THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF KENTUCKY'S VEEP

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Presenter ........................................................................................................................................i
New Corn from Old Fields ................................................................................................................1
The Measure of the Man .....................................................................................................................1
The World According to "Willie" .......................................................................................................7
"Barkley Swept Here" ......................................................................................................................8
Pauper Apprentice ...........................................................................................................................9
Ties that Bind ....................................................................................................................................11
County Prosecutor (1905-1909) ....................................................................................................13
County Judge (1909-1913) ............................................................................................................14
Heading for the House (1913-1927) ............................................................................................15
Gubernatorial Campaign (1922-1923) .........................................................................................18
Rising to the Senate (1927-1949) ................................................................................................20
"Dear Alben" or "Bumbling Barkley" ...........................................................................................22
Chandler's Challenge ....................................................................................................................24
Leader of Roosevelt's "Big Four" ....................................................................................................26
Barkley Breaks with the President ..............................................................................................28
Barkley Denied Vice Presidency ................................................................................................29
Truman Assumes Presidency .........................................................................................................30
Demotion to Minority Leader (1946-1949) ..............................................................................32
Vice Presidential Nominee (1948) .................................................................................................33
A Working Veep (1948-1953) ........................................................................................................35
"Too Old" ......................................................................................................................................38
Retreat and Resurrection (1953-1955) .......................................................................................40
A Servant in the House of the Lord (April 30, 1956) ..................................................................41
THE PRESENTER

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THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF KENTUCKY’S "VEEP"--
U.S. VICE PRESIDENT ALBEN W. BARKLEY
Judge Christopher Shea Nickell

I. NEW CORN FROM OLD FIELDS

The great English barrister and jurist, Lord Edward Coke, once said of legal precedent, "Let us now peruse our ancient authors, for out of the old fields must come the new corn." In the same way lawyers and judges reference legal precedent to predict and decide legal outcomes, historians apply lessons gleaned from past lives and events to understand, predict and maneuver contemporary occurrences and challenges. The same precedential or historic method is equally applicable to the development of attorneys, jurists, and public officials. One wishing to become a great attorney, judge, or government leader may cull important lessons from studying the lives and professional legacy of past or current attorneys, judges, and leaders whose lives personified or exuded excellence.

Kentucky has been a fertile ground for the production of great attorneys, jurists, and government leaders. The life and legacy of the late Kentucky lawyer, judge, and public servant, U.S. Vice President Alben W. Barkley, offers a singular example. Barkley personified the essential characteristics and skills necessary for effective advocacy, analysis, and leadership, and his personal traits and professional accomplishments provide a worthy guiding standard for others to study, emulate, and equal.

Barkley’s years of national public service covered Wilson's New Freedom initiatives, World War I, the Great Depression, Roosevelt's New Deal legislation, World War II, the onset of the Cold War with the Soviet Union, Truman's Fair Deal programs, and the Korean War. For eleven of those years, Barkley served as one of the most powerful Senate majority leaders in U.S. history. And yet, though powerful, Barkley's leadership style and personal integrity won him the trust of both Democrats and Republicans. Barkley was a highly skilled orator, humorist, and storyteller, and in the course of his long political career, after serving as McCracken County Attorney and County Judge, he was re-elected to the House of Representatives six times, serving from 1913 to 1927; was re-elected to the Senate on three occasions, serving from 1927 to 1949; served as Senate majority leader from 1937 to 1947, and as Senate minority chairman from 1947 to 1949; was elected Vice President, serving from 1949 to 1952; and was thereafter re-elected to the Senate, serving from 1955 until his death. In addition, Barkley was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention nine times from 1920 to 1952, providing the keynote address in 1932, 1936, and 1948, and serving as permanent chairman at the 1940 Democratic National Convention.

II. THE MEASURE OF THE MAN

Until surpassed by Kentucky Senator Wendell Ford in 1998, Barkley had served in the U.S. Senate longer than any other Kentuckian. Barkley was the last U.S. vice president born in a log house, the oldest to be elected and serve, the only to
be married while in office, and the first to serve on the National Security Council. Upon Barkley's death, Kentucky Senator Earle Clements described Barkley as "a man we loved, a man we respected, a man we needed," and predicted that though his voice had been stilled, "the memory of his words, of his deeds, and of his actions for God, country and State will go on as long as there is an America and an American people."

Many monuments, historic markers, and public facilities erected across our Commonwealth bear Barkley's name, testifying to the significance of his life and legacy. These include:

- A bronze and Swiss marble statue of Barkley, by Walter Kirtland Hancock, is prominently displayed in Kentucky's Capitol Rotunda, together with four other significant Kentuckians, including U.S. President Abraham Lincoln, U.S. Vice President Henry Clay, Confederate President Jefferson Davis, and Dr. Ephraim McDowell.¹

- A marble bust of Barkley, by Kalervo Kallio, is displayed in the main corridor of the second floor in the Senate wing of our nation's capital building as part of the Senate's Vice Presidential Bust Collection.²

- Barkley helped establish the Barkley Lock and Dam, completed in 1966 by the Tennessee Valley Authority, which provides inexpensive hydroelectric energy for residences and businesses throughout the Jackson Purchase region by harnessing the mighty Cumberland River.

- A result of Barkley Lock and Dam, Lake Barkley, in combination with the adjoining Kentucky Lake, form the largest man-made body of water in the world, and the 170,000 acre area lying between them create the national habitat and recreational area known as the "Land Between the Lakes," with a combined total shoreline of 1,004 miles.³

¹ Barkley's statue in the Kentucky's Capitol Rotunda was authorized by the Kentucky General Assembly in 1960, for which $50,000 was appropriated. It was unveiled by his widow, Jane Hadley Barkley, and dedicated on October 3, 1963.

² Kentucky's historical legacy is represented in the nation's capital building by Barkley's bust, which was unveiled on April 30, 1958, along with busts of other Kentucky-born U.S. Vice Presidents, including Richard M. Johnson, by James P. Voorhees; John C. Breckenridge, by James P. Voorhees; and Adlai E. Stevenson, I, by Franklin Simmons. In addition, Kentucky is represented by two statues in the Statuary Hall collection, one of U.S. Vice President Henry Clay and the other of Danville's pioneering physician, Dr. Ephraim McDowell.

³ Lake Barkley, alone, stretches ninety-one square miles through the Kentucky counties of Livingston, Lyon, and Trigg, and into western Tennessee, covering 58,000 surface acres, with 300 miles of undeveloped shoreline.
• Barkley Lodge and Convention Center overlooks Barkley Lake in Trigg County, and is situated on 3,600 acres added to the Kentucky Parks System in 1961.4

• In 1941, Barkley's influence as U.S. Senate Majority Leader played a major role in the Army Air Corps' decision to locate a military training airport in McCracken County. In 1946, the airport was expanded to include commercial interstate air service, and in 1949 the facility was rededicated as the Barkley Regional Airport to honor Barkley, who was serving as U.S. Vice President.5

Barkley's stature as a national leader is further evidenced by the location of other economically significant physical structures located in Kentucky. Though not bearing Barkley's name, they do bear his political fingerprints. Examples include:

• At Barkley's strong urging, the Paducah Gaseous Diffusion Plant was constructed on the former Kentucky Ordnance Works site in McCracken County, and was opened in 1952 while he was serving as U.S. Vice President. The location was selected from a list of eight other national locations. The huge facility opened in 1952, and produced enriched uranium from 1952-2013, initially as feedstock for military reactors and weapons, and later for nuclear power fuel.6

• If you visit the website of the nearby Cincinnati-Northern Kentucky International Airport – often referred to as the greater Cincinnati Airport – you will learn that Barkley also exerted a heavy hand in the decision by U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and Congress to locate the facility across the river from Cincinnati and within the borders of our Commonwealth.7 In 1942, local officials from Boone, Kenton, and Campbell counties recruited Barkley to help obtain federal funding for a new airport in Hebron as part of the aforementioned Army Air Corps' program to establish a national network of military training facilities, just

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4 The main facility, Barkley Lodge, was designed by renowned architect, Edward Durell Stone, and is open year-round, with 124 guest rooms and suites, together with an excellent restaurant, meeting rooms, and swimming pool. It is adjacent to a convention center, and is surrounded by numerous hiking, biking, jogging, and nature trails.

5 Covering 1,018 acres, the Barkley Regional Airport is Kentucky's fourth busiest airport, and provides a significant economic boon for the Purchase Area's economy.

6 The enormous Paducah Gaseous Diffusion Plant is comprised of 750 under-roof acres situated on a 3,425 acre site. Before its downsizing and cessation of uranium enrichment in 2013, the facility generated jobs for 1,100 workers and was an economic boon for the region, but currently employs only around 600 to maintain the grounds and portions of the infrastructure, and to remediate environmental contamination.

7 Interestingly, the Cincinnati-Northern Kentucky International Airport, often referred to as the Greater Cincinnati Airport, is located in Boone County but governed by the Kenton County Airport Board. The airport received its call letters, "CVG," in reference to Covington, the nearest city at the time of its opening.
as he had done in procuring a similar facility for McCracken County in far western Kentucky.\(^8\) As with many similar military facilities built during WWII, at the war's conclusion the airport was declared surplus property by the federal government and was turned over to civilian purposes. Thereafter, commercial flights proliferated, becoming a major stimulus for the economic boom experienced by the northern Kentucky region.\(^9\)

Barkley's prominence as a statesman and orator is further established by national organizations which have adopted his name to communicate their mission, methods, and activities. Perhaps the best-known example is The Barkley Forum, an internationally-recognized, award-winning debate team and community service society located at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, where Barkley briefly attended and excelled in rhetoric and debate. Reflecting Barkley's character, the stated mission of The Barkley Forum is "To further Emory's vision of a destination university as an inquiry-driven, ethically engaged, and diverse community using academic debate for positive transformation in the world through courageous leadership in teaching, research, scholarship and social action."\(^10\)

Barkley's influence on the fabric of modern American society is also interwoven in the extensive landmark progressive legislative initiatives and programs established during the early half of the last century. Barkley's Congressional career spanned forty-four years and both houses. In 1913, his freshman class in the U.S. House of Representatives included his life-long friend and future Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn of Texas, and they were swept into office with the newly-elected U.S. President, Woodrow Wilson, whose leadership style and progressive ideas Barkley quickly came to idealize and adopt.

Barkley's Congressional tenure spanned the administrations of seven U.S. Presidents, including Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. It should surprise no one that Barkley's greatest impact was felt during the Democratic administrations of Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman, when he helped craft and champion the social and economic legislation composing the

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\(^8\) Three factors favored Barkley's advocacy. First, Cincinnati had voted down a bond issue to participate in the Army Air Corps' program, hoping instead to expand its already existing Lunken Airport into a major transportation hub. Second, Cincinnati's Lunken Airport was located in a low-lying area, making it prone to frequent flooding and fog, and earning it the derisive moniker, "Sunken Lunken." And third, Ohio's congressional delegation was led by Republican Senator Robert Taft, who had long been one of the most ardent public critics and effective legislative opponents of Roosevelt's New Deal initiatives.

\(^9\) From its humble military beginnings, the Cincinnati-Northern Kentucky International Airport has grown to become Kentucky's busiest airport, generating a $3.6 billion total economic impact for the regional economy, providing 16,000 direct and indirect jobs, bringing $578 million in total spending by visitors to the area, and collecting $40 million in taxes to the Commonwealth.

\(^10\) Barkley's legacy is also academically memorialized by two endowed academic chairs, one at Emory University (Political Science) and the other at the University of Louisville (School of Medicine).
"New Freedom," "New Deal," and "Fair Deal" initiatives. The nation's retention and expansion of many of these Depression-era and war-time programs – controversial at their inception – bears witness to Barkley's intellect, wisdom, persistence, persuasiveness, and legislative leadership.

