<u>54.0</u>	<u>53.0</u>	<u>62.0</u>	<u>50.0</u>	<u>60.0</u>	<u>59.0</u>	<u>56.3</u>	12.0	MA/NH
2008	53.0	<u>63.0</u>	<u>58.0</u>	<u>52.0</u>	<u>54.0</u>	<u>63.0</u>	<u>67.0</u>	<u>61.2</u>	13.0	VT/NH
Avg., 1960- 2008	46.8							51.0		

Underlined percentages exceed the US average Data from John L. Moore, Jon P. Preimesberger and David R. Tarr, *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections*, 4th ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 2001).

The only echo of New England's prior Republican hegemony occurred in 1984 when Ronald Reagan's victory over Walter Mondale restored Republican unanimity to New England. All tallied, 45 of the 72 New England state decisions from 1964 to 2008 (62.5%) have been won by Democratic presidential candidates. Massachusetts, the lone state defector for U.S. Senator George S. McGovern from President Nixon's 1972 landslide and Rhode Island, the lone New England state defector for President Jimmy Carter from Governor Reagan's 1980 landslide have been Democratic bastions since the 1928 nomination of New York Governor Al Smith, the first Roman Catholic major party presidential contender. That these two states have exceeded the national Democratic vote percentages in each of the last thirteen elections (1960-2008) is no surprise.

Nor is it surprising that tax-obsessed New Hampshire has steadfastly resisted the pull of the Democratic Party. It has only exceeded the national Democratic percentages four times since 1960. What is a surprise is that Maine has surpassed the national Democratic percentage seven times while both Connecticut and Vermont have done so eight times. Yes, Vermont! From 1856 to 1960, the Green Mountain State of Vermont cast its electoral votes twenty-seven consecutive times for Republican presidential nominees – the longest one-party consecutive election string in the nation's history (Nelson 1997, Sherman 2000). Now Vermont has become one of the nation's most reliable Democratic states.

While Jack Kennedy was the first-ever Democratic presidential nominee from New England, the region has produced an abundance of Democratic contenders in the past forty years. Boston-born U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York was closing in on the 1968 Democratic nomination until his murder on the night of his 1968 California primary victory. Maine's U.S. Senator Ed Muskie, the Democrats' losing 1968 vice presidential nominee, was the 1972 presidential front-runner until his campaign was done in by the *Manchester Union-Leader* in that year's New Hampshire primary. Massachusetts's U.S. Senator Ted Kennedy lost the New Hampshire and Vermont primaries to President Jimmy Carter early in 1980 but came on strong in the

later New England primaries to seriously threaten Carter's re-nomination bid (Pomper 1981). But neither Ed Muskie nor Ted Kennedy was nominated.

An anomalous New England selection involved four-term New York Governor **Nelson A. Rockefeller** who had been a contender in three Republican nomination battles - 1960, 1964 and 1968 and had lost twice to Nixon and once to Goldwater. The Nixon-Agnew administration suffered its first casualty when Vice President Spiro Agnew was forced to resign in 1973 as part of a plea bargain to settle his bribery case. Agnew was replaced by House Minority Leader Gerald Ford, and confirmed quickly. As the Watergate crisis continued it engulfed President Nixon who was forced to resign in 1974. Upon becoming president, Ford named Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller to be vice president under the provisions of the 25th Amendment. Rockefeller had many New England accoutrements. He was born in Bar Harbor, Maine, named for his maternal grandfather, the redoubtable Senate Republican leader, Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island, and educated at the northern-most of the Ivies--Dartmouth College. Rockefeller who had sponsored Harvard Professor Henry Kissinger's rise in the upper echelons of foreign policy decision-making was denied a nomination by conservative Republicans who had despaired of Kissinger's détente policy with the Soviet Union. Ford was obliged to replace Rockefeller with U.S. Senator Robert Dole of Kansas.

New England's next presidential nomination came in 1988 when Governor **Michael S. Dukakis** of Massachusetts outlasted the crowded field of contenders to capture the Democratic nomination only to lose to Vice President **George H.W. Bush** (Cook 1989, Germond and Witcover 1989, Pomper1989). Ironically, both men were natives of Norfolk County, Massachusetts, with Bush having been born in Milton and Dukakis in nearby Brookline. Norfolk County is the nation's only county to produce four U.S. presidents—John and John Quincy Adams in Braintree, Jack Kennedy in Brookline as well as Bush Senior.

The Dukakis defeat was no deterrent to fellow Greek-American Bay Stater Paul Tsongas, a former U.S. Senator, born in Lowell, Massachusetts, who captured the 1992

New England primaries of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island but fell victim to health issues and the onrushing campaign of Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton. Clinton carried no New England states in the primaries but swept them all in November, 1992, reprising LBJ's 1964 success. That was a remarkable feat because Clinton achieved this at the expense of President George H.W. Bush, a native New Englander. However, Bush was ambivalent about his New England roots. Sometimes Bush tried to forsake his "New Englandness" by wearing cowboy boots and "talkin' Texan." However, when G.H.W. Bush wanted to get away from it all, he chose to hide out in New England and to return to the family compound in Kennebunkport, Maine. It did him little good as Maine's voters put him in third place as he lost to Clinton by 56,916 votes and to H. Ross Perot, a real Texan, by 316 votes. Table 4 indicates that the Bushes and their six nominations enabled New England natives or residents to achieve thirteen of 51 major party nominations for president and vice president (25.5%) and to have been placed on major party tickets in eight of the last twelve thirteen years-- (61.5%). Those numbers are comparable to those recorded by New Englanders in the years before the Civil War forever altered American political life.

With his time in the White House limited by the 22nd Amendment, Clinton stepped aside and his vice president Albert Gore, Jr. gained the nomination over Missouri-born U.S. Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey. The Bill Clinton-Al Gore pairing in 1992 and 1996 was the first joining of Yale and Harvard alums since the John Quincy Adams-John C. Calhoun combination of 1825-1829. Vice President Gore chose to distance himself from Clinton's sexual entanglements with White House intern Monica Lewinsky, by selecting U.S. Senator **Joseph I. Lieberman**, a native of Stamford, Connecticut and holder of two Yale degrees to be his running-mate. Lieberman, an Orthodox Jew, had been the first Senate Democrat to request that Clinton apologize to the nation for the episode and Clinton was not pleased that Gore had made this choice (Hamden 2000, Saleton 2000). Estrangement between Clinton and Gore undermined the Gore campaign.

Table 4: New England as Birth Region and Campaign Residence of Major Party Presidential and Vice Presidential Nominees, 1960-2008

<u>Office/Year</u>	<u>Nominee</u>	<u>Birth State</u>	<u>Residence</u>
D/P 1960	U.S. Senator John F. Kennedy	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
R/V 1960	ex-Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
1964	None		
D/V 1968	U.S. Senator Edmund Muskie	Maine	Maine
1972	None		
R/V 1974	Governor Nelson Rockefeller	Maine	New York
1976	None		
R/V 1980	ex-Ambassador George H.W. Bush	Massachusetts	Texas
R/V 1984	Vice President George H.W. Bush	Massachusetts	Texas
R/P 1988	Vice President George H.W. Bush	Massachusetts	Texas
D/P 1988	Governor Michael Dukakis	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
R/P 1992	President George H.W. Bush	Massachusetts	Texas
1996	None		
R/P 2000	Governor George W. Bush	Connecticut	Texas
D/V 2000	U.S. Senator Joseph Lieberman	Connecticut	Connecticut
R/P 2004	President George W. Bush	Connecticut	Texas
D/P 2004	U.S. Senator John Kerry	Colorado	Massachusetts
2008	None		

New England Natives/Residents 2 Pres./3 V.P.

New England non-Natives/Residents: 1 Pres./0 V.P.

New England Native/non-Residents: 4 Pres./3 V.P.

From 1960 to 2008 – thirteen elections and two appointments – with 26 presidential nominations and 29 vice presidential selections (D/V 1972, Shriver; R/V 1973, Ford; and R/V 1974, Rockefeller). New England natives or residents received 13 of 55 major party selections for president or vice president=23.6%.

Election Years with New England nominees: 8 of 13 = 61.5%

Shutout years: 1964, 1972, 1976, 1996, and 2008 (5)

Grand Totals, 1789-2008

New England Native/Residents: 9 Presidential and 10 Vice Presidential nominations

New England non-Native/Resident: 2 Presidential and 0 Vice Presidential nominations

New England Native/non-Resident: 8 Presidential and 10 Vice Presidential nominations

More difficulties ensued when consumer advocate Ralph Nader, a native of Winstead, Connecticut launched an ego-driven candidacy to deprive Gore of the presidency. Nader's plan worked and he cost Gore enough votes in two states, New Hampshire and Florida, to push the decision into a Republican-dominated U.S. Supreme Court that voted 5 to 4 to end the Florida ballot counting and to declare **George W. Bush**, a native of New Haven, Connecticut, the winner of Florida's 25 electoral votes by a margin of 537 popular votes (Brinkley 2001, Gillmen 2001, Posner 2001, Toobin 2001).⁶ New England was not perceived as a liability in that contest and many felt that it was Lieberman's presence on the ticket that made Florida competitive for Gore in spite of the President Bush's younger brother, Jeb Bush, being governor.

From "Fair Harvard" to "Boola, Boola"

Enhancing New England's recent status as a presidential springboard has been the extraordinary role of the region's colleges and universities (Nelson 2003, "New England and Presidency 2003). A New England brand-name education now appears to be a presidential requirement. All four major nominees in the 2000 election were educated at either Harvard or Yale. Both presidential nominees Democrat Al Gore, Jr. and Republican George W. Bush held Harvard degrees—a 1969 B.A. for Gore and a 1975 M.B.A. for Bush. Bush also had a 1968 Yale A.B. degree as did Democratic vice presidential contender U.S. Senator Joe Lieberman of Connecticut (A.B. 1964). Lieberman gained his 1967 law degree from Yale. Republican vice presidential nominee Dick Cheney began his collegiate education at Yale in 1959 before returning home to obtain two degrees from the University of Wyoming. Even third party candidate Connecticut-born Ralph Nader, a 1955 Princeton graduate, whose candidacy

⁶ According to the December 2000 Report of the Federal Elections Commission, the final tally was 2,912,790 votes for Republican Governor George W. Bush of Texas to 2,912,253 votes for Democratic nominee Vice President Albert Gore, Jr.—a 537 vote margin. The vote in the Supreme Court was 5 to 4 to stop the counting in *Bush v. Gore*, 531 U.S. 90, decided December 12, 2000. Books abound on the topic. Among the better ones are: Douglas Brinkley, *36 Days: The Complete Chronicle of the 2000 Presidential Election Crisis* (2001); Howard Gillman, *The Votes That Counted: How the Court Decided the 2000 Presidential Election* (2001); Richard A. Posner, *Breaking the Deadlock: The 2000 Election, the Constitution, and the Courts* (2001); and Jeffrey

shifted many liberal voters (and the election) away from Gore towards Bush also was educated at Harvard (L.I.B. 1958) as was his running-mate, Native American activist Winona LaDuke (Harvard, 1982).

During the 1789-1852 period, when New England played its greatest role in national politics, it was Harvard and the Federalists *vs.* the College of William and Mary and the Jeffersonians that competed for national pre-eminence. In the nation's first eight elections, from 1789 to 1816, a Harvard alumnus was a presidential or vice presidential nominee--Federalists John Adams (1789, 1792, 1796, and 1800) and Rufus King (1800, 1804 and 1816), and Democratic-Republican Elbridge Gerry (1812). William and Mary, the nation's second oldest college educated Presidents Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and John Tyler as well as 1852 Whig nominee Winfield Scott.

Yale's prominence as an educational springboard to the White House is of more recent vintage. The symbolic transfer of inter-collegiate hegemony between Harvard and Yale, its major New England rival, took place in 1972 when U.S. Senator George McGovern chose to replace his running-mate, Amherst and Harvard Law graduate U.S. Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri, with Maryland-born R. Sargent Shriver, the holder of two degrees from Yale. Eagleton, who had been hospitalized three times for depression, was regarded as a liability while Shriver, JFK's brother-in-law and the successful administrator of the Peace Corps and VISTA, was not.

Table 5: The New England Collegiate Factor

	<u>Harvard</u>	<u>Yale</u>	<u>Other Ivies</u>	<u>Other Colleges</u>	Totals
I. New England's Early Peak, 1789-1852 17 Elections	<i>J. Adams</i> (4) <i>R. King</i> (3) <i>Gerry</i> <i>J.Q. Adams</i> (2) <i>C.F. Adams</i>	<i>Ingersoll</i> <i>Calhoun</i> (2) <i>Granger</i>	<i>Webster</i> <i>Pierce</i>	<i>Hale</i>	18
II. New England's Eclipse 1856-1956 26 Elections	<i>Everett</i> <i>Hayes</i> <i>T. Roosevelt</i> (3) <i>F. Roosevelt</i> (5) <i>Stevenson</i> (2)	<i>Brown</i> <i>Tilden</i> <i>Taft</i> (2) <i>Kefauver</i>	<i>Hughes</i>	<i>Wheeler</i> <i>Garfield</i> <i>Coolidge</i> (2)	22
III. New England's Rediscovery 1960-2008 13 Elections	<i>Kennedy</i> <i>Lodge</i> <i>Eagleton</i> <i>Dukakis</i> <i>Gore</i> (3) <i>G.W. Bush</i> (2) <i>Obama</i>	<i>Shriver</i> <i>Ford</i> (2) <i>GHW Bush</i> (4) <i>Clinton</i> (2) <i>GW Bush</i> (2) <i>Cheney</i> (2) <i>Lieberman</i> <i>Kerry</i>	<i>Rockefeller</i>	<i>Muskie</i>	27
56 Elections Candidates Nominations	17 33	15 24	3 3	6 7	41 67

Served as President in that era. Nominations in parentheses. Other Ivies: Brown (Hughes) and Dartmouth (Webster and Rockefeller). Other schools: Bowdoin (Pierce and Hale), University of Vermont (Wheeler), Williams (Garfield), Amherst (Coolidge), and Bates (Muskie). Third parties: C.F. Adams and Hale in Period I and Everett and T. Roosevelt in Period II.

Little noticed at the time, the Harvard to Yale handoff was a resounding success for Yale (Ferguson 2004, Lehigh 2002). This began a run of nine elections in a row from 1972 to 2004 when Yale alumni received fifteen nominations—eight presidential: Gerald Ford (1976), Vice President George H.W. Bush (1988 and 1992), Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton (1992 and 1996), Texas Governor George W. Bush (2000 and 2004), and U.S. Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts (2004) and seven vice presidential selections--Shriver (1972), Ford (1973), Bush, Sr. (1980 and 1984), U.S. Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut (2000), and former Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (2000 and 2004). In the 1992 GHW Bush-Clinton contest and in the 2004 GW Bush-Kerry contest, both presidential nominees were Yale graduates. It was Skull and Bones *vs.*

Skull and Bones in the 2004 race. While not shut out, Harvard alumni received only seven nominations--four for president: Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis (1988); Vice President Albert Gore, Jr. (2000); and George W. Bush, who topped off his Yale degree with one from the Harvard Business School and the two vice presidential nominations received by Al Gore in 1992 and 1996. Barack Obama's 2008 victory has given Harvard a further edge over its ancestral rival.

To most Americans, Harvard or Yale degrees represent a distinction without a difference but not to George H.W. Bush (Yale A.B., 1948). In a 1988 *New York Times* interview with Maureen Dowd, Bush distinguished his Yale education from that Michael Dukakis received at Harvard Law. Unlike Yale which is "so diffuse," Bush contended, "Harvard boutique to me at least has the connotation of liberalism and elitism (Dowd 1988)." There was no "Yale equivalent that you can identify with or oppose," unlike that "Harvard liberalism, Massachusetts liberalism'." This linkage Bush harkened back to the "Harvard crowd" of the Kennedy family. In words that would echo throughout his son's future presidential campaigns, Bush senior contended that "Out of that Yard comes a specific Massachusetts liberalism," To the well-born Bush, a beneficiary of Yale's long-time policy of "legacy" admission, it was not about social class because Harvard represented "a philosophical enclave" rather than a statement about class. "You don't have to be born to that," he said. "I see this as a philosophical cult normally identified with extremely liberal causes." Other Ivies in the nomination mix were Cornell Law that graduated 1968 vice presidential nominee Ed Muskie and Dartmouth that graduated 1974's vice presidential appointee, New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller. The count is now twenty-four Ivy-covered nominees among the last forty-two selections (57.1%) in the ten contests since 1972, a fact that confirms doubts about equal opportunity in the White House (Nelson 2003).