Another barometer of Barkley's political ability and impact is that he was the last of only four U.S. Vice Presidents born in Kentucky. The three other Kentuckians – all lawyers and all Democrats – rising to such national prominence include:

- Richard M. Johnson. Born in Jefferson County in 1780, Johnson served as the 9th Vice President during the administration of President Martin Van Buren. 11

- John C. Breckinridge. Born in Fayette County in 1821, Breckenridge served as the 14th Vice President during the administration of President James Buchanan. 12

- Adlai E. Stevenson, I. Born in Christian County in 1835, Stevenson served as the 23rd Vice President during the administration of U.S. President Grover Cleveland. 13 Interestingly, Stevenson was Barkley's

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11 Johnson rose to national prominence by having been credited with the killing of Shawnee chief Tecumseh during the Battle of Thames in 1813, and he later campaigned for vice president under the slogan of "Rumpsey Dumpsey, Colonel Johnson Killed Tecumseh." However, Johnson is the only vice president selected by the U.S. Senate under the provisions of the Twelfth Amendment. His open interracial relationship with a former slave – with whom he fathered several children, and who he treated as his common-law wife – caused twenty-three southern electors to ignore the popular vote from their state and refuse to endorse him as vice president. When Johnson fell just one vote short of the required votes, selection of the vice president was shifted to the U.S. Senate, where Johnson ultimately prevailed due to the strong influence of Van Buren. When confronted by financial difficulties while in office, Johnson abandoned his post in Washington, D.C., and returned to Kentucky to open a tavern. Considered by one Senate aide as "the most vulgar man of all vulgar men," Johnson soon lost favor with Van Buren, who dropped Johnson from his reelection bid, choosing instead to run alone, without a vice presidential running mate.

12 A graduate of Centre College, he studied law at Transylvania University, and was the youngest person ever elected vice president. Just thirty-six years old when nominated, Breckinridge was just a year over the constitutional minimum age for rising to that high office, and he had reasonable aspirations to one day become president. Unfortunately, Breckinridge is also the only vice president ever to take up arms against the United States. He chose to serve as a Confederate general following the outbreak of the Civil War, even though his cousin, Mary Todd Lincoln, resided in the White House and Kentucky remained in the Union. As a result, he was formally expelled as a traitor by the U.S. Senate, and remained in exile following the conclusion of hostilities.

13 Also a graduate of Centre College, Stevenson was the first former vice president to win a second nomination for the vice presidency with another presidential candidate, having been re-nominated to run with William Jennings Bryan in 1900. Acquainted with both Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas, he campaigned for Douglas. Though both Stevenson and Lincoln sprouted from the same far western Kentucky roots and had each matriculated to Illinois to pursue careers in law and public service, Lincoln had on one occasion publicly offended Stevenson by making Stevenson the unfortunate object of his biting oratorical wit.
fourth cousin, and – like Barkley – had risen from youthful poverty to national prominence through education, hard work, persistence, and a friendly, folksy personality.

Another indicator of the people's affection for Barkley is the fact that he came to be the first U.S. Vice President to be casually referred to as simply, "The Veep." There is good reason for this fact. The term was coined by Barkley's ten-year old grandson, Steven McKenzie Truitt, soon after Barkley's election in 1948. When the national press asked Barkley how they should address him now that he had ascended to higher national office, he quipped that they could call him whatever they wished, "... so long as it was respectful." However, Barkley then told the press how his young grandson had considered the formal title of "Mr. Vice President" to be both cumbersome and stuffy, and instead suggested a simpler and inviting slang term, such as the "Veep," created by simply connecting the two letters comprising the formal abbreviation of "V.P." The national media appreciated Barkley's folksy story, and quickly adopted the term, which is now a permanent and popular part of our national vocabulary.


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14 Stevenson's grandson, Adlai Stevenson, II, became governor of Illinois, unsuccessfully ran for president as the Democratic presidential nominee in both 1952 and 1956, and served as Secretary to the United Nations during the Cuban Missile Crisis in the administration of President John F. Kennedy. Stevenson's great-grandson, by the same name, also served as a U.S. Senator from Illinois.

15 A March 1996 Baltimore Sun article noted that Stevenson was – like Barkley – "A great storyteller, a very likable man ever in pursuit of public service, the vice president had a sunny simplicity that contrasted to troubled uncertainties of his grandson and the frosty aloofness of his great-grandson, Adlai III, for ten years a frustrated U.S. senator."

16 Richard M. Nixon, being much more impressed with the trappings of public office than the self-deprecating Barkley, upon succeeding Barkley as U.S. Vice President, attempted to nix use of the folksy term by saying the "Veep" moniker rightly belonged solely to Barkley. Nixon's protestations were to no avail, perhaps reflecting the media's conclusion that Nixon – to paraphrase William Shakespeare – "dost protesteth too much."
III. THE WORLD ACCORDING TO "WILLIE"

Willie Alben Barkley was born on November 24, 1877, in the country crossroads of Wheel, located between the farming communities of Lowes and Fancy Farm in Graves County, Kentucky. Barkley was the eldest of eight children born to John Wilson Barkley and his wife, Electa Eliza (Smith) Barkley. His paternal grandmother, Amanda (Girard) Barkley, served as midwife to his birth in the simple two-story log house she shared with his paternal grandfather, Alben Graham Barkley.

The name, "Willie," was derived from Barkley's paternal and maternal uncles, who were both named "William," but Barkley quickly grew to dislike the name, thinking it not dignified enough for one aspiring to public office. As a result, he legally changed his name soon after being licensed to practice law and while studying at the University of Virginia, selecting instead the more formal, "Alben William Barkley".17

Barkley's loving, but strict Scotch-Irish parents were poor, religious, hard-working and fiercely independent-minded tenant farmers. Prior to settling in far western Kentucky, Barkley's forebears had fought with colonial troops in North Carolina during the American Revolution, and had settled in western Kentucky upon receiving land grants for their military service. Barkley's parents were active members of the local Presbyterian congregation, where his father served as a church elder. As a result, they were strongly opposed to alcohol and gambling, views that Barkley championed in his early political races. In addition to church attendance, Barkley's parents appreciated the value of an education.

By the tender age of only ten years, to assist with the family's dire financial condition, Barkley had joined in his father's strenuous farming activities. Even so, between the fall harvest and spring planting seasons, Barkley faithfully attended the area's one-room public schools. One of Barkley's early teachers, John T. Cunningham, is credited with having taught young Barkley to read and write.18 Another of Barkley's elementary school teachers is said to have recalled much later that though a few other students may have possessed greater intellect and academic potential, Barkley excelled by persistently out-working his fellow students and seeking approval from his teachers.

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17 Barkley's displeasure with his given name of "Willie" likely arose from his paternal grandmother's early influence. While his parents worked, young Barkley and his siblings were occasionally left for long periods in the care of his paternal grandparents, and his grandmother kindled a passion in him for public service by sharing stories of the dignified public careers of her relative, U.S. Vice President Stevenson, I, and her childhood playmate, U.S. Representative James A. McKenzie, both natives of Christian County.

18 A monument erected in Trigg County to the memory of John T. Cunningham, who left his teaching duties to become a well-known and widely-respected Baptist pastor, proclaims that he "Taught Alben Barkley to read and write." Rev. Cunningham was born on October 26, 1859, and is a distant relation to Kentucky Supreme Court Justice Bill Cunningham.
Barkley's impoverished childhood experiences laid the foundation for his later progressive political perspectives and initiatives. In the twilight of his political career, Barkley recalled one occasion — having outgrown his shoes and his parent's farm income being delayed by a late harvest — when he had to walk barefoot behind other students making their way to the schoolhouse so he could step in their footprints to avoid the cold early frost. As a result, Barkley gravitated to programs designed to provide aid to the poor and educational opportunities to the young. He also recalled having worked side-by-side in the fields with local black farm hands and during the annual call for all able-bodied community men to work together in maintaining the unfunded rural roadways. He could even sing some of the songs he had heard the black men sing while he labored beside them. Barkley's subsequent legislative legacy included being an early proponent of civil rights for all citizens and teaming with Truman to desegregate the military. The experience also convinced him of the need for federal funding of national roadway and mass transportation projects.

IV. "BARKLEY SWEPT HERE"

Because of the economic downturn in 1891, Barkley's father moved the family to Clinton in Hickman County, where he pursued work as a tenant wheat farmer. Barkley attended a local seminary school for a short time, before enrolling in 1892 at Marvin College, a small Methodist institution. While a student at Marvin College, Barkley became a member of the Methodist denomination, and served as a Methodist lay speaker the remainder of his life.

Because he could not afford tuition, Barkley obtained a scholarship from the college's president covering his academic expenses in exchange for his work as a janitor. Again, he was allowed to miss the first and last month of the academic year so he could continue to help with his family's farming activities. Demonstrating the strong work ethic on which he would later draw as a successful public official and political campaigner, Barkley was able to complete his farm work and janitorial duties while excelling at his academic studies. He proved especially adept at rhetoric and debate, winning the school's gold medal in recognition of his eloquence and persuasiveness. He obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree from Marvin College in 1897.

Many years after graduating from Marvin College, Barkley commented on the many national historic sites he had visited that proudly proclaimed some person of significance had "slept here." He whimsically suggested the citizens of Clinton should erect a historical marker in front of the old Marvin College campus bragging that "Barkley Swept Here." They did — and the marker still stands in front of the defunct college campus.

Barkley had been profoundly influenced by his Methodist educators, who stressed heavenly faith and earthly service, and decided to further his education at Emory College in Oxford, Georgia (now Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia), where many of them had studied. Unable to afford the cost of tuition and board, Barkley became a traveling salesman, hawking pots and pans to the area farmers and small townspeople, and quickly earned sufficient funds. However, he soon learned the cooking implements he had sold were of inferior quality and cracked with use, and he returned all his earnings to the many customers who
had trusted his word to their detriment. A local judge heard of Barkley's plight and provided a $200 loan to finance Barkley's plans to seek further education.\textsuperscript{19}

The lively and affable Barkley matriculated to Emory College in 1897, where he studied the classics, joined the Delta Tau Delta social fraternity, and was active in the debating society. But after completing only two semesters, Barkley could no longer afford the tuition and boarding costs. He returned to Marvin College for the 1897-1898 school year as an instructor, hoping to save enough money to return and complete his advanced degree. However, Barkley's teaching career and educational hopes were short-lived due to his meager earnings and because he was unable to maintain discipline over students.\textsuperscript{20} With no objection from the school administrators, Barkley announced his intention to follow his parents to McCracken County, where his father had taken a job making rope and rigging at a Paducah cordage mill.

V. PAUPER APPRENTICE

In his autobiography, That Reminds Me, Barkley recalled, "I do not suppose I ever worked harder and earned less than I did during my first few years in Paducah when I was learning the law." As he explained, "In the days when I went to Paducah it was still possible to gain admission to the bar by reading law privately in an attorney's office and then passing the bar examinations." This process for becoming a lawyer, known as "reading the law," involved an apprenticeship incorporating a period of legal study under the supervision of an experienced attorney or judge, with or without pay, and typically encompassed the reading of authoritative legal works prior to sitting for a bar examination.\textsuperscript{21}

Because he could not afford the cost of furthering his education at Emory College, Barkley had determined he would move to Paducah to become a lawyer by reading the law under the local attorneys. In 1899, armed with a letter of recommendation obtained from his Marvin College administrators, Barkley negotiated an unsalaried legal apprenticeship under Charles K. Wheeler, a prominent Paducah attorney, who also served as U.S. Representative for the First Congressional District. Pursuant to their agreement, Barkley's "compensation" would be free access to Wheeler's extensive law library when not performing assigned legal work.