In 2008, New England colleges were, once again, well-represented. Michigan-born former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney held two graduate degrees from Harvard—a law degree and an MBA. New England's colleges were especially well-

represented among the Democrats: U.S. Senator from New York Hillary Rodham Clinton, an alumna of Wellesley and Yale Law; New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson, a Tufts graduate and the son of a Boston father and Mexican mother; U.S. Senator from Connecticut Christopher Dodd of Providence College; the victor of the contest, U.S. Senator Barack Obama of Illinois, who graduated from Harvard Law as did his wife Michelle (Cooper 2009). The New England collegiate streak continues for the wives as well as the contenders. After all, Nancy Davis Reagan and Barbara Pierce Bush went to Smith College and both wives of the Democratic ticket in 2000—Tipper Gore and Hadassah Lieberman—graduated from Boston University.

New England's New Peak?

New England candidates rode especially high in the 2004 contest for the Democratic presidential nomination. Three New England candidacies emerged. Each of the three—2000's losing vice presidential nominee, U.S. Senator Joe Lieberman of Connecticut, New York-born ex-Governor Howard B. Dean of Vermont and Colorado-born U.S. Senator John F. Kerry of Massachusetts held the lead for the Democratic nomination at some point during 2003-2004. The fact that all three leading Democratic contenders were Yale-educated as was President Bill Clinton, both Presidents Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney was even further proof to the region that New England was once again destined for the presidency.

Front-runner status proved fatal to the Lieberman and Dean candidacies as each flamed out shortly after the New Hampshire primary. Senator Lieberman was sunk by his affiliation with the centrist Democratic Leadership Council at a time when polarized politics made moderation anathema to hard-core liberal Democratic voters. Governor Dean's staged anti-establishment rage appealed to those turned off by Lieberman but it was so much at variance with his centrist record as Vermont's governor as to raise troubling questions about his credibility and temperament. These questions did not prevent Dean's 2005 election to be chair of the Democratic National Committee but resurfaced in the wake of his testy management style at the DNC.

The New England survivor of 2004 was **John Forbes Kerry**, born in a Colorado army hospital to Rosemary Forbes, a Boston Brahmin mother descended from the original Winthrop's of Massachusetts Bay Colony and Richard Kerry, a diplomat whose own father had converted from Judaism to Catholicism. New England played a central role in John Kerry's ascent and in his defeat. Senator Kerry hoped to replicate the 1960 triumph of a previous Massachusetts Senator, a fellow preppy Ivy League-educated, well-connected and decorated naval war hero who also happened to be a Roman Catholic (Brinkley 2004, Suellentrop 2004). That John F. Kennedy, Kerry's role model, was only 43 at the time of his nomination and election in 1960 while John F. Kerry was 60 was a key difference. In 1960, Kennedy was only fifteen years removed from serving in the "good war" of World War II—a war that spawned the nation's "greatest generation." In 2004, Kerry was 36 years removed from his service in a war that ended ignominiously for the United States and whose loss is marked everyday with the designation of Saigon, the former capital of South Vietnam, as Ho Chi Minh City. With victory in the 2004 New Hampshire Primary; a near-sweep of the region's primaries; a nomination at the first-ever Democratic Convention in Boston; and the region's solid support, Kerry owed his ascent to New England and hoped that he could tap into the positive resonance of Jack Kennedy's tragically short-lived presidency. While Kerry's New England connection aided his nomination; the region's cultural uniqueness may have cost him the presidency.

The Launch Pad of the New Hampshire Primary

Looking first at how the uniqueness of New England has helped New England candidates one must start with the New Hampshire Presidential Primary. The legend of the New Hampshire Primary began in 1952 when Texas-born General Dwight D. Eisenhower then residing in New York defeated Ohio's U.S. Senator Robert A. Taft in New Hampshire. Eisenhower's general election victory was the first of ten elections from 1952 to 1988 to be won by a nominee who had first won the New Hampshire Primary of his party (Brereton 1987, Duncan 1991, Orren and Polsby 1987, Palmer 1997,

Scala 2003). The presidential victories of New Hampshire runners-up Bill Clinton in 1992, George W. Bush in 2000, and Barack Obama in 2008 ended the legend.

The first New Hampshire primary to unsettle a presidential race was 1952, when Democratic U.S. Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee knocked President Harry S. Truman out of his re-election bid. Kefauver flattened President Truman--55% to 44% -- in the midst of the increasingly unpopular Korean War. In 1968, anti-Vietnam War sentiments among the Granite State's Democratic voters also provided Minnesota's U.S. Senator Eugene McCarthy with a majority of the state's convention delegates and an early end to President Johnson's re-election campaign. It was those same sentiments that fueled South Dakota's U.S. Senator George McGovern's anti-war candidacy in 1972. McGovern's strong second-place 37% showing led the national media to declare him the perceived winner over Maine's Muskie despite Muskie's 46% of the vote in that contest. Those were New Hampshire's Democrats in protest mode.

New Hampshire's Democrats in an exultant mode gave John Kennedy his first primary victory in his 1960 quest for the nomination. As an outsider--young, urban, Catholic and New England--Kennedy had to win the primaries to convince hard-bitten Democratic bosses, most of whom were fellow Catholics, that he was electable. New Hampshire delivered for Kennedy and Kennedy delivered for the Democrats. This result may be seen in Table 6. The 2004 landscape was different from 1960 because there was the Iowa Caucus. Created out of the McGovern-Fraser Democratic nomination reforms in 1972, the Iowa Caucus rivaled New Hampshire for political importance (Hull 2008, Nelson and DiNatale 2000). For John Kerry in 2004, once again, it was the New Hampshire Primary that made the difference. Kerry's clear victory in New Hampshire eight days after his narrow win in the Iowa Caucus cemented his lead for the nomination and he lost only three states of the remaining two dozen in play as he piled up the delegate count necessary for the victory.

Table 6: New Hampshire Primary, 1916-2008

Year	Democratic	%	Republican	%
1916	1 st WILSON	100.0*	1 st Unpledged	100.0
1920	1 st Unpledged	100.0	1 st Wood	53.0
1924	1 st Unpledged	100.0	1 st COOLIDGE	100.0*
1928-1948	1 st Unpledged	100.0	1 st Unpledged	100.0
1952	1 st Kefauver 5 th Stevenson	55.0 .1	1 st EISENHOWER	50.4*
1956	1 st Kefauver Stevenson	84.6 n/a	1 st EISENHOWER	98.9
1960	1 st KENNEDY	85.6*	1 st Nixon	89.3#
1964	1 st JOHNSON	95.3*	1 st Lodge 2 nd Goldwater	35.5 22.3
1968	1 st Johnson Humphrey	49.6 --	1 st NIXON	77.6*
1972	1 st Muskie 2 nd McGovern	46.4 37.1	1 st NIXON	67.6*
1976	1 st CARTER	28.4*	1 st Ford	49.4#
1980	1 st Carter	47.1#	1 st REAGAN	49.6*
1984	1 st Hart 2 nd Mondale	37.3 27.9	1 st REAGAN	86.1*
1988	1 st Dukakis	35.8#	1 st GHW BUSH	37.6*
1992	1 st Tsongas 2 nd B CLINTON	33.2 24.7	1 st GHW Bush	53.0#
1996	1 st B CLINTON	83.9*	1 st Buchanan 2 nd Dole	27.2 26.2
2000	1 st Gore	49.7#	1 st McCain 2 nd GW BUSH	48.4 30.3
2004	1 st Kerry	38.0#	1 st GW BUSH*	Unopposed
2008	1 st H Clinton	39.0	1 st McCain	37.0

*** 1952-2008 New Hampshire winners nominated and ELECTED: 12**

Eisenhower, 1952	Johnson, 1964	Carter, 1976	GHW Bush, 1988
Eisenhower, 1956	Nixon, 1968	Reagan, 1980	Clinton, 1996
Kennedy, 1960	Nixon, 1972	Reagan, 1984	GW Bush, 2004

1952-2008 New Hampshire winners nominated, but not elected: 8

Nixon, 1960	Carter, 1980	GHW Bush, 1992	Kerry, 2004
Ford, 1976	Dukakis, 1988	Gore, 2000	McCain, 2008
	Democrats	Republicans	

Nominees: 8/15 = 53.3% 12/15 = 80.0%
 Winners: 4/8 = 50.0 8/12 = 66.7

Table 7: Iowa Caucus vs. New Hampshire Primary, 1972-2008
 Non-Incumbent Nominations – IA/NH: Same 4 – 30.8%; Different 9 – 69.2%