Barkley had agreed to the unsalaried position, reasoning Wheeler could provide strong legal and political mentoring, but quickly realized he could not survive

\textsuperscript{19} Years later, when Barkley returned to the same farming area and small town communities as a young lawyer and political candidate, the people remembered his integrity and determination, and rewarded him with their votes.

\textsuperscript{20} Most of Barkley's students at Marvin College were just a few years younger than their inexperienced instructor, and were too well-acquainted with Barkley, who they called "Monk," to take his discipline seriously.

\textsuperscript{21} Before the American Bar Association was formed in 1878, and reliance upon specialized institutional legal education was widely adopted, "reading the law" was the norm in America for anyone desiring to enter the legal profession.
without a salary. Thus, in addition to his laborious legal duties, Barkley was forced to seek out local after-hours and weekend odd-jobs to cover his living expenses. Barkley's great expectations for Wheeler's legal and political mentoring also proved misplaced. Wheeler's extended absences from his law office to fulfill public duties negated any significant opportunity for meaningful interaction with Barkley. In addition, Wheeler was a staunch "Free Silver" Democrat who supported the populist ideals and fiery rhetoric of William Jennings Bryan, while Barkley – though increasingly progressive in ideology and sensitive to the cause of farmers and laborers – identified with the more fiscally conservative and less dogmatic "Gold Standard" Democrats, leaving little for the two to hold in common. Wheeler's secretary, seeing Barkley's financial plight, taught him shorthand in the evenings, and Barkley was soon able to turn a few extra dollars by taking depositions for other local lawyers.

Within a few months, Barkley established a more beneficial apprenticeship with two of Wheelers competitors. John Kerr Hendrick was a former Livingston County prosecuting attorney in Smithland, and had served as the district's U.S. Representative prior to Wheeler replacing him. He thereafter re-established his law practice in Paducah with his law partner, William S. Bishop. Bishop was also a gifted lawyer, who had attended Transylvania University in Lexington, and was a former confederate soldier and union captive. In addition to his keen legal mind, Bishop was known for his humor and absent-minded antics. Judge Priest, the wise, witty, and courageous judicial protagonist in several novels authored by Irvin S. Cobb, including Old Judge Priest, was based on Bishop.

Unlike Wheeler, Hendrick and Bishop agreed to compensate Barkley during his legal apprenticeship with a salary of $12 per month, and Hendrick also recommended Barkley to his friend Judge L.D. Husbands, who hired Barkley to serve as circuit court reporter. After two years of laboring under this more lucrative legal apprenticeship, Barkley was able to pass the Kentucky bar examination in 1901; and thereupon opened a small law office. Barkley saved

22 A common interest in the Isaac Pitman system of taking shorthand notes later helped Barkley, as a freshman U.S. Representative, establish a warm, working relationship with the newly inaugurated U.S. President, Woodrow Wilson, who became Barkley's political ideal and mentor. Barkley would later write in his autobiography, That Reminds Me, that Wilson "became my political idol. My political philosophy, the liberalism which I have always espoused, was nurtured by my association with him."

23 Cobb was a native of Paducah, and Barkley's contemporary. Cobb was a national newspaper reporter and editor who opposed the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, humorist, lecturer, author of over sixty books, short story writer, and movie actor. He was the first to be affectionately called the "Duke of Paducah," and received the O Henry Award and the French Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Barkley quipped that his friend, Cobb, had profited by merely chronicling Bishop's life while demoting him to a mere "Priest." On several occasions, Cobb wrote nationally-circulated editorials and newspaper articles favoring Barkley for U.S. President. Cobb, himself, gained international celebrity status as a WWI war correspondent who defended the rights of black soldiers.
his initial earnings and completed additional law courses at the University of Virginia School of Law during the summer of 1902.24

VI. TIES THAT BIND

When Barkley relocated to Paducah in 1899, he joined the Broadway Methodist Episcopal Church, where he taught a Sunday school class and his rich baritone voice was often heard as a lay speaker and congregational singer. He also quickly became active in several influential Paducah civic organizations, including the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Woodmen of the World, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and the Improved Order of Red Men. Because of his ability to use his quick wit and story-telling ability to make a point, Barkley quickly became a popular speaker.25

Barkley was also no stranger to the many dances and social events held in Paducah, but his attention soon fixed upon Dorothy Brower, the daughter of a local merchant. When Brower's father moved his business and family ninety miles to Tiptonville, Tennessee, Barkley continued to court her through regular correspondence and visits. When he had saved $800 as a down-payment for a small, gas-lit, four-room, white frame house, Barkley proposed, Brower accepted, and the couple were married on June 23, 1903.

Like Barkley, Dorothy was active in a number of local civic organizations, including the Garden Club of Paducah and the daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), and even after their marriage, she maintained her membership at the First Christian Church. Her charm and popularity helped Barkley conduct a successful campaign for his first public office, that of McCracken County Attorney, and she remained the consummate political wife throughout all his campaigns and political career.

The couple's marriage soon produced three children, including a son, David Murrell "Bud" Barkley (1906),26 and two daughters, Marion Frances "Sis" Barkley

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24 While in Charlottesville, Barkley also studied the writings of U.S. President Thomas Jefferson and frequently hiked around the grounds of Jefferson's plantation home, Monticello, which had not yet been restored and opened as a national shrine.

25 Barkley would later tell the story of an occasion early in his legal career when a friend nominated him for an office at the local Elks Lodge. Another member objected, claiming there were already too many lawyers being elected to influential positions throughout Paducah. In Barkley's defense, his friend assured the complaining Elk there was no need to worry, since Barkley was not much of an attorney. With such a fierce defense, Barkley recalled that he lost that fraternal election, and quipped that he thereafter limited his candidacies to public offices.

26 David Barkley worked as a guide in Yellowstone National Park in the 1920s before joining the U.S. Army Air Corps in 1928, where he was one of the first American aviators to fly for the U.S. Commerce Department in the aerial mapping of the United States, particularly in Alaska. He also worked as an aerial mail carrier before rejoining the U.S. Army Air Corps during WWII, attaining the rank of major. A lifetime farmer in western Kentucky, he also worked with a national public relations firm out of New York City. He married Dorothy Graves Barkley, a former Ziegfeld Follies showgirl, and they had two children, including a son, Alben William Barkley, II, who served as Kentucky's Secretary of Agriculture, and a daughter, Dorothy "Dottie" Barkley Holloway. One of
(1909), 27 and Laura Louise "Wahwee" Barkley (1911). 28 Barkley and his wife, Dorothy, were doting parents, taking their young family on numerous vacations and social outings, often with an educational component. 29

To accommodate their growing family, the Barkleys ultimately settled into a two-story frame house located on Jefferson Street in an upscale area of the city, 30 which remained their permanent address even after the family moved to the nation's capital when Barkley was elected to the House in 1911. Dorothy would remain with Barkley in their Washington home until health issues caused her to decide in 1936 to stay closer to home in Paducah. Thus, the couple purchased "Angles" in 1937, an impressive, but dilapidated, one-story frame house located on a small farm outside the city. It had acquired its odd name due to the uneven property lines that defined its boundaries. The Barkleys quickly set about restoring the old structure, filling it with cherished antiques they collected during their Congressional travels.

Unfortunately, despite the best medical care, Dorothy's debilitating heart condition continued to deteriorate, especially during the last five years of her life.

David's grandchildren, Clay Barkley served until most recently as an assistant attorney general for the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

27 Marion Barkley served as her father's gracious hostess and escort at various political and social functions during the years following the death of Barkley's first wife and prior to his second marriage. Marion married Max O'Rell Truitt, Sr., and together they produced four sons: Max O'Rell Truitt, Jr; Alben William Truitt; Thomas Hulen Truitt; and Steven McKenzie Truitt. Thomas Hulen Truitt became a successful Washington, D.C. corporate attorney, who represented Occidental Petroleum in litigation concerning the Love Canal environmental disaster. His brother, Steven McKenzie Truitt, is a successful Washington, D.C. civil and constitutional attorney, who represented a number of companies with claims against Iran arising from the Iranian Revolution, and represented the National Iranian Oil Company in an action against Ashland Oil, Inc. He most recently has represented pro bono several Guantanamo captives. Regrettably, when Alben William Truitt suffered a mental collapse resulting from financial crises and marital difficulties, he hijacked a small private plane to Cuba, for which he was subsequently convicted and sentenced to twenty years in prison.

28 Laura Barkley married Douglas MacArthur, II, nephew of General Douglas MacArthur and a career diplomat and Foreign Service officer. The couple, who would later co-author a book chronicling their global experiences, titled Doug and Wahwee, had one daughter, Mimi MacArthur.

29 A conscientious Congressman, Barkley would always arrange to make it back to the capitol for important legislative votes. On one occasion, while driving alone overnight back to Washington from a family vacation, Barkley fell asleep on a West Virginia highway and wrapped his car around a telephone pole, suffering serious injuries.

30 This house remained their permanent residence during Barkley's early Congressional career, even though the entire family resided with him in the nation's capital in various rented apartments until the family was able to purchase a Washington-area house. Years later, with their children grown and Dorothy facing health problems, the couple sold their Washington area home and returned to living in rented apartments. Barkley's determination to have his family with him arose after the shock of his two-year old daughter "Wahwee" not recognizing him upon his return from his freshman year in the House.
and she was able to make fewer and fewer trips to the nation’s capital to be with her husband. Over time, she required constant medical and nursing assistance, resulting in severe financial hardship, and causing Barkley to accept an increasing load of speaking engagements to supplement his modest $10,000 Congressional salary. Dorothy died at the age of sixty-five on March 10, 1947. When Barkley thereafter won the Collier's Magazine Award for outstanding public service in May 1948, he donated the $10,000 prize to the University of Louisville Medical School for heart research. The gift was given in honor of his late wife and in appreciation for the excellent and innovative medical treatment that had been provided by the institution’s quality medical staff.

After being inaugurated U.S. Vice President in 1948, Barkley was invited to a party on the White House yacht hosted by Clifford Clark and his wife, Marny, on July 8, 1949. Clark was serving as President Truman’s top advisor, and the couple had been longtime social friends of Barkley and his late wife, Dorothy. Barkley was introduced to their friend, Jane Rucker Hadley, the widow of a St. Louis corporate attorney with two teenage daughters, who was taking a vacation from her job as a secretary for the Wabash Railroad. Barkley was smitten, and a widely-reported, long-distance, four-month, whirlwind courtship ensued, culminating in a November 18, 1949, St. Louis marriage ceremony, convened in the Singleton Memorial Chapel of St. John's Methodist Church.

Thus, Barkley became the only U.S. Vice President to be wed while in office. Jane was but thirty-seven years old, and Barkley was seventy-one years young. Thereafter, she was Barkley's constant companion, and was at his side when he died while making a speech just six years later.

 VII. COUNTY PROSECUTOR (1905-1909)

Six months after his marriage to Dorothy Brower, Barkley announced his candidacy for McCracken County Attorney on December 19, 1904. Because the Republican Party did not nominate a candidate, the Democratic Party's primary would decide the race. His opponents were the two-term incumbent, Eugene

31 Marny Clark nicknamed Barkley “Sparkle Barkle” for the loving and gracious manner in which he cared for Dorothy, while tirelessly balancing his heavy legislative duties with ever-increasing speaking engagements to pay for her medical treatment.

32 Prior to their courtship, Jane had been a staunch Republican, and had worked in the St. Louis office of the 1940 Republican presidential nominee, Wendell Willkie. Reportedly, when her milkman had expressed a fondness for U.S. President Roosevelt, she left him a note saying, “No Willkie, no milkie.” When Barkley was asked about Jane’s previous political loyalties, Barkley quipped, “She got swept off her feet by Willkie, but now she’s back in the fold.”