<u>Year</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Iowa Caucus</u>	<u>N.H. Primary</u>	<u>Nominee</u>	<u>Winner</u>
1972	Dem	Muskie, ME	Muskie, ME	McGovern	NIXON
1976	Dem	CARTER, GA	CARTER, GA	CARTER	CARTER
1980	Rep	GHW Bush, MA/TX	REAGAN, IL/CA	REAGAN	REAGAN
1984	Dem	Mondale, MN	Hart, KS/CO	Mondale	REAGAN
1988	Dem Rep	Gephardt, MO Dole, KS	Dukakis, MA GHW Bush, TX	Dukakis GHW BUSH	GHW BUSH GHW BUSH
1992	Dem	Harkin, IA	Tsongas, MA	B. CLINTON	B. CLINTON
1996	Rep	Dole, KS	Buchanan, DC	Dole	B. CLINTON
2000	Dem	Gore, TN GW BUSH, TX	McCain, CZ/AZ	GW BUSH	GW BUSH
2004	Dem	Kerry, MA	Kerry, MA	Kerry	GW BUSH
2008	Dem Rep	Obama, HA/IL Huckabee, AR	H. Clinton, IL/NY McCain, CZ/AZ	Obama McCain	OBAMA

Iowa and New Hampshire Conflicts:

- 1980 Rep N.H. winner nominated and elected (REAGAN)**
- 1984 Dem Iowa winner nominated, but defeated (Mondale)
- 1988 Dem N.H. winner nominated, but defeated (Dukakis)
- 1988 Rep N.H. winner nominated and elected (GHW BUSH)**
- 1992 Dem neither Iowa nor N.H. winners nominated
- 1996 Rep Iowa winner nominated, but defeated (Dole)
- 2000 Rep Iowa winner nominated and elected (GW BUSH)**
- 2008 Rep NH winner nominated (McCain)
- 2008 Dem Iowa winner nominated and elected (OBAMA)**

Regionalism plays a major role in non-incumbent choices:

Winning Regional Favorites: 13 (76.5%)

6 Midwest Winners in Iowa: Mondale (1984 Dem), Gephardt (1988 Dem), Dole (1988 Rep) Harkin (1992 Dem), Dole (1996 Rep), Obama (2008 Dem)

7 Eastern Winners in N.H.: Muskie (1972 Dem), Dukakis (1988 Dem), GHW BUSH (1988 Rep) Tsongas (1992 Dem), Buchanan (1996 Rep), Kerry (2004 Dem), H. Clinton (2008 Dem)

Counter Instances: 4 (23.5%)

GHW Bush (1980 Rp/Ia); REAGAN (1980 Rp/NH); Hart (1984 Dm/NH); McCain (2008 Rp/NH)

Table 7a: Regionalism plays no role in incumbent choices

<u>Year</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Iowa Caucus</u>	<u>N.H. Primary</u>	<u>Nominee</u>	<u>Winner</u>
1972	Rep	NIXON, CA	NIXON, CA	NIXON	NIXON
1976	Rep	Ford, NE/MI	Ford, NE/MI	Ford	CARTER
1980	Dem	Carter, GA	Carter, GA	Carter	REAGAN
1984	Rep	REAGAN,IL/CA	REAGAN,IL/CA	REAGAN	REAGAN
1992	Rep	Not Held	GHW Bush, TX	GHW Bush	B.CLINTON
1996	Dem	B. CLINTON,AR	B. CLINTON,AR	B. CLINTON	B. CLINTON
2004	Rep	GW BUSH, TX	GW BUSH	GW BUSH	GW BUSH

With Kerry's victory, New Hampshire's Democratic voters had selected a New Englander for the fifth time in eight non-incumbent primary contests between 1960 and 2004—Jack Kennedy (1960), Ed Muskie (1972), Michael Dukakis (1988), Paul Tsongas (1992) and John Kerry (2004). Massachusetts native U.S. Senator Ted Kennedy stumbled in his New Hampshire Primary bid in 1980 – the only loss for a New England-connected Democrat in New Hampshire (Nelson 2008). New Hampshire's Republican voters have been less inclined to select New Englanders, choosing only two of the region's natives in six non-incumbent contests over the same span: Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts in 1964 and Massachusetts-born George H.W. Bush in 1988. New Hampshire's voters passed on Maine-born Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York who failed in 1964 and 1968 as did the senior Bush in 1980 and Connecticut native George W. Bush in 2000. This bias seems confined to the Democrats.

The most under-appreciated impact of the New Hampshire Primary has been the closing out of presidential candidates from New York State. From the Civil War through Eisenhower's first nomination, New York State had been the pre-eminent source of presidential talent in the United States. In the twenty-two presidential contests from 1868 to 1952, candidates representing New York State won eighteen major party nominations for president, fourteen of which had gone to sitting or former governors of the Empire State. So dominant had New York State been before the New Hampshire Primary that twenty-one of the twenty-two presidential contests between

1868 and 1952 had at least one New York native or resident on a major party ticket running as president or vice president. The lone exception occurred in 1896.

However, since 1956, the only presidential nomination won by a New York resident was that of California-born Richard Nixon in 1968 and the only two vice presidential ones were those of native New Yorker Geraldine Ferraro on the doomed Democratic Walter Mondale ticket of 1984 and of California-born Jack Kemp in 1996 on Bob Dole's ticket (Lehigh 2004, Nelson 2007). Dwight Eisenhower, who was elected from New York in 1952, relocated to Pennsylvania for his 1956 re-election bid and Nixon returned to California for his 1972 re-election. The only post-1952 New York Governor to serve in proximity to the White House was Nelson Rockefeller, a virtual New Englander---who only received 21% of New Hampshire's Republican vote in 1964 and an even lower 10.8% in 1968.

Native New Yorker and former New York City Mayor Rudolph Guiliani learned the New Hampshire lesson the hard way in the 2008 primary. It would have been more painful had New Hampshire Republicans selected Michigan-born Mitt Romney, the former governor of Massachusetts. However, Romney's "New Englandness," much like that of New York native Howard Dean of Vermont four years earlier seemed artificial and he lost to the most authentic of the Republicans, U.S. Senator John McCain of Arizona who had handily defeated New England expatriate George W. Bush in 2000. On the Democratic side, Illinois-born U.S. Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, a New York transplant, faced only token New England opposition from U.S. Senator Christopher Dodd of Connecticut and defeated Iowa's winner U.S. Senator Barack Obama of Illinois. One key party difference between Democrats and Republicans is that Democratic nominations elude the winners of New Hampshire's Democratic primaries. Only eight Democratic nominees emerged from fifteen New Hampshire primaries (53.3%) and only four presidential winners were among those eight nominees—Kennedy in 1960, Johnson in 1964, Carter in 1976, and Bill Clinton in 1996. Johnson and Clinton were both incumbents when they were victorious in New Hampshire.

New Hampshire's legacy as a Republican state has made Republican conventions more amenable to nominating New Hampshire winners. Twelve GOP nominees emerged from the fifteen Granite State Republican winners (80.0%). Of those twelve, eight won the White House – Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956; Nixon in 1968 and 1972; Reagan in 1980 and 1984; GHW Bush in 1988 and GW Bush in 2004 – four incumbents and four non-incumbents. Arizona Senator John McCain, whose 2000 primary victory in New Hampshire failed to gain him the nomination, returned to the state in 2008 and, this time, his victory resuscitated his campaign sufficiently to get him nominated. McCain returned again to New Hampshire in the closing days of the 2008 presidential campaign in hopes that yet again New Hampshire would deliver for him. Not this time.

The Not-So Good News for New England: Mass-Bashing

New England can also be a serious liability. Massachusetts has become a national political piñata. During the third and final presidential debate of 2004 at Arizona State University in Tempe, President Bush mentioned Massachusetts negatively on three separate occasions, most notably by yoking Senator Kerry with Senator Ted Kennedy, this generation's foremost liberal leader.

[Kerry] talks about PAYGO. I'll tell you what PAYGO means, when you're a senator from Massachusetts, when you're a colleague of Ted Kennedy, pay go means: You pay, and he goes ahead and spends."

As a matter of fact, your record is such that Ted Kennedy, your colleague, is the conservative senator from Massachusetts."

[O]nly a liberal senator from Massachusetts would say that a 49 percent increase in funding for education was not enough.⁷

Even though (or perhaps because) his father was born in Massachusetts and he attended prep school at Phillips Andover and graduate school at Harvard Business School, the president could not resist bashing the Bay State. After all, his father had

⁷ Transcript of President George W. Bush at the third presidential debate with U.S. Senator John F. Kerry (Dem-Mass.) at Arizona State University, Tempe, Ariz., October 13, 2004

won his lone victory in 1988 when he defeated Governor Dukakis so why not marginalize the state once again in running against Dukakis's lieutenant governor John Kerry. However, unlike his father who attacked both Massachusetts and Harvard in 1988, George W. Bush had an M.B.A. from Harvard so he spared his *alma mater*.