33 The national “paparazzi” frustrated Barkley with their incessant courtship coverage, and so many well-wishers filled the streets outside the church where they were married that the newlyweds had trouble getting into the Oldsmobile convertible he had presented Jane as a wedding gift.

34 Jane subsequently wrote a book, titled I Married the Veep, describing her public and private life with the U.S. Vice President.
Graves, and the sitting Police Court Judge, David Cross. Barkley organized his own campaign, traversing the county on what he described as an "old, one-eyed horse," showcasing his youthful energy, eloquence and folksy humor. He lost to Graves inside the City of Paducah, but prevailed by appealing to McCracken County's rural farmers.35 The race represented the only occasion Barkley would challenge an incumbent Democrat.

Barkley's term as McCracken County Attorney was marked by his challenging of improper charges to the county, resulting in savings of over $35,000 to the county taxpayers. As part of his efforts, Barkley prosecuted two magistrates for approving contracts for which they had a conflict of interest. His administrative and prosecutorial skills were confirmed when he was chosen president of the Kentucky Association of County Attorneys, and he remained active in the local Democratic Party, serving as local spokesman for the 1907 gubernatorial and 1908 presidential elections.

VIII. COUNTY JUDGE (1909-1913)

Based on the organizational and financial skills demonstrated during his term as McCracken County Attorney, Barkley was encouraged to run for county judge, an important administrative position that controlled local funds and patronage. When the Executive Committee of the county's Democratic Club endorsed Barkley soon after he announced his candidacy on August 22, 1908, the incumbent county judge, Richard Lightfoot, decided to retire.

Near the end of his term as McCracken County Attorney, the county clerk, Hiram Smedley, who had served in that position since 1897, was indicted for embezzlement, and Barkley was appointed as one of three men to investigate the losses. The commission found $1,582.50 missing, and the Fiscal Court authorized Barkley to settle with the company holding Smedley's surety bond. However, Smedley was subsequently arrested and charged with twenty counts of forgery, and an audit disclosed a discrepancy of $16,000, of which only $6,000 could be traced to Smedley. The local Republicans, led by their county judge candidate, Thomas Hazelip, claimed the entire local Democratic organizations was corrupt, and laid additional charges against previous Democratic county administrations. Even so, Hazelip conceded that Barkley had improved the county's finances through the various investigations and prosecutions he had conducted as County Attorney. Barkley won the election, but the Republicans captured a 5-to-3 majority on the Fiscal Court.

Despite the Republican majority, the Fiscal Court enacted a number of measures proposed by Barkley to reduce the county's debt and improve its roads. In addition, an annual audit of the county's financial books was enacted. Barkley also appointed a purchasing agent and an inspector of weights and measures, and funded a salary for the county's almshouse keeper in place of the practice of funding the position with collected fees. He likewise replaced the long-practiced corvée system – which required county residents to either pay a tax or donate

35 In addition to Barkley's own advocacy for farming issues, his father had been a long-time, active member of several farmers' organizations.
labor toward the building and maintenance of county roads – with private contracts. However, Barkley was unable to achieve all of his goals. Because he widened and graveled county roads to improve access to city amenities, the cost of these improvements reduced funds that would have otherwise been available to provide free textbooks to indigent students or to reduce the county's debts. In addition, when Barkley appointed his father as county juvenile court probation officer, he was accused of nepotism.

IX. HEADING FOR THE HOUSE (1913-1927)

When Ollie James, the sitting U.S. Representative for the First District, decided to seek election to the U.S. Senate in 1912, Barkley announced his candidacy for that office in December 1911, hoping his early declaration would discourage opposition. It didn't. Barkley was soon opposed by three other Democrats, including Denny Smith, the Trigg County Commonwealth's Attorney, Jacob Corbett, the Ballard County Judge, and John Hendrick, Barkley's former employer and mentor.36

Though Barkley courted the district's farmers by advocating lower taxes and increased regulation of railroads, Hendrick accused his protégé of being a socialist due to his support for federal funding of highway construction. Hendrick alienated the district's 5,000 Woodmen of the World members by disparaging the organization when asserting Barkley's membership was politically motivated.37 Hendrick's attacks focused on Barkley's youth, inexperience, and political ambition. However, many of Barkley's proposals mirrored the progressive platform championed by Woodrow Wilson at the 1912 Democratic Convention, where Wilson won the presidential nomination. In the end, Barkley garnered 48.2 percent of the district's Democratic votes, and subsequently won the general election with token opposition.

Because of his conservative upbringing, Barkley initially leaned to the political right, but increasingly adopted the more liberal views of Wilson, who Barkley would later describe as his "ideal" political leader.38 Barkley's eloquent support

36 Barkley would later share several humorous stories of how the four opposing candidates would travel together throughout the First District in order to save campaign costs – a common practice in those days predating modern campaign styles, the wide use of media, and greater transportation opportunities.

37 When Hendrick alleged Barkley was merely seeking the position of U.S. Representative so he could later run for higher office, Barkley turned the accusation around on Hendrick by proclaiming that if he got to the House and saw a Senate seat "lying about as easy for the picking as the House seat was over Hendrick," then he just might set his sights on taking it, as well. Barkley also lampooned Hendrick's frequency in seeking public office, charging that "When the Pope died some years ago, nobody would tell Hendrick, for fear he would declare for that office."

38 During his falling out with Roosevelt over a war-time tax bill, Barkley declared that he had been a Wilsonian progressive long before he had ever heard of Roosevelt. It is noteworthy that Barkley was sworn in as U.S. Representative at the same time Wilson was inaugurated as U.S. President, and that one of Barkley's fellow freshmen Congressmen was Texas Representative Sam Rayburn, with whom Senator Barkley would closely work when the two later served as leaders in their respective Congressional chambers.
of Wilson’s New Freedom agenda, which Barkley recognized as being beneficial to common farmer's and laborers, together with his championship of Wilson's foreign policy favoring neutrality, earned him assignment to the powerful House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and resulted in his becoming the first freshman Representative to preside over a session of the House. Barkley's initial legislative initiatives focused on Wilson's goals of lowering tariffs on foreign goods, ending child labor, and extending credit to fund road improvements in rural areas.

In addition, Barkley used his national pulpit to speak for the Anti-Saloon League while sponsoring and supporting legislation, including the Sheppard-Barkley Act in 1916, which served as precursor to passage of the Eighteenth Amendment on December 18, 1917.\(^{39}\) The Eighteenth Amendment banned "the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages in the United States and its possessions," though not outlawing the purchase or consumption of alcohol products.\(^{40}\)

In 1917, the issue of prohibition had divided the Kentucky Democratic Party. Barkley had remained silent when in 1917 a faction favoring prohibition suggested he challenge Kentucky Senator James, the incumbent anti-prohibitionist, and Barkley's predecessor as First District U.S. Representative. Likewise, though he never declined similar urging to become a candidate in the 1919 gubernatorial election, Barkley had remained noncommittal, and enthusiasm for his candidacy quickly waned. Instead, although a supporter of prohibition, and because he had not allowed himself to be linked to either faction, Barkley was invited to serve as temporary chairperson of the 1919 state Democratic convention. In his convention address, Barkley praised the record of Democratic leadership while assailing the Republican record, all without mention of the prohibition issue. Though the divisiveness resulted in the election of Republican Edwin Morrow as governor, the experience had positively introduced Barkley to statewide Democratic operatives and local party bosses.

Barkley supported Wilson’s predisposition to neutrality in World War I, and joined in campaigning for re-election in 1916 under Wilson's slogan "he kept us out of war." However, when Germany lifted restrictions on attacks on neutral shipping

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\(^{39}\) Interestingly, legislation to prohibit the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages in the United States was considered a progressive, or liberal, idea because many believed alcohol consumption led to corruption, prostitution, spousal and child abuse, and other criminal activities. Conservatives, on the other hand, opposed such social reform measures due to the threat posed upon private enterprise and the close association of such reforms with the women's suffrage movement.

\(^{40}\) Years later, when Franklin Roosevelt handpicked Barkley to place his name in nomination for U.S. President at the 1932 Democratic Convention in Chicago, Illinois, Barkley – who had come to realize that Prohibition had failed to achieve its goals while creating a constellation of new problems – sparked a lengthy and exuberant demonstration when he called for the repeal of Prohibition. Repeal of Prohibition became a major plank in the 1932 Democratic platform, and was subsequently repealed with passage of the Twenty-first Amendment to the United States Constitution on December 5, 1933.
supplying Brittan and France,\textsuperscript{41} followed by revelations of Germany's \textit{Zimmermann Telegram}, wherein a German official had offered to return Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico to Mexican control if Mexico would side with Germany in the event America entered the war, Barkley voted in favor of Wilson's April 2, 1917, request for a declaration of war. When Barkley, age forty, considered resigning his seat to enlist in the U.S. Army, Wilson persuaded Barkley to remain in the House where Wilson needed his support of the wartime programs, particularly including bills implementing conscription and raising revenue. In 1918, Barkley was a member of an unofficial congressional delegation that toured Europe to survey the tactical situation and meet with European allied leaders. Upon the wars successful conclusion, Barkley supported Wilson's call for U.S. ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and participation in the League of Nations, though both measures failed due to the election of a more conservative postwar Congress in 1918.

When Barkley's choice for president in 1920, William Gibbs McAdoo, Jr., was passed over at the Democratic Convention,\textsuperscript{42} Barkley campaigned for the Democratic nominee, James Cox – and his vice presidential running mate, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Roosevelt – who lost in the general election to Republican Warren Harding.

Barkley found some common ground with Harding, particularly in regard to creation of the Veterans' Bureau and passage of the progressive Sheppard-Towner Act,\textsuperscript{43} but generally felt Harding's policies were overly favorable to big business interests. In his 1920 campaign, Harding had promised the war-weary nation a "return to normalcy" in the form of a strong economy, free of foreign influence. However, by 1922, based in large part upon Harding's Teapot Dome Scandal, his handling of the Great Railroad Strike, and his veto of the Bonus Bill, Barkley – who had become the ranking Democrat on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee – proclaimed during his bid for re-election that if Harding had, indeed, returned the country to normalcy, "then in God's name let us have Abnormalcy."\textsuperscript{44} Despite the national Republican resurgence under the Harding and Coolidge administrations, Barkley carried every First District county in his

\textsuperscript{41} At the time, 80 percent of the dark tobacco grown in western Kentucky was sold overseas, and farming and production profits depended on affordable, safe transcontinental shipping.

\textsuperscript{42} McAdoo, who served as Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury and married Wilson's daughter, also served as Director of the United States Railroad Administration.

\textsuperscript{43} More commonly referred to as the Maternity Act, this legislation was aimed at reducing mortality rates among pregnant women during childbirth.

\textsuperscript{44} When Harding died suddenly on August 2, 1923, Vice President Calvin Coolidge, known as "Silent Cal" due to his reluctance to speak publicly beyond platitudes, ascended to the presidency and continued Harding's conservative, \textit{laissez-faire} approach to government, which sought to reduce the size of government programs and limit government regulation and control of the economy. Coolidge was able to restore public confidence in the White House after the scandals of his predecessor's administration, winning election in his own right in 1924 and leaving office with considerable popularity.
1922 re-election bid, including Republican strongholds in Caldwell and Crittenden counties.

X. Gubernatorial Campaign (1922-1923)

In a somewhat veiled effort to establish a statewide organization to springboard him to the Senate, Barkley announced his candidacy for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination on November 11, 1922. His challenger in the Democratic primary was Seventh District Representative J. Campbell Cantrill, of Scott County, a leader of the conservative wing of the party, which opposed prohibition and women's suffrage.

Barkley's campaign organization gained significant strength from influential supporters of former Kentucky governor, John C. W. Beckham, leader of the party's liberal wing, who had intended to run prior to Barkley's announcement. Seeking to extend his appeal beyond western Kentucky, Barkley opened his campaign in Danville on February 19, 1923, unabashedly employing the slogan "Christianity, Morality, and Good Government."

Having agreed with Cantrill to refrain from personal attacks, Barkley ran on a platform denouncing the influence of the coal, racing, and railroad trusts in state politics, while urging proposals for a statewide highway system and improvements in education. His advocacy for a tax on coal deposits was based on his belief that such tax revenues would be paid largely by out-of-state buyers, resulting in lower property taxes for farmers, but garnered strong opposition to his candidacy from powerful eastern Kentucky coal interests. Similarly, Barkley's record of being a proponent of prohibition and his opposition to pari-mutuel gambling won him the support of influential fundamentalist religious groups, including the Louisville Churchmen's Federation, on religious grounds, but resulted in the Louisville Courier-Journal being slow to endorse his candidacy and the Lexington Herald’s backing of Cantrill, largely because the publishers of both newspapers had helped establish the gambling system.

Barkley's tireless campaign style, which often included making up to sixteen speeches per day, earned him the nickname "Iron Man." Though Barkley ultimately lost to Cantrill by 9,000 votes out of 241,000 votes cast, he wholeheartedly supported Cantrill in the general election, gaining much goodwill within the Democratic Party.

When Cantrill, age fifty-three, died while campaigning in Louisville just two months before the general election, Barkley realized several members of the Democratic Central Committee considered him unacceptable, and he made it known he would not seek or accept the nomination from party leaders instead of Kentucky voters. When the Committee selected his House colleague, Ninth

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45 In an era during the early part of the last century when powerful local political bosses often determined state action due to their ability to "get out the vote," Barkley's effort to establish an effective statewide political organization was especially aided by the support of Frankfort-based party boss, William Purcell "Percy" Dennis Haland, who had served as political strategist to former governors William Goebel and John C. W. Beckham.
District Representative William J. Fields, to replace Cantrill, Barkley offered full-throated support. In a short-lived contest involving little substantive debate and much name-calling, Fields – benefitting from active support from the powerful Jockey Club political alliance – defeated Republican Attorney General Charles Dawson in a landslide victory to become Kentucky’s forty-first governor.46

The primary defeat in 1922 would be Barkley’s only election loss. However, the campaign met its main goal of solidifying Barkley’s statewide political organization and expanding his popular appeal. Moreover, the party loyalty Barkley demonstrated in the general election won him respect even from those who had opposed him.

Some influential party operatives had suggested Barkley could mount a formidable campaign against incumbent Democratic Senator Augustus Owsley Stanley, who had achieved wide national acclaim as the Commonwealth’s progressive thirty-eighth governor, but who, upon replacing the deceased Kentucky Senator Ollie James, had more recently managed to alienate both the pro-temperance and anti-prohibition factions of the Kentucky Democratic Party. However, because he did not wish to dilute his newfound reputation as a party unifier by challenging the incumbent Democratic Senator, and perhaps because he sensed the Republican landslide of 1924, Barkley opted to seek re-election to his position as First District Representative, which he won handily.47

After the 1924 compromise Democratic presidential nominee, John Davis, was soundly defeated by Republican Herbert Hoover, Barkley retreated to his highly-visible and influential national position as the ranking Democratic member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, where he continued to champion the progressive agenda bequeathed by Wilson. At the same time, he refrained from exerting influence in any contested Democratic race in Kentucky, thereby preserving the goodwill he had achieved with all party factions. In addition, he began replenishing his empty financial war chest while planning his strategy for unseating Kentucky’s incumbent Republican Senator, Richard Ernst, in 1926.48

46 Fields was affectionately known as "Honest Bill from Olive Hill." During his administration as Kentucky governor, Fields fought for highway construction, and banned dancing at the Governor's Mansion. Originally a grocer, Fields became a lawyer after completing his tenure as Governor, subsequently serving as a commonwealth's attorney in the 1930s.

47 During the 1924 Democratic Convention – the first to be broadcast nationally over radio – Barkley again supported McAdoo over New York Governor Al Smith, and when McAdoo and Smith deadlocked over the course of 103 ballots, Convention Chairman Thomas Walsh – needing a break to rest – temporarily yielded his chairmanship to Barkley, who thereby gained national recognition and appeal.

48 Though unapproved by Barkley in his 1924 senatorial re-election bid, Stanley lost to Republican Frederic Sackett in the general election, and never again held elected office.
XI. RISING TO THE SENATE (1927-1949)

In 1926, Barkley was ready to rise from his position of leadership in the House to find a seat in the Senate. When Barkley announced on April 26, 1926, his intention to challenge Ernst, the Associated Railway Labor Organizations had already endorsed his candidacy due to his crafting and championship of the Railway Labor Act. Having replenished his political coffers, having distanced himself somewhat from his controversial former political ally, Haly, and promising not to pursue a ban on pari-mutuel betting, Barkley offered himself as a more moderate candidate who could appeal to all factions of the divided Kentucky Democratic Party.

From far eastern Kentucky, Ninth District Representative Fred M. Vinson, of Louisa in Lawrence County, managed Barkley’s general election campaign, while Ernst was supported by Coolidge and Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover campaigned in Kentucky on his behalf. Interestingly, Barkley, age forty-nine, claimed Ernst, age sixty-eight, was “too old” to carry the burdens of the office. In addition, Barkley attacked Ernst for having opposed a bonus for veterans of World War I, and for supporting fellow Michigan Republican Senator Truman Handy Newberry, who resigned due to allegations of election fraud, while not supporting his fellow Kentucky Republican Representative, John W. Langley, who resigned due to accusations of illegally aiding a large Louisville bootlegging operation. Barkley also contrasted Ernst’s affluent status as a corporate lawyer with his own impoverished upbringing. In response, Ernst tried unsuccessfully to resurrect Barkley’s previous support for the coal deposit tax and earlier opposition to pari-mutuel betting. Barkley won the general election by a margin of approximately 21,340 votes out of 554,654 votes cast.

Joining the Senate in 1927, Barkley was initially assigned to the Committee on the Library, together with the committees on Finance, Banking, and Currency. Due to his extensive House experience, Barkley was later added to the Senate Commerce Committee. In 1928, Republican Vice President Charles Dawes assigned Barkley to a special committee investigating presidential campaign expenditures.

That same year, Democrats considered Barkley for the vice presidential nomination based on his party loyalty and the feeling that his rural, agricultural and prohibitionist political roots would balance a national ticket headed by presidential nominee Al Smith, an urban anti-prohibitionist. However, Smith’s political strategists rejected Barkley, thinking the electorate would consider his

49 Vinson would later serve as Truman’s Secretary of the Treasury and Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

50 Langley resigned on January 11, 1926, after being convicted of illegally selling alcohol. Evidence showed Langley had deposited $115,000 in his bank account over a three-year period while earning only $7,500 a year as a Kentucky congressman. Langley claimed to have merely released “medicinal” alcohol to New York bootleggers during prohibition. He was also convicted of attempting to bribe a Prohibition officer. Langley’s wife, Katherine Guger Langley, claimed her husband had been framed in a conspiracy, won his seat, and became the first woman elected to Congress from Kentucky.
choice as contrived. Even so, Smith's handlers did not notify Barkley of his rejections until after he had provided a resounding second to Smith's nomination for president. Afterward, they announced Smith had chosen Arkansas Senator Joseph Robinson to be his running mate. Though Barkley's name was initially placed in nomination by his fellow Kentuckians, Barkley later requested that Robinson's nomination be made unanimous. After a post-Convention vacation with his wife, Barkley returned to Kentucky to chair Smith's campaign.

After Herbert Hoover won a landslide victory in 1928, Barkley led a coalition of liberal Democrats and progressive Republicans in opposition to Hoover's imposition of protective tariffs, a practice that became more controversial following the onset of the Great Depression. Barkley continued to attack Hoover's response to the continuing depression and the severe 1930 drought, claiming the president's meager $45 million in loans to farmers was inadequate to meet the growing financial crisis. Frustrated by Hoover's failure to call a special legislative session to adopt additional relief measures, Barkley had planned a series of speeches condemning Hoover's continued commitment to conservative laissez-faire responsive measures to the country's expanding economic crisis. However, Barkley's plans were shelved when he was involved in a serious automobile accident in West Virginia on June 22, 1929, while driving back to the nation's capital from a family vacation for an important legislative vote.

In 1932, Barkley hesitated to announce his support of Franklin Roosevelt, fearing his decision might not resonate with the more conservative and rural Kentucky voters. However, when Roosevelt asked Barkley to offer the keynote address at the 1932 Democratic Convention, and to serve as its temporary chairman, Barkley relented and announced his support on March 22, 1932. Barkley's keynote address was punctuated with applause as he retraced Wilson's political philosophy and achievements, but Barkley's call to allow voters to decide whether Prohibition should be repealed caused a forty-five minute riotous demonstration. Barkley's call to resubmit the matter to the electorate was based on what many viewed as Prohibition's disappointing and unforeseen results. Though challenged in 1932 by fellow Democrat George Martin, and thereafter Republican Congressman Maurice Thatcher, Barkley easily won re-election, and when Democrats captured control of the Senate, the new majority leader, Arkansas Senator Joseph Robinson, appointed Barkley as his assistant.

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51 Martin, a banking and railroad lawyer from Prestonsburg, had served as county judge for Boyd County prior to being appointed on September 7, 1918, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Kentucky Senator Ollie James. Martin chose not to be a candidate for election to the full term, and had served only six months before Augustus Stanley was elected. During his short-lived Senate tenure, Martin had chaired the committee overseeing the Department of Agriculture.

52 Thatcher surrendered his seat in the House to challenge Barkley for the Senate. During his congressional tenure, Thatcher's leadership had resulted in the establishment of several Kentucky parks and landmarks, including Mammoth Cave National Park, Lincoln's birthplace, and the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery. Thatcher lived to the age of 103, making him the oldest person to have ever served in Congress.
In 1934, Barkley was chosen by the Democratic National Committee to respond to Republican National Committee chairman Henry Fletcher's attacks on New Deal's progressive agenda. Thereafter, Barkley gained further national exposure by embarking on a twenty-state speaking tour, extolling New Deal initiatives and stumping for Democratic candidates engaged in mid-term elections.

In 1936, Barkley again provided the keynote address at the Democratic Convention. His comments established a negative tone in regard to the U.S. Supreme Court's recent judicial reversal of several New Deal initiatives by asking rhetorically:

Is the court beyond criticism? May it be regarded as too sacred to be disagreed with?  

Emboldened by Barkley's strong remarks, Roosevelt proceeded in proposing legislation on February 5, 1937, that would authorize him to appoint an additional justice for each sitting justice over seventy years of age. Roosevelt's court-packing plan would ultimately fail, though Robinson struggled mightily for its passage.

XII. "DEAR ALBEN" OR "BUMBLING BARKLEY"

When Robinson died unexpectedly on July 14, 1937, Barkley and Mississippi Senator Pat Harrison vied to succeed him as majority leader. Harrison had served eight years longer than Barkley and led a bloc of conservative Southern Democratic senators opposed to Roosevelt's New Deal programs and court-packing plan. Though Harrison's efforts had kept his Mississippi delegation loyal to Roosevelt at the 1932 Democratic Convention, the president favored Barkley due to his outspoken support of the New Deal, and because of the president's perception that he favored the court-packing plan.