Bashing Massachusetts is not new in American politics. In January, 1830 when New Hampshire-born U.S. Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts raised questions about South Carolina's commitment to the Union, U.S. Senator Robert Hayne rose to challenge Webster and to remind his fellow senators of Massachusetts involvement in the secessionist Hartford Convention of 1814. Coming only sixteen years after that attempt by New England's ultra-Federalists to opt out of the Union in opposition to the War of 1812, the words deeply stung Webster. Webster was a 32 year-old Federalist Representative from New Hampshire during that time but was not one of the twenty-six participants included in the deliberations of the Hartford Convention (Banner 1970, Buckley 1935).⁸ The eloquence of Webster's (1859) defense of his adopted state persists (Sheidley 1995).

[Massachusetts] There she is, behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history; the world knows it by heart. . . . There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill; and there they will remain for ever. The bones of her sons, fallen in the great struggle for Independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State from New England to Georgia, and there they will lie for ever. And, sir, where American Liberty raised its infant voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood and full of its original spirit (428-430).

⁸ It was a very distinguished lot, including: Roger M. Sherman of Connecticut, nephew and namesake of Roger Sherman, the author of the Connecticut Compromise; ex-Senator George Cabot of Massachusetts, great-grandfather of Henry Cabot Lodge (Rep-Mass.); Stephen Longfellow of Massachusetts, father of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; other past and future U.S. Senators Harrison Gray Otis of Massachusetts, Chauncey Goodrich and James Hillhouse of Connecticut.

Webster's rebuttal to Hayne with its declaration, "Liberty *and* Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!" became a staple of high school oratory contests but it did not elicit the most brutal of South Carolina's antipathy towards Massachusetts.

The most violent bashing of Massachusetts occurred in May, 1856 in the U.S. Senate also came at the hands of South Carolina. This was the brutal and cowardly attack of U.S. Representative Preston Brooks (D-S.C.) who entered the Senate chamber to beat Republican U.S. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts for "slandering" his kinsman, U.S. Senator Andrew Butler in his speech, "The Crime against Kansas." As other U.S. Senators watched, including Vermont-born Stephen Douglas of Illinois, Sumner was beaten so badly that Brooks' cane was broken in the fury of his rage. Sumner was incapacitated for three years and although continued in the Senate by the Massachusetts General Court, he never fully regained the intellectual powers that had made him the greatest orator of the anti-slavery senators (Donald 1960).

While Massachusetts and Rhode Island may have been the only two northern states to vote for Governor Al Smith in 1928, it was the election of 1972 that sealed Massachusetts' fate as the state most out of step with the nation. In that contest, anti-Vietnam War U.S. Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota received 54.2% of the Massachusetts vote against President Nixon—a figure almost seventeen points higher than the 37.5% that McGovern received from the nation. That Richard Nixon was every bit as corrupt as Bay Staters believed and was unceremoniously removed from office may have pleased Massachusetts but it marked the state as peculiar. It is not wise to be prematurely correct.

In 1988, Vice President George H.W. Bush took great delight in pointing out that Governor Dukakis's "Massachusetts Miracle" had failed to clean up Boston Harbor and that he had also failed to receive the approbation of the Boston Police. Their endorsement of Bush was especially painful to the governor (Ribadeneira 1988). These campaign spins did not win Massachusetts for Bush but Dukakis found himself carrying only Massachusetts and Rhode Island in New England.

No one seemed to have more fun bashing Massachusetts than President George W. Bush. Scarcely a day went by in 2004 without some member of the president's entourage regaling the press about Kerry, the "Massachusetts liberal." It quickly became clear that the term had become a codeword for "gay marriage" as Kerry was inextricably linked to the November, 2003 decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court to solemnize marriages between gay couples, starting in May 2004 ("Same Sex" 2004, Lehigh 2004). The movement for legal recognition of gay unions had first received traction in New England in 2000 when the Supreme Court of Vermont had accepted the concept of "civil unions" for gay couples and the state legislature had agreed with the contention (Moats 2004). A very reluctant Governor Howard Dean had signed the measure in his office behind doors closed to the press. But it soon became a boon for the governor's presidential aspirations as gay organizations throughout the country feted the governor in 2002 and gave him that most valuable of campaign resources—early money.

It was gay marriage—the thermonuclear weapon in the social conservative arsenal—that mobilized many American voters against John Kerry, the "Massachusetts liberal." Karl Rove, the president's chief political strategist knew that the issue was a winner when earlier in 2004 state constitutional amendments to ban gay marriage were passed easily in Missouri and Louisiana. Placing the measure on eleven state ballots for the November 2004 contest guaranteed a large turnout among social conservatives and victories for President Bush in nine of the states with that item on the ballot (Mellman 2005, Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel 2006). Ironically, the post-election exit polls contended that while there may be serious opposition to gay marriage, the legal recognition of civil unions for gay couples--the Vermont remedy—has emerged as the compromise position. Perhaps the unkindest recent cut on Massachusetts came from Michigan-born and Harvard-educated Mitt Romney, the state's former Governor who regaled a South Carolina Republican fundraiser by declaring that, "Being a conservative Republican in Massachusetts is a bit like being a cattle rancher at a vegetarian convention" (Fahrenthold 2005, A03).

A Double Whammy: Ideological Isolation and Declining Electoral Votes

As Romney’s remarks indicated, the national perception of Massachusetts and by extension, New England as a liberal haven is one of the two factors contributing to the decline of New England as a source of national nominees; the other is the region’s relative population decline and its negative impact upon electoral votes.

Ideological Isolation: A comparison of the 1996 and 2008 presidential exit polls indicate that New England has become even more liberal than the nation. Although the national proportion of self-identified liberals increased slightly from 20% to 22% in the past twelve years remained stable over the past twelve years, the proportion of self-identified liberals grew in all six New England states--with Maine’s and New Hampshire’s liberal voters growing by seven points each. While national self-identified conservatives outnumbered self-identified liberals by 12 points--34% to 22% –they trail in New England 24.8% to 28.9%. In both Connecticut and New Hampshire, self-identified conservatives have shrunk by six points or more in the past four elections.

Table 8: Ideological Self-Identification –New England and the Nation, 1996-2006

	Voter Self-Identification								
	Liberal			Moderate			Conservative		
	1996	2008	+/-	1996	2008	+/-	1996	2006	+/-
US	20%	22%	+2	47%	44%	-3	33%	34%	+1
VT	29	32	+3	42	44	+2	28	24	-4
MA	26	31	+5	50	49	-1	24	19	-5
CT	24	29	+5	42	44	+2	34	27	-7
RI	23	28	+5	48	47	-1	29	25	-4
ME	20	27	+7	51	44	-7	30	29	-1
NH	19	26	+7	50	46	-4	31	25	-6

Sources: 1996, “Portrait of an Electorate,” *The Public Perspective* (December/ January, 1997), p. 15 and 2008, “Election Results” from CNN.com.

Declining Electoral Votes: In the first four presidential elections from 1789 to 1800 (and the passage of the 12th Amendment) each presidential elector could cast two

votes, the candidate with the most votes was chosen president and the runner-up was named vice president. New England's proportion of electors was 27.4% in that first election that resulted in George Washington of Virginia chosen president and John Adams of Massachusetts as vice president. With the admission of Vermont in 1791, the 1792 election saw both men reelected and New England's proportion of the Electoral College rise to 28.9% – its highest ever.

New England's settlement history began almost four hundred years ago so, by 1820, all of its states and most of its communities were established. As the nation's eastern-most region, it found itself shrinking relative to the nation as Americans moved westward from the Atlantic coast. Americans first moved inland, then across the Alleghenies, through the Middle West, over the Mississippi River, through the Great Plains, across the Rocky Mountains and on to California and the Pacific Coast. Because the Electoral College that selects the presidents and vice presidents is based on the numbers of House and Senate members each state has in Congress, the addition of more states and the population growth in those states shifted the balance of political power away from the older states and regions of the nation.

As presented in Table 9, the decline over the next two centuries was slow and inexorable. The election of 1804, the first after the 1800 Census showed a slight dip to 25.6% of the electors from New England. With Maine's split from Massachusetts following the Missouri Compromise, New England had 55 electors of the nation's 235 in the 1820 contest in which James Monroe captured all but one of the electoral votes – the lone dissenting one from New Hampshire for John Quincy Adams. It was the region's highest total but with four new states added to the Union its percentage dipped again to 23.4%.