Though publicly claiming neutrality between Barkley and Harrison, Roosevelt leaked a letter addressed to "My Dear Alben" in which he praised Barkley's

53 Barkley is also quoted to have said, "In a democracy, no public institution is above the power of public criticism. The ancient doctrine of the court as sacred and inviolate is vanishing in the light of common sense and reason. I do not mean by this that the courts, as institutions are not entitled to our respect, or that their decisions should not be obeyed. But I mean that the mere fact that they are called courts, and have the power of decision over the rights of the people does not render them immune from public scrutiny."

54 Barkley later explained his negative comments regarding the Supreme Court at the 1932 Democratic Convention did not equate to an endorsement of Roosevelt's subsequent court-packing legislation, but Roosevelt had interpreted Barkley's remarks as encouraging his hopes of reigning in the Supreme Court's proclivity to find New Deal programs unconstitutional. Though the legislation did ultimately fail to win Congressional approval, the effort caused the Supreme Court to develop a more favorable view of future New Deal legislation.

55 Sources indicate Roosevelt may have promised Robinson appointment as one of the newly-established justices if the court-packing plan was enacted, leading some to conclude Robinson literally worked himself to death attempting to gain its passage.
legislative accomplishments, and the correspondence was viewed as a poorly-veiled public endorsement of Barkley. In addition, Roosevelt privately pressured Illinois Senator William Dieterich and Missouri Senator Harry Truman to support Barkley over Harrison. Dieterich relented to Roosevelt's request, but Truman—who Roosevelt would choose over Barkley as his 1944 running mate—refused due to loyalties owed to Harrison. On July 22, 1937, Barkley was elected senate majority Leader by a one-vote margin.

Many of Barkley's senatorial colleagues resented Roosevelt's injection of executive influence into what they considered a purely legislative prerogative. Though Barkley inherited a Senate in which Democrats held a majority of seventy-six seats against sixteen Republicans and a few independents, Democrats remained seriously divided between conservative and liberal factions. As a result of Roosevelt's interference and the divisiveness of the Senate Democrats, Barkley's legislative accomplishments as majority leader were initially limited, leading some of his detractors to derisively refer to him as "Bumbling Barkley" and "the president's lap dog."

Barkley stubbornly persisted however, gaining increasing respect from senatorial colleagues and the media for his hard work and good nature, resulting in greater legislative successes. Though Barkley favored congenial consensus building, he learned to resort—when necessary—to the more forceful leadership skills previously wielded by the more aloof and domineering Robinson to reign in Democratic Senatorial strays and stragglers.

One such occasion occurred in 1942, when a conservative bloc of Southern senators attempted to avoid a vote on an anti-poll tax bill by absenting themselves from the Senate chambers and thereby forcing adjournment for lack of a quorum. With approval from the full Senate, Barkley invoked a rarely used

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56 As a result of strong opposition to Roosevelt's court packing plan, and despite Democratic majorities existing in the Senate, a longstanding cohesive and effective conservative coalition arose, composed of Southern Democrats and Republicans, which opposed and obstructed much of Roosevelt's New Deal legislation, and subsequently much of Truman's Fair Deal initiatives, especially related to domestic reform, and particularly in the area of civil rights. This powerful conservative coalition predominated in the Senate until the liberal sweep of the Senate elections in 1958.

57 A 1948 Pageant magazine poll of legislators would choose Barkley and Republican Senator Robert A. Taft as the hardest-working members of their respective parties.

58 When Republican's complained publicly that Roosevelt's New Deal agenda was causing an unhealthy growth of bureaucracy, Barkley quipped, "A bureaucrat is a Democrat who holds some office that a Republican wants."

59 Robinson had reigned over the Congressional Democrats since the 1920s with a style characterized as brutish, exhibiting "animal strength, and a willingness to use it." He demanded obedience with a mixture of excoriating debate, overt threats, quiet favors, and parliamentary maneuverings. In contrast, Barkley was not naturally gifted with such domineering leadership skills, but instead sought to reach compromise and consensus by passionate but reasoned oratory, often seasoned with humor and storytelling, and the invocation of his convivial personality.
prerogative of his office and instructed the sergeant-at-arms to "arrest" any senators known to be in Washington and to deliver them to the floor to vote. Barkley's procedural maneuvering forced a vote and led to passage of the controversial civil rights measure, but his action enraged Barkley's long-time friend, Tennessee Democratic Senator Kenneth McKellar, who was one of the senators "arrested" and brought to the Senate floor. McKellar's desk was next to Barkley's, and in denouncing the majority leader's heavy-handed parliamentary tactics, McKellar pounded Barkley's desk and shook his fist in Barkley's face.

McKellar, who had previously championed Barkley for elevation to the U.S. Supreme Court, thereafter advised Roosevelt that any nomination of Barkley as a justice would be defeated, effectively ending Barkley's chances. Though, himself, passed over for appointment to the Supreme Court, Barkley helped orchestrate the appointment of three Kentuckians to our nation's highest court during his tenure as Senate majority leader, including: Associate Justice Stanley Reed, born in Minerva and served 1938-1957; Associate Justice Wiley Rutledge, born in Cloverport and served 1943-1949; and Chief Justice Fred Vinson, born in Louisa and served 1946-1953.

XIII. CHANDLER'S CHALLENGE

In 1938, Kentucky's popular, politically powerful, and conservative Governor, Albert B. "Happy" Chandler, faced-off with Barkley in the Democratic primary election.\(^{60}\) He had been encouraged to challenge Barkley by a block of conservative Southern Democrats, including his mentor, Virginia Senator Harry Byrd, who opposed Roosevelt's New Deal and hoped to gain control over the 1940 Democratic Convention.

Because Roosevelt was popular in Kentucky, Chandler tried to portray himself as one who supported Roosevelt but opposed Barkley and his commitment to the New Deal. With polls indicating Barkley enjoyed a comfortable lead, Chandler pointed to the benefits of his fiscal conservatism and his reorganization and downsizing of the executive branch to reduce debt. In addition, Chandler resorted to attacking Barkley as "a stranger to the state," and derisively called him "Old Alben" in reference to the twenty year disparity between their ages, though Barkley was only sixty-one years old.

Because his congressional duties restricted Barkley to weekend campaigning in Kentucky, he enlisted several state Democratic leaders to speak on his behalf, including Fred Vinson, Ruby Laffoon, and John Y. Brown, Sr. In addition, though labor had backed Chandler for governor, Barkley received their endorsement for the Senate, due in part to Roosevelt's support for labor unions. When Congress

\(^{60}\) Like Barkley, Chandler had aspirations for the presidency and considered a seat in the Senate as a means of reaching that goal. On two occasions, he had asked Roosevelt to appoint Kentucky Democratic Senator M.M. Logan to a federal judgeship so he could appoint himself as Logan's replacement. On the second occasion, Barkley angered Chandler when earlier in 1938 he advised Roosevelt to appoint another Kentuckian, Solicitor General Stanley Reed, instead of Logan, to fill the U.S. Supreme Court seat vacated due to the retirement of Associate Justice George Sutherland.
adjourned, Barkley resumed his "Iron Man" campaign style, traveling an average of 4,500 miles per week and making eight to fifteen speeches per day. In one famous incident that occurred in June of 1938, Chandler, who had fallen ill and temporarily halted his campaign, inferred that one of Barkley's supporters had poisoned his ice water. Barkley ridiculed Chandler's veiled allegation by promising to add "an ice water guard" to his own campaign detail, and would lift a glass of water to his lips during speeches, only to then mockingly inspect the glass and refuse the refreshment.

Roosevelt realized that Chandler's defeat of Barkley would signal problems for his New Deal agenda and endanger his desire of pursuing an unprecedented third term in 1940. Thus, Roosevelt toured Kentucky with Barkley, beginning with a campaign stop in Covington on July 8, 1938, where Chandler, as governor, was on hand to greet the president. During the joint appearance, Roosevelt made courteous remarks regarding the Kentucky governor, but chastised Chandler for "dragging federal judgeships into a political campaign." Roosevelt also underscored his need for Barkley as the new majority leader, and noted that it would require years for Chandler to gain Barkley's level of seniority and influence. Roosevelt and Barkley were to ride together in the subsequent parade as a sign of unity, but Chandler – seeking to negate that public image – waited until the last moment to jump into the convertible and plant himself on the back seat between the two national leaders, all the while grinning widely and waving enthusiastically to the crowd, as Roosevelt marveled and Barkley scowled at his political impudence.

The campaign between Chandler and Barkley brought to light the long-practiced use of public funds and recruitment of public employee support for campaign purposes, and was significant because it resulted in new legislation reigniting in theretofore unbridled campaign activity. Chandler printed campaign materials with state funds, solicited donations from state employees, and promised new government jobs in exchange for votes, while Barkley enlisted the support of federal New Deal employees, particularly the federal Works Progress Administration (WPA) workers, with assistance from George H. Goodman, a fellow Paducah resident and the federal agency's state director.

Though many allegations and counter-allegations were hurled between the candidates, neither Barkley or Chandler ever faced indictments on any charges of campaign impropriety. Even so, journalist Thomas Lunsford Stokes published an investigative report concerning the questionable campaign activities of both candidates, for which he won the 1939 Pulitzer Prize. Stokes's stinging political exposé on the Barkley-Chandler election generated a national discussion, resulting in passage of the Hatch Act, which severely restricted participation of federal employees in political activities. Though Barkley expressed strong

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61 In subsequent campaigning, Chandler would ignore the full import of Roosevelt's comments, and simply told crowds that Roosevelt had expressed no doubts that Chandler would make a good senator, concluding "that's good enough for me, and that should be good enough for you, too."
misgivings concerning the breadth and depth of limitations imposed by the Hatch Act, he nevertheless championed its passage in Congress.62

Handing Chandler his first and worst political defeat, Barkley won the primary election on August 6, 1938, garnering his largest majorities in western Kentucky, Louisville, and other rural areas.63 In turn, Barkley defeated his Republican opponent, Judge John Haswell, in the general election by a substantial margin. Based on the large margin of Barkley's victories, Roosevelt was inspired to campaign for other progressive Democrats against conservative Southern incumbents. However, none of these progressive Democratic candidates were successful, and Barkley's ability to build coalitions to support Roosevelt's New Deal legislation was again severely weakened.

XIV. LEADER OF ROOSEVELT'S "BIG FOUR"

Evolving world events helped forge a new cohesiveness in the Senate, beginning with the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, and the subsequent declarations of war on Germany by France and the United Kingdom, and especially after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. In wartime, while the president's attention increasingly focused on foreign affairs, Barkley became the administration's leading spokesman concerning domestic policies, and he regularly met with Roosevelt to map out legislative strategy. Barkley led a powerful wartime legislative team known as Roosevelt's "Big Four," which included Barkley, Vice President Henry Wallace, House Speaker Sam Rayburn, and House Majority Leader John McCormack as the group discussed domestic and foreign programs, policy, and strategy at the White House.64

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62 The Washington Daily News called the Hatch Act a "monument to Alben Barkley's persistence and parliamentary skill."

63 As a result of the Chandler challenge, Barkley would later tell a famous story illustrating the fickle nature of voters. Barkley related he was astonished during the campaign to learn that a particular farmer was supporting Chandler. When he confronted the old farmer, the rumor was confirmed. Shocked, Barkley proceeded to list all the numerous favors he had done for the old farmer's family, all of which they were gratefully acknowledged, including getting an access road built to his farm, visiting him in a military hospital in France when he had been wounded in WW I, assisting him in applying for veteran's benefits, arranging for a loan from the Farm Credit Administration, helping with a disaster loan when flood damaged his home, and obtaining jobs for his son, daughter-in-law, and several other family members. However, Barkley quipped he was aghast when the old fellow drawled, "Yes, I remember, but what in hell have you done for me lately?"

64 These meetings were extremely candid, and sometimes took place in Roosevelt's private quarters due to the president's health and disabilities, which were considered private matters and not discussed with the media or in public. Some of the meetings between Barkley and Roosevelt occurred in the president's bedroom while he remained in bed, and on one occasion Barkley recalled having an early morning, high-level discussion with Roosevelt soon after the tired president had returned from a foreign conference and was sitting on a stool shaving in his bathroom. As the secret service agents stood outside the president's private quarters, Barkley quipped that at Roosevelt's insistence he simply took a seat on the only remaining bathroom stool as the two continued their intense governmental conversation.
Barkley's Congressional influence and popular national prominence became so pronounced that Roosevelt was convinced Democrats would nominate him for president in 1940. However, any thoughts Roosevelt might have briefly entertained in regard to passing the presidency to Barkley quickly evaporated after the 1939 German invasion of Poland. As international events spiraled America toward intervention into WWII, Roosevelt felt confident he could count on Barkley as a loyal Democrat and progressive New Dealer. Yet, perhaps because in large part, he did feel threatened by Barkley's lengthening shadow, Roosevelt chose his less-qualified Agriculture Secretary, Henry Wallace (age fifty-two) as his 1940 vice presidential running mate, privately citing Barkley's advancing age (sixty-three) to presidential strategists as a major concern. When he learned of Roosevelt's intentions, Barkley complained loud and long enough regarding Wallace's qualifications to convince some scholars that he desired the nomination for himself. To assuage Barkley's disappointment, Roosevelt offered him the carrot of serving as permanent chairman of the 1940 Democratic Convention, a conciliatory position that nevertheless provided Barkley some respectful national exposure to buoy his dreams for a future nomination. In his Convention speech, Barkley dutifully and eloquently created a popular mandate for Roosevelt's nomination for a third term, inspiring a twenty-minute "spontaneous" demonstration in which delegates were cued to begin enthusiastically demanding, "We want Roosevelt. We want Roosevelt."

Barkley's leadership proved increasingly productive during the war years, resulting in aid to Allied powers under the Lend-Lease Act, plans for an international peace-keeping body at war's end under the Connally-Fulbright Resolution reminiscent of Wilson's failed League of Nations, support for the post-

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65 Roosevelt had fallen out with his original vice president, the cigar-chomping conservative Texas Democrat John Nance "Cactus Jack" Garner, who famously described the vice presidency as being "not worth a bucket of warm piss." (For many years, this quote was politely paraphrased as "warm spit"). Roosevelt chose Garner to gain the requisite number of delegate votes to win the presidential nomination at the 1932 Democratic Convention, but the two had little in common. Garner opposed labor union strikes and the New Deal's deficit spending, and ultimately fell out with Roosevelt over the president's court-packing plan, which he believed placed too much power in the executive branch, and the president's meddling with the internal business of the Congress, including selection of Barkley as majority leader. Having challenged Roosevelt for the presidential nomination prior to cutting their deal at the 1932 Democratic Convention, Garner again pursued the nomination at the 1940 Democratic Convention, in addition to the president's former campaign manager, James Farley, who opposed Roosevelt's decision to ignore the longstanding informal two-term presidential limitation. The Gallup Poll had indicated Garner was the favorite among Democratic voters if Roosevelt chose not to seek a third term, but he lost miserably on the first ballot when Barkley helped the president orchestrate a "spontaneous" call, or "draft," from the delegates for his re-nomination.

66 The next day, Roosevelt accepted the Democratic nomination for a third term as president, and won a landslide victory in the 1940 general election over the Republican surprise nominee, the charismatic and colorful political novice, Wendell Wilkie, who had upset the two GOP frontrunners, Ohio Senator Robert Taft and New York District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, both of whom were considered too isolationist in the face of the growing international threat.
war establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, passage of the War Powers Act and the Emergency Price Control Act. Barkley's most disappointing failure was the defeat of his measure to outlaw prejudicial poll taxes, which were used to deny voting privileges to blacks and poor whites.

XV. BARKLEY BREAKS WITH THE PRESIDENT

In January 1944, after years of loyal service as Roosevelt's senatorial "work horse," Barkley had a widely-reported falling out with the president over a wartime tax bill. To help pay the cost of the war effort, Roosevelt had sent Congress draft legislation for a $10 billion increase in taxes, but Barkley had worked out difficult compromises within the Senate Finance Committee, of which he was a member, to craft a scaled-back tax increase of only $2 billion, which Congress passed. Barkley met Roosevelt twice to urge the president to approve the tax legislation, declaring his colleagues simply would not enact a larger tax burden on the American people at that time.

Roosevelt ignored Barkley's strong advice and vetoed the tax bill, while issuing a scathing denunciation of Congress in which he characterized the legislation as providing "relief not for the needy, but for the greedy." The impact of the veto and comments was punctuated by the fact that Roosevelt's action marked the first time a president had vetoed a revenue bill. Roosevelt's decision to ignore his legislative advice, together with the president's acerbic comments accompanying the veto, enraged Barkley, who publicly and sternly announced his intent to make a speech from the Senate floor "without regard for the political consequences."

The next day, Barkley entered into a packed, somber Senate Chamber and tore into the president's remarks, asserting that the statements represented a "calculated and deliberate assault upon the legislative integrity of every Member of Congress." He encouraged members of the Senate and House to override the president's veto, and announced he would resign as majority leader in open defiance of the president's action. Thinking his political career was at its end, Barkley convened the Democratic senatorial caucus the following morning, tearfully but graciously resigned as majority leader, and retreated to his office. After only a few minutes, conservative Texas Senator Tom Connally, burst from the meeting room exclaiming "Make way for Liberty" and led an enthusiastic delegation of senators to Barkley's office where they announced his unanimous re-election as majority leader. Two days afterward, the Senate joined the House in overriding Roosevelt's veto.

Though Roosevelt quickly leaked a conciliatory letter to Barkley, the president had suffered a significant public humiliation inflicted by one of his most trusted

67 Barkley's views and advocacy regarding the post-war establishment of a Jewish state had been heavily influenced by his close association with Supreme Court Associate Justice Louis Brandeis, a fellow Kentuckian and a 1916 Wilson appointee.

68 Another Democratic senator commented, "Previously, he spoke to us for the president; now, he speaks for us to the president."
political lieutenants, and he never forgave or forgot what he considered Barkley's insolence. Thus, Barkley's dramatic resignation and resurrection as majority leader elevated his legislative clout and expanded his national popularity, but severely damaged his long-standing relationship with the president.

XVI. BARKLEY DENIED VICE PRESIDENCY

Just months after Barkley's public sparring with the president, Roosevelt and his political strategists were preparing for the 1944 Democratic Convention. Roosevelt decided to drop Wallace as vice president because he was perceived by many to have moved too far to the left, making him extremely unpopular with the more conservative Democratic faction. Though Barkley's name was circulated as a possible replacement, Roosevelt would not countenance the nomination of his insubordinate political "wheelhorse," asserting Barkley was simply too old to add strength to the ticket or carry the burdens of the office. Instead, Roosevelt agreed to accept the recommendation of Democratic National Committee chairman Robert Hannegan that Missouri Senator Harry Truman replace Wallace.

Though rebuffed by Roosevelt, Barkley took the president's vindictive snub in stride and focused on winning his 1944 Kentucky senatorial re-election bid. Barkley faced no serious challengers in the 1944 Democratic primary, and proceeded to defeat his Republican challenger, Fayette County Commonwealth's Attorney James Park, by a significant margin. Barkley again tirelessly campaigned for Roosevelt, who scored a comfortable victory over his Republican challenger, Thomas Dewey, in the November 7, 1944, general election.

On January 20, 1945, Truman was sworn in as vice president. For the next several months, the new vice president and the majority leader enjoyed what Barkley characterized as a cordial "catcher-pitcher" relationship in the Senate, with Truman presiding over the Senate and Barkley calling the signals. As World War II raged, Roosevelt's attention was focused on coordinating the Allied war

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69 A 1943 British Foreign Office confidential report described Barkley as a Democratic Party "wheelhorse who will pull the Administration wagon through thick and thin" and "a loyal supporter of the President come hell or high water."

70 At the time of the 1944 Democratic Convention, Roosevelt was ailing and sixty-two years old, while Barkley was an energetic sixty-seven years of age, yet he had no qualms about seeking an additional four years as president. The eventual vice presidential nominee, Missouri Senator Harry Truman, was sixty years old.

71 Consumed with the challenges facing America and its Allies overseas, Roosevelt did not attend the 1944 Democratic Convention, allowing other party leaders, including Barkley, to guide his renomination for a fourth term.

72 Even though Roosevelt's bid for a fourth term was significantly buoyed by wartime victories, Dewey did better against the president than any previous opponent, and had the satisfaction of beating Roosevelt in his hometown of Hyde Park, New York, and in Truman's hometown of Independence, Missouri.
effort and foreign affairs, but he did not include Truman in any high-level strategic meetings.

XVII. TRUMAN ASSUMES PRESIDENCY

On April 12, 1945, just eighty-two days after his being sworn in for his fourth term as president, Roosevelt died. With little White House preparation, Truman was immediately thrust into addressing the serious domestic and foreign challenges facing America, leaning heavily on his cabinet and legislative leaders, particularly including Barkley and Rayburn.

Following President Roosevelt's death, the April 23, 1945, edition of Life Magazine printed a portrait gallery of photographs by internationally acclaimed portrait photographer, Yousuf Karsh, identifying twenty-seven men who had

73 Weeks after the election, Germany launched what is commonly referred to as "The Battle of the Bulge" on December 16, 1944, a last-ditch military effort involving a massive counter-offensive on the European western front aimed at prompting a political settlement. By January 1945, the German offensive had been repulsed, while Allied forces remained stalemated in Italy. At that point, Soviet and Polish forces successfully attacked in eastern Europe and began driving toward Berlin. Roosevelt met with Chamberlain and Stalin at the Yalta Conference from February 4-11, 1945, to discuss post-war occupation of Germany and when the Soviets would join the war effort against Japan. Roosevelt failed to keep Truman fully apprised during this speedy succession of significant events, including any discussion regarding the development of nuclear bombs, though Truman independently studied the war's progress.

74 At the time, there was no Constitutional provision for filling the vacant office of vice president, so Truman served out his initial term as president with no one in that position, though Barkley, as majority leader in the Senate, provided strong support. The situation was not resolved until adoption of the Twenty-Fifth Amendment on February 23, 1967, which addressed the lack of direction for filling vice presidential vacancies, and also clarified the theretofore ambiguous language of Article II, Section 1, Clause 6 of the Constitution, regarding presidential succession. Previously, the Constitution had not clearly stated whether the vice president became the president, or merely the acting president, if the president died, resigned, was removed or became unable to discharge presidential duties. Prior to enactment of the Twenty-Fifth Amendment, there had been sixteen occasions when the office had remained vacant until the next ensuing election and inauguration, sometimes – as with Truman's first administration – for periods approaching four years. Since enactment, two Vice Presidents have been named under its provisions, including Gerald Ford, who replaced Spiro Agnew following his resignation due to corruption, and Nelson Rockefeller, who replaced Ford when Ford ascended to the U.S. Presidency following the resignation of Richard Nixon as a result of the Watergate scandal. Ford and Rockefeller are the only persons to have served as U.S. Vice President without having been elected, while Ford remains the only person to have served as both U.S. Vice President and U.S. President without having been elected to either of these offices.