In the 1824 election, the reapportioned percentage dropped to 19.5% but in that election the U.S. House gave John Quincy Adams the presidency that the Electoral College had failed to deliver. In the election of 1852 New Hampshire's Franklin Pierce, a pro-slavery Democrat, was chosen president by an Electoral College that had only 13.9% New Englanders. Apart from the 1864 uptick to 16.7% when Abraham Lincoln

was reelected in a nation without the eleven states of the Confederacy, the decline continued throughout the century as new states and reapportionments reduced New England’s electoral votes. By the 1884 election, that proportion fell into single digits as only 9.5% of the electors were New Englanders in that contest that found Republican James G. Blaine, a resident of Maine, lose to Democratic New York Governor Grover Cleveland, the son of a Yale-educated Norwich, Connecticut-born minister.

New England’s electors accounted for only 8.6% of the tally in 1904, the first election after the 1900 census. This contest was a landslide victory for Teddy Roosevelt who was born in New York City but educated at Harvard and had married two New England women—Alice Lee of Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts and Edith Carow of Norwich, Connecticut. Calvin Coolidge, the Vermont-born, Amherst-educated Governor of Massachusetts was elected vice president in 1920 and president in 1924 at a time when New England held only 8.3% of the electors. The region’s percentage slipped to 7.7% by 1932 when four New England states rejected Harvard-educated FDR’s first successful bid for the presidency and in 1936-1944 when only Maine and Vermont resisted FDR’s charm.

Table 9: New England Electoral Votes, 1788-2012

<u>Census and Service Years</u>	<u>CT</u>	<u>ME</u>	<u>MA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>RI</u>	<u>VT</u>	<u>NE</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>%</u>
Original 1789	7	-	10	5	3	-	25	91	27.4
1793-1802	9	-	16	6	4	4	39	135	28.9
1803-1812	9	-	19	7	4	6	45	176	25.6
1813-1822	9	-/9*	22/15*	8	4	8	53	218	24.3
1823-1832	8	9	15	8	4	7	51	261	19.5
1833-1842	8	10	14	7	4	7	50	288	17.4
1843-1852	6	9	12	6	4	6	43	275	15.6
1853-1862	6	8	13	5	4	5	41	296	13.9
1863-1872	6	7	12	5	4	5	39	294	13.3

1873-1882	6	7	13	5	4	5	40	366	10.9
1883-1892	6	6	14	4	4	4	38	401	9.4
1893-1902	6	6	15	4	4	4	39	444	8.8
1903-1912	7	6	16	4	4	4	41	476	8.6
1913-1922	7	6	18	4	5	4	44	531	8.3
1923-1932	7	6	18	4	5	4	44	531	8.3
1933-1942	8	5	17	4	4	3	41	531	7.7
1943-1952	8	5	16	4	4	3	40	531	7.5
1953-1962	8	5	16	4	4	3	40	538	7.4
1963-1972	8	4	14	4	4	3	37	538	6.9
1973-1982	8	4	14	4	4	3	37	538	6.9
1983-1992	8	4	13	4	4	3	36	538	6.7
1993-2002	8	4	12	4	4	3	35	538	6.5
2003-2012	7	4	12	4	4	3	34	538	6.3

Note: The Electoral Vote totals are from the first presidential election after the decennial reapportionments. *1820: Maine split from Massachusetts and was admitted to the Union by the Missouri Compromise. **Source:** Recomputed from Congressional Quarterly, *Presidential Elections, 1789-2000* (CQ Press, 2002), and updated with Electoral College websites.

In 1960, when U.S. Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts won the White House, New England’s electors numbered 40 and their percentage was only 7.4%. When Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis ran for president in 1988, the percentage had slipped to 6.7%. Two reapportionments later and the 2004 election had only 34 New England electors amongst the 538 of the nation’s electors—6.3%—its lowest percentage ever. It was not much of a base for Senator John F. Kerry’s bid to restore New England’s presidential prominence.

The last year of the first decade of the 21st century has arrived and with it, the U.S. Congress has gathered data to project the upcoming reapportionment after the 2010 Census. As it presently stands, Massachusetts is one of the eleven states that has not kept pace with national population growth and is projected to lose a House seat and an electoral vote bringing the new totals to nine and eleven respectively (“States

Gaining” 2008)⁹. Massachusetts, which once had sixteen congressional districts and eighteen electoral votes as late as 1930, now will have its lowest total since the eight seats it was awarded in the nation’s first allocation of House seats in 1788. In the first presidential contest of 1789 (won by Virginia’s George Washington with the Bay State’s John Adams chosen as Vice President) Massachusetts had ten electors, then the second largest total among the states accounting for 11.0 percent of the nation’s electoral votes. However, following 2010, Massachusetts is projected for only eleven electoral votes – only 2.0% of the total, ranking it in a four-way tie for 14th place with Indiana, Tennessee and Washington State. And with the loss of that electoral vote, New England’s total will slip to 33 – 6.13% – the lowest ever.

What Now? New England Stayers *vs.* Departers

In spite of these two factors, two Bay State residents fantasized about the presidency in 2008: U.S. Senator John Kerry and former Governor Mitt Romney. Senator Kerry smelled the coffee and withdrew; former Governor Romney did not. In 2007, Michigan-born ex-Governor Mitt Romney launched himself from the State House to the 2008 presidential stage. Like Connecticut-born and Massachusetts-educated George W. Bush of Texas, Governor Romney hoped to rewrite family history by surpassing his father’s ill-fated nomination bid in 1968 when Governor George Romney of Michigan crashed in New Hampshire’s fabled first-in-the nation presidential preference primary. Both the sons Bush and Romney moved in a dramatic rightward direction from the moderate centrist politics of their fathers to align themselves with the southern-dominated tilt of today’s Republican Party (Gittell 2002).¹⁰

⁹ In addition to Massachusetts, states projected to lose House seats are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania in the Northeast; Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and Ohio in the Midwest; and Louisiana in the South.

¹⁰ “When Bush stumps for Romney, it will accent a nearly 40-year relationship between the Bush and Romney families. Both George H.W. Bush, a former congressman, and George Romney, a former governor of Michigan, helped form the pro-business, socially moderate wing

Initially, George W. Bush succeeded and triumphed over his father. First, by winning two state-wide races in Texas for governor while his father lost both of his U.S. Senate contests; then unlike his father, George W. was nominated on his first bid for the White House; winning re-election; and, even more emphatically, by toppling Iraq's Saddam Hussein, whose continuance in power eleven years after ending the first Gulf War had become the most obvious stain on the Bush family escutcheon. With these triumphs achieved by 2004, the second term of the second Bush presidency careened into near-collapse with presidential approval ratings dropping by more than sixty points and a C-SPAN rating of 36th place among the 42 presidencies for his tenure in office, six places from the bottom of the survey and the only re-elected president among the bottom ten (How Did Presidents 2009).

In Mitt Romney, another heir awaits family redemption. Unlike George W. Bush who left his New England roots in the rear view mirror, Mitt Romney is still linked to New England. The social moderate (and even liberal) positions that Romney espoused in his losing 1996 U.S. Senate contest against Ted Kennedy enabled him to win the Massachusetts governorship in 2002. After leaving his one-term governorship in 2006, Romney tried to outdo President Bush in Mass-bashing, a rather remarkable and unprecedented feat for a man who had governed the state for four years. It was part of his politically repositioning that also led Romney to run away from the moderate views that got him elected initially and to become a reborn social conservative (Helman 2006). However, enough of those previous views were replayed often enough to sink Romney in the 2008 primaries as real social conservatives rallied behind the evangelical Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee. Romney's feat of trying to run from New England by running away from its political values can only be successful if you actually move away. This is a lesson that has already been learned by both of the Presidents Bush.

As may be seen in Table 10: Running away from New England may be the best way to run from New England.

of the Republican Party in the 1960s. While the men served together in the Nixon administration, their sons attended Harvard Business School" (Gittell 2002).

Since 1789, New England-connected politicians have received nineteen presidential nominations and twenty vice presidential ones. Nine presidential and ten vice presidential nominations went to natives who remained in New England. They are the **Stayers**. Two moved from New Hampshire to Massachusetts--Daniel Webster and Henry Wilson. Also, John Kerry, the 2004 Democratic president nominee, who was born in a Colorado army hospital to Massachusetts parents, should be added as a Stayer bringing that total to ten New England native presidential candidacies. This would leave only Pennsylvania-born James G. Blaine of Maine, the Republicans' 1884 presidential candidate as the **only** nominee in American history to move to New England and to run from New England.

Eighteen of the nominees--eight presidential and ten vice presidential candidates--who were born in New England - ran from elsewhere. These were the **Departers**. Most of the eighteen early Departers left New England for New York State--Rufus King (3), Francis Granger, Horace Greeley, Chester Arthur, Levi P. Morton, and Nelson Rockefeller. Two ran from Illinois--Stephen Douglas and Frank Knox; one from Pennsylvania--Jared Ingersoll; and one from Michigan - Lewis Cass. The Texas-bound President Bushes--father Massachusetts-born George H.W. and son Connecticut-born George W.--account for six of the eighteen Departer candidacies. Among the nominees, the pre-Kennedy Stayers won ten of fourteen contests (71.4%) while the pre-Kennedy Departers won only two of eleven (18.2%). The New England nominees may have been few in number prior to 1960 but the Stayers among them were very successful.

Table 10: Staying or Departing New England—Election Outcomes, 1789-2008

	Election Outcome	
	Won	Lost
1789-1852, Stayers	John Adams FdVp-1789 John Adams FdVp-1792 John Adams FdP-1796 Gerry DRVp-1812 John Q. Adams DRP-1824 Pierce DmP-1852 (6)	John Adams FdP-1800 John Q. Adams NRP-1828 Webster WgP-1836 (3)
1789-1852, Departers	(0)	R. King FdVp-1804 R. King FdVp-1808 Ingersoll FdVp-1812 R. King FdP-1816 Granger WhVp-1836 Cass DmP-1848 (6)
1856-1956, Stayers	Hamlin RpVp-1860 H. Wilson RpVp-1872 Coolidge RpVp-1920 Coolidge RpP-1924 (4)	Sewall DmVp-1896 (1)
1856-1956, Departers	Arthur, RpVp-1880 Morton RpVp-1888 (2)	Douglas DmP-1860 Greeley DmP-1872 Knox RpVp-1936 (3)
1960-2004, Stayers	J. Kennedy DmP-1960 (1)	Lodge RpVp-1960 Muskie DmVp-1968 Dukakis DmP-1988 Lieberman DmVp-2000 Kerry DmP-2004 (5)
1960-2004, Departers	Rockefeller RpVp-1974 GHW Bush RpVp-1980 GHW Bush RpVp-1984 GHW Bush RpP-1988 GW Bush RpP-2000 GW Bush RpP-2004 (6)	GHW Bush RpP-1992 (1)

Key: P=President; Vp = Vice President. Party: Fd = Federalist; DR= Democratic-Republican; NR = National Republican; Wg = Whig; Dm = Democratic; Rp = Republican

John Kennedy was the only New England Stayer to win a national election since 1924. While the Kennedy nomination and election may have enhanced the presidential fantasies of New England candidates; it has not translated into electoral success. John Kerry’s presidential defeat in 2004 along with that of Michael Dukakis in 1988, the vice presidential defeats of Muskie in 1968 and Lieberman in 2000, and the

failed nomination campaigns of Henry Cabot Lodge in 1964, Ed Muskie in 1972, Ted Kennedy in 1980, Paul Tsongas in 1992, Joe Lieberman and Howard Dean in 2004 and Mitt Romney and Christopher Dodd in 2008 bring to twelve New England losses since the Kennedy victory of 1960. Ten of the twelve New England failures were Democrats trying to be like JFK. To paraphrase U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas in 1988, “[New England Senators and Governors], you’re no Jack Kennedy.”

Table 11: Failed New England-Based Candidacies, 1964-2008

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidacy</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
1964	Henry Cabot Lodge, MA	Defeated for the Rep Nomination by Goldwater
1968	Edmund Muskie, ME	Nominated for Dem Vice-President but defeated
1972	Edmund Muskie, MA	Defeated for Dem nomination by McGovern
1980	Ted Kennedy, MA	Defeated for Dem nomination by Carter
1988	Michael Dukakis, MA	Nominated for Dem President but defeated
1992	Paul Tsongas	Defeated for Dem nomination by Clinton
2000	Joe Lieberman, CT	Nominated for Dem Vice-President but defeated
2004	Joe Lieberman, CT	Defeated for Dem nomination by Kerry
2004	Howard Dean, VT	Defeated for Dem nomination by Kerry
2004	John Kerry, MA	Nominated for Dem President but defeated
2008	Chris Dodd, CT	Defeated for Dem nomination by Obama
2008	Mitt Romney, MA	Defeated for Rep nomination by McCain

Excluding Maine-born Nelson Rockefeller’s appointment as vice president in 1974, the only post-JFK victories for New England natives have been those won by two Departers--the Texas expatriate Bushes, Senior and Junior, who ignore their New

England births and educations. The Bushes chose not to run from New England but to run away from New England. It is they who heeded the advice of 1872's Democratic nominee, New Hampshire native Horace Greeley, who learned enough of the printer's craft in Poultney, Vermont to become editor of the *New York Tribune* who issued the famous dictum, "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country."

Ironically, two **Arrivers** who came to New England for their educations—Yale-educated New Yorker Howard Dean who ran and lost in 2004 and Harvard-educated Michigander Mitt Romney who ran and lost in 2008--both thought New England was an appropriate place to fulfill their presidential aspirations. How wrong they were. Had they studied New England political history more carefully they might have learned that New England is not a presidential springboard and they might have been better served had they returned home to indulge their White House fantasies. New England's time may have passed. *It is too small and too liberal and it is becoming even smaller and more liberal.*

The New England region will continue to educate the politically ambitious because of the preponderance of its brand-name colleges and universities--Harvard, Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, Amherst, Williams, MIT, Wellesley and Smith. But once credentialed and networked, like Yale's Bill and Hillary Clinton and Harvard's Al Gore and Barack Obama, they will return home and launch their presidential candidacies from their own turf. As for candidates who move to New England to run for the White House like Howard Dean and Mitt Romney, the closing words of Bob Elliott and Ray Goulding, New England's own inimitable Bob and Ray seem appropriate, "Write if you get work and hang by your thumbs."

References

- Poll of 455 Republicans and Republican leaners for the Gallup Poll, July 10-12, 2009, reported in www.PollingReport.com.
- Bain, Richard C. and Judith H. Parris. 1971. "1884: Eighth Republican Convention." 121-126; and Mark D. Hirsch. 1971. "Election of 1884," in *History of Presidential Elections: Volume II 1848-1896*, eds. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Fred L. Israel. New York: Chelsea House, 1561-1611.
- Bain, Richard C. and Judith H. Parris. 1973. "1860: Eighth Democratic Convention." *Convention Decisions and Voting Records*, 2:61-67. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.
- Baltzell, E. Digby. 1995. *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publisher.
- Banners, Jr., James M. 1970. *To the Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789-1815*. New York: Knopf
- Baum, Dale. 1978. "Know-Nothings and Republican Majority in Massachusetts: The Political Realignment of the 1850s." *Journal of American History*.
- Brereton, Charles. 1987. *First in the Nation: New Hampshire and the Premier Presidential Primary*. Portsmouth, NH: P.E. Randall.
- Brinkley, Douglas. 2001. *36 Days: The Complete Chronicle of the 2000 Presidential Election Crisis*. New York: Times Books.
- Brinkley, Douglas. 2004. *Tour of Duty: John Kerry and the Vietnam War*. New York: William Morrow.
- Buckley, William E. 1935. *The Hartford Convention*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Clark, Champ. 1920. *My Quarter-Century of American Politics*. New York: Harper & Bros.
- Congressional Quarterly*. 1994. "American Leaders, 1789-1994."
- Carnes, John A. and Mark C. and John Garraty, eds. 1999. *American National Biography*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Cook, Rhodes. 1989. "The Nominating Process." In *The Elections of 1988*, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 25-61.
- Cooper, Helene. 2009. "Meet the New Elite, Not Like the Old." *Week in Review, The New York Sunday Times*, 26 July.
- Donald, David Herbert. 1960. *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*. New York: Knopf, 288-297.
- Dowd, Maureen. 1988. "Bush Traces How Yale Differs from Harvard." *New York Times* 11 June.
- Duncan, Dayton. 1991. *Grass Roots: One Year in the Life of New Hampshire Presidential Primary*. New York: Viking.
- Fahrenthold, David A. 2005. "Massachusetts Governor Makes His State the Butt of His Jokes: Republican's Out-of-Town Act May Alienate Majority Democrats." *Washington Post*, 26 Sept., A03.
- Ferguson, Andrew. 2004. "As Yale's Bush, Kerry Tussle, Where's Harvard." *Bloomberg News*, 9 Mar.
- Fischer, David Hackett. 1989. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Formisano, Ronald P. 1983. *Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s-1840s*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Garraty, John A., and Jerome L. Sternstein, eds. 1996. *Encyclopedia of American Biography*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Germond, Jack W. and Jules Witcover. 1989. *Whose Broad Stripes and Bright Stars: The Trivial Pursuit of the Presidency, 1988*. New York: Warner Books.
- Gillman, Howard. 2001. *The Votes That Counted: How the Court Decided the 2000 Presidential Election*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Gimpel, James G. and Wendy K. Tam Cho. 2004. "The Persistence of White Ethnicity in New England Politics." *Political Geography*, XXIII: 987-1008.
- Gittell, Seth. 2002. "Talking Points: Battle for New England." *Boston Phoenix*, February, 14-21.

- Gittell, Seth. 2002. "Talking Points: Bush Stumps for Romney." *Boston Phoenix*, 3 Oct – 10 Oct.
- Goodwin, George & Victoria Schuck. 1968. *Party Politics in the New England States*. Durham, N.H.: New England center for Continuing Education.
- Hamden, Toby. 2000. "Clinton Critic to Be Gore Running-Mate." *Telegraph*, 8 Aug.
- Handlin, Oscar. 1969. *Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1880: A Study in Acculturation*. New York: Atheneum.
- Heimbinder, Murray E. 1973. "The Northern Doughface: A Case Study in Historical Relevance." *Social Studies*, LXIV (October) 215-221.
- Helman, Scott. 2006. "Romney Journey to the Right: Social Issue Stands Hardened Since '02." *Boston Globe*, 17 Dec.
- Hirsch, Mark D. 1971. "Election of 1884." In *History of Presidential Elections: Volume II 1848-1896*, eds. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Fred L. Israel. New York: Chelsea House.
- "How Did the Presidents Rank?" 2009. *C-SPAN, 2009 Historians Presidential Leadership Survey*, www.c-span.org, Feb.
- Hull, Christopher C. 2008. *Grassroots Rules: How the Iowa Caucus Helps Elect American Presidents*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Law and Politics.
- Key Jr., V.O. 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. New York: Knopf.
- Lehigh, Scot. 2002. "Another Harvard vs. Yale Game." *Boston Sunday Globe*, 17 Nov.
- Lehigh, Scot. 2004. "Gay Marriage Tests Kerry and Romney." *Boston Globe*, 6 Feb.
- Lehigh, Scot. 2004. "New York vs. Massachusetts in 2008." *Boston Globe Website*, 14 Dec.
- Lockard, Duane. 1959. *New England State Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- McGuire, Paula and Steven O'Brien, eds. 1991. *American Political Leaders: From Colonial Times to the Present*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Mellman, Mark. 2005. "Gay Marriage Isn't What Beat Kerry." *The Hill*, 3 Aug.
- Milburn, Josephine F. & Victoria Schuck. 1981. *New England Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.
- Milburn, Josephine F. & William Doyle. 1983. *New England Political Parties*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.
- Mileur, Jerome M. 1997. *Parties and Politics in the New England States*. Amherst, MA: Polity Publications.
- Miller, Perry. 1956. *Errand into the Wilderness*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University.
- Moat, David. 2004. *Civil Wars: A Battle for Gay Marriage*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt.
- Moore, John L, Jon P. Preimesberger, and David R. Tarr. 2001. *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections*, 4th ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Mulkern, John R. 1990. *The Know-Nothing Party in Massachusetts: The Rise and Fall of a People's Movement*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Nelson, Garrison. 1997. "Vermont Politics Transformed: 'How Come It Got Fixed When It Warn't Broke'." In *Parties and Politics in the New England States*, ed. Jerome M. Mileur. Amherst, MA: Polity Publications, 56-76.
- Nelson, Garrison and Louise C. DiNatale. 2000. "Don't Place Your Bets on Iowa Results: New Hampshire Has the Better Record of Success." An op-ed Article for the *Concord (N.H.) Monitor*, 8 Jan, B4.
- Nelson, Garrison. 2003. "Educating Presidents: The Collegiate Connection, 1789-2000." Presented at the 2003 Annual Meeting of the New England Political Science Association, Providence, RI.
- Nelson, Garrison. 2003. "White House Inheritors and Climbers: Presidential Kin, Class, and Performances, 1789-2002." *New England Journal of Public Policy* XVIII (Spring/Summer): 11-38.
- Nelson, Garrison. 2003. "New England and the Presidency: Voting Block Shrinks as Educational Role Grows." *Boston Sunday Globe, Ideas*, 8 Dec, D12.

- Nelson, Garrison. 2007. "Border Wars in Fight for Presidency." *Boston Globe*, 3 Nov, A13.
- Nelson, Garrison. 2008. "New Hampshire Moments: Success for One Kennedy, But Not the Other." *Boston Globe*, 4 Jan, A15.
- O'Connor, Thomas H. 1995. *The Boston Irish: A Political History*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Orren, Gary R. and Nelson W. Polsby, eds. 1987. *Media and Momentum: The New Hampshire Primary and Nomination Politics*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
- Palmer, Niall A. 1997. *The New Hampshire Primary and the American Electoral Process*. Westport, CT: Prager.
- Peirce, Neal R. 1976. *The New England States: People, Politics, and Power in the Six New England States*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Pomper, Gerald M. 1981. "The Nominating Contests," in *The Election of 1980: Reports and Interpretations*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1-37.
- Pomper, Gerald M. 1989. "The Presidential Nominations." In *The Election of 1988: Reports and Interpretations*, ed. Gerald M. Pomper, et al. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, pp. 33-72.
- Posner, Richard A. 2001. *Breaking the Deadlock: The 2000 Election, the Constitution, and the Courts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- "Presidential Primary Returns, 1912-1992," in *Presidential Elections, 1789-1992*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 179.
- Raimo, John W. and Robert Sobel. 1978. *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1789-1978*. Westport, CT: Meckler Books.
- Raimo, John W. 1985. *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1978-1983*. Westport, CT: Meckler Books.
- Ribadeneria, Diego. 1988. "Hub Police Union Leadership Votes to Endorse Bush." *Boston Globe*, 22 Sept.

- Ross, Ishbel. 1964. *An American Family: The Taft's, 1678 to 1964*, 2nd ed. Cleveland: World Publishing.
- Saletan, William. 2000. "Gore Dumps Clinton." *Slate*, 10 Aug.
- "Same-sex Couples Ready to Make History in Massachusetts: First State in U.S. to Allow Such Unions." 2004. *CNN.com*, 17 May.
- Scala, Dante J. 2003. *Stormy Weather: The New Hampshire Primary and Presidential Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sheidley, Harlow W. 1995. "The Webster-Hayne Debate: Recasting New England's Sectionalism." *New England Quarterly* LXVII: 5-29.
- Sherman, Joe. 2000. *Fast Lane on a Dirt Road: A Contemporary History of Vermont*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green.
- Silbey, Joel H. 1962. "Election of 1836." Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Fred L. Israel, eds. *History of American Presidential Elections 1789 - 1968*, Vol. I p. 577-640. New York: Chelsea House.
- Smith, Daniel A., Mathew DeSantis, and Jason Kassel, 2006. "Same-Sex Marriage Ballot Measures and the 2004 Presidential Election." *State and Local Government Review* XXXVIII: 78-91.
- Sobel, Robert, ed. 1990. *Biographical Directory of the United States Executive Branch, 1774-1989*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Solomon, Barbara Miller. 1965. *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition*. New York: John Wiley.
- "States Gaining/Losing Seats Based upon 2010 Projections." 2008. www.polidata.us.
- Suellentrop, Chris. 2004. "The Condensed John Kerry." *Slate On-Line*, 10 Mar.
- Toobin, Jeffrey. 2001. *Too Close To Call: The Thirty-Six-Day Battle to Decide the 2000 Election*. New York: Random House.
- Turner, Lynn W. 1962. *William Plumer of New Hampshire, 1759-1850*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- United States Congress. 1989. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1989*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Van Der Linden, Frank. 1962. *The Turning Point: Jefferson's Battle for Presidency*. Washington, D.C.: Robert B. Luce.

Welch, Richard. 1965. *Theodore Sedgwick Federalist: A Political Portrait*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Wilentz, Sean. 2006. "The Worst President Ever? One of America's Leading Historians Assesses George W. Bush." *Rolling Stone*, April.

Winthrop, John. 1985. "A Model for Christian Charity." Alan Heimert and Andrew Delbasco, eds. *The Puritans in America: A Narrative Anthology*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 89-92.