75 Youssuf Karsh was an Armenian-Canadian portrait photographer (December 23, 1908-July 13, 2002) headquartered in Ottawa who captured the likenesses of many of the most famous – and infamous – personalities of his generation, the most notable being a wartime depiction of Winston Churchill, titled The Roaring Lion, said to be the most reproduced photographic portrait in history. Karsh was considered a master of studio lighting, and was known for lighting a subject's hands separately. In 2000, the International Who's Who listed Karsh as one of the 100 most notable people of the previous century. It was once noted in the British paper, The Sunday Times, that "when the famous start thinking of immortality, they call for Karsh of Ottawa." Noted for capturing the essence of his subjects in his portraits, in one of his many books of portrait collections Karsh
shaped the wartime and New Deal programs of the late president's twelve-year administration. Among these twenty-seven national leaders were two Kentuckians. One was Barkley, described as "Roosevelt's long-suffering majority leader in the Senate." The other was Fred M. Vinson, who had served in several high-level executive positions before being appointed to serve as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

An early test of Truman's leadership was his participation in the Potsdam Conference from July 17, 1945, through August 2, 1945, where Allied leaders negotiated postwar policies concerning the defeated Axis powers, and laid out wartime strategies regarding the ongoing conflict with Japan. It would fall upon Truman to bring World War II to a successful conclusion, even though Roosevelt had left him out of high level discussions regarding the war effort. At the conclusion of World War II, Barkley chaired the joint Congressional committee on war crimes. As part of the investigation, Barkley toured post-war Europe, visiting the Buchenwald Prison Camp located near Weimar, Germany, on April 24, 1945. The experience caused him to work ever-the-more diligently to expose the brutality of the Holocaust and to seek an independent Jewish state in Palestine.

...once said "Within every man and woman a secret is hidden, and as a photographer it is my task to reveal it if I can. The revelation, if it comes at all, will come in a small fraction of a second with an unconscious gesture, a gleam of the eye, a brief lifting of the mask that all humans wear to conceal their innermost selves from the world. In that fleeting interval of opportunity the photographer must act or lose his prize." Karsh captured the defiant and unconquerable essence of Churchill when he irreverently removed a cigar from Churchill's lips, resulting in the classic pose, with deep scowl, belligerent forward thrust of the head, and hand placed angrily on the hip.

76 Truman was joined by Soviet leader, Stalin, together with British leader, Winston Churchill, who was accompanied by Clement Attlee as the two awaited the outcome of British elections, which Attlee won, thereby replacing Churchill as Prime Minister. At the earlier Yalta Conference, Roosevelt had voiced his "hunch" that Stalin would not seek European domination if appeased by Roosevelt's agreement to Stalin's post-war demands. However, Truman — who though inexperienced in foreign affairs had independently followed the war's progress — took a much darker view of Stalin's character and international intentions, and considered Roosevelt's acquiescence at the Yalta Conference to have been naïve and dangerous. Truman resolutely reversed Roosevelt's policies, taking a much harder position with the Soviets, characterizing post-war Soviet actions in Eastern Europe as aggressive expansionism incompatible with Stalin's agreements at the Yalta Conference. Stalin's objection to Churchill's suggestion for an early Allied withdrawal from Iran also fueled Truman's suspicions regarding the Soviets intentions.

77 On April 28, 1945, Italian Dictator Benito Mussolini was killed by Italian partisans, and German troops surrendered in Italy the next day. On April 30, 1945, German Dictator Adolph Hitler committed suicide as Soviet troops entered Berlin and captured the Reichstag. Germany totally and unconditionally surrendered to Allied forces on May 8, 1945, though pockets of resistance persisted until May 11, 1945, marking the complete military defeat of the Third Reich and Axis forces in the European theatre. Complete success was not realized in the Pacific theatre until September 2, 1945, when Japanese officials signed official surrender documents acknowledging total and unconditional surrender aboard the American battleship USS Missouri, thereby ending World War II. After months of fierce island-to-island fighting and incendiary by Allied forces, American bombers had dropped newly developed nuclear bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in early August, between which Soviet forces had invaded Manchuria to defeat the largest Japanese fighting force, while Chinese forces captured several island outposts, all of which led to the unofficial Japanese surrender on August 15, 1945.
In addition, Barkley chaired a joint congressional committee that investigated the Pearl Harbor attack, the final report of which was released in 1946.

**XVIII. DEMOTION TO MINORITY LEADER (1946-1949)**

In 1946, though divided amongst themselves between liberal and conservative factions, Democrats had enjoyed the benefits of fourteen years of unified control over the House, Senate, and White House. Two years into Truman's administration, as the mid-term elections approached, Barkley and Rayburn championed the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, the most comprehensive congressional reform in history, through which they hoped to modernize Congress and expand its administrative capabilities. Barkley and Rayburn had hoped their attempt at congressional reform would prove popular with the public, but the results of the 1946 mid-term elections proved otherwise when Democrats lost majorities in both the Senate and House, and Barkley was demoted to the lesser role of minority leader.

With the Republican congressional victories, it appeared the Republicans would likewise capture the presidency in 1948. In addition to a rejection of the congressional reform authored by Barkley and Rayburn, the 1946 mid-term elections were seen as a referendum on Truman's leadership. The embattled president's approval rating had plummeted due to his controversial handling of numerous post-war labor strikes, his indecision regarding whether to end wartime price controls, his difficulty in addressing rising inflation, and his response to increasing tensions with Joseph Stalin.78

As Senate minority leader, Barkley exercised much less influence on the body's legislative agenda.79 While he continued to champion Truman's Fair Deal initiatives, Barkley increasingly found himself simply seeking to obstruct

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78 The 1946 mid-term elections also introduced Wisconsin Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy to the national stage. Truman and McCarthy often sparred over the conduct of foreign affairs, with McCarthy characterizing Truman and his Administration as being soft on Communism, if not in league with the Communists, and asserting that the Democrats had engaged in "twenty years of treason." McCarthy accused Truman's State Department of harboring numerous "known Communists," but leveled his most vitriolic rhetoric against Truman's Secretary of State, George Marshall, who had been Army Chief of Staff during World War II; had previously served as Truman's Secretary of State; and had been a primary architect of victory and peace, especially through creation of the Marshall Plan; for all of which he would be awarded the 1953 Nobel Peace Prize. Truman responded to McCarthy's unsubstantiated public declarations by asserting the outspoken Senator was the Soviets "best asset" and that his irresponsible accusations were an attempt to "sabotage" American foreign policy, which Truman equated to shooting American soldiers in the back during the heat of the Cold War. Before being publicly discredited and ultimately censured by the Senate, McCarthy enjoyed widespread support, including a close friendship with Joseph Kennedy and the Kennedy clan.

79 One of the first legislative measures enacted by the newly composed, unified Republican Congress was passage of the Twenty-Second Amendment to the United States Constitution on March 21, 1947, limiting U.S. presidents to two terms of office. Ratified by the necessary number of states on February 27, 1951, the Amendment was in response to Roosevelt's election to four consecutive presidential terms. Prior to Roosevelt, it had been an unwritten American tradition, beginning with George Washington, that presidents should be limited to two terms.
Republican attempts to dismantle or dilute previously enacted New Deal and Fair Deal programs.

XIX. VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE (1948)

As the 1948 presidential election approached, Democrats remained divided and disheartened. The mid-term Republican resurgence and Truman's difficulty in appealing to significant segments of the Democratic Party convinced many Democrats that Republican nominee, Thomas E. Dewey, was certain to win. Some Democratic leaders were quietly attempting to recruit alternative presidential nominees. Despite the gloomy election forecast and political overtures, Barkley remained loyal and upbeat.

Truman asked Barkley to give the keynote speech at the 1948 Democratic National Truman because the Senate minority leader could still appeal to Southern Democrats, many of whom opposed Truman's civil rights initiatives. Barkley's powerful keynote address characterized the Republican-controlled House and Senate as a "do-nothing, and good-for-nothing Congress" while heralding the Democrats New Deal legacy, and caused the Convention delegates to explode with renewed hope and enthusiasm.80

Though Barkley's hour-long speech made him the natural choice of the Convention delegates, Truman was wary of selecting Barkley for several reasons. First, Barkley's hour-long speech had mentioned Truman only once and failed to predict Truman's victory in the general election, leading Truman to suspect Barkley had hoped to replace him as the party's presidential nominee.81 Second, Truman considered Barkley, aged seventy, as too old to shoulder the heavy demands of a national campaign and the daily rigors of serving as vice president.82 And finally, Truman feared their neighboring states would provide no regional balance and would not satisfy the more liberal Party factions centered in the northeastern and western states.83

80 When Convention workers rushed to the podium to retrieve Barkley's speech, his copy was found lying on the rostrum undisturbed. Barkley, unaccustomed to the bright television lights, had given the speech from memory.

81 Following Barkley's explosive speech, many delegates spoke openly of their preference of Barkley over Truman to head the ticket, but Barkley quelled such talk given the incumbent Democratic president desired to be re-nominated. As Truman's popularity had waned during the years following his ascension to the presidency, some Democratic leaders had begun to seriously suggest Truman be replaced as the Party's presidential nominee in 1948. Truman's ratings plummeted so low following the disastrous 1946 congressional mid-term elections that independent-minded freshman Arkansas Democrat Senator J. William Fulbright, provoked Truman's fury by suggesting he simply hand over control of the government to the opposition party by appointing a Republican to a position of succession and then resigning the presidency, an idea Truman dismissed as coming from "an over-educated s.o.b."

82 Truman called his Senate minority leader, "Old Man, Barkley."

83 Like Roosevelt before him, Truman had preferred the young, progressive Supreme Court Justice, William Douglas, though the jurist had never won elective office. However, Douglas turned Truman down, not wishing to surrender his seat on the nation's highest court to run on
When Truman hesitated, Barkley told strategists Truman should make the offer quickly if he wanted Barkley to join the ticket because he had no interest in accepting the nomination if it had already been passed about like a "cold biscuit." When Truman finally gave his approval, indicating he would accept the will of the Convention delegates, renowned Louisville attorney Wilson W. Wyatt, a delegate at the Convention, rose and placed Barkley's name in nomination. Wyatt intoned that Barkley was the "best campaigner in the Nation," and had "the heart for the struggle, the courage for the fight, and all that it takes to carry our banner to victory." The Convention quickly confirmed Barkley as vice presidential candidate by acclamation.

Though few urban or academic political pundits gave them any chance at victory, Truman and Barkley set out on a whirlwind cross-country political campaign. During the six-week general election season, while Truman conducted a traditional "whistle stop" campaign by train, Barkley pioneered what he designated a "prop stop" campaign, crisscrossing the country by plane, and making over 250 speeches in thirty-six states and traveled approximately 150,000 miles. The strength and stamina exhibited by Barkley during the campaign refuted any concerns regarding his age.

In the meantime, taking his cue from Barkley's keynote speech, Truman called a special congressional session on July 26, 1948, and challenged Republicans to enact their agenda. When the Republicans failed to pass any significant legislation, the disappointing results seemed to confirm the Truman-Barkley ticket's characterization of the "do-nothing Congress." Moreover, the Truman-Barkley Democratic ticket was strengthened by improving public approval of the Administration's foreign policy, which included the successful Berlin Airlift of that year.

By the time of the election on November 2, 1948, polls had begun to indicate a shift in favor of the Truman-Barkley ticket, though political pundits and national media continued to predict Dewey's victory was "inevitable." However, when the campaign dust settled and the votes were counted, the Truman-Barkley ticket had won by over two million votes. Their election is considered the greatest

what most considered a doomed ticket, and finding it undesirable to "play second man to a second man."

84 The campaign slogan, "Give 'Em Hell, Harry," was born out of a spirited exchange between Truman and Barkley at the Washington, D.C. train station, where Barkley had gone to see the president off. The slogan countered earlier references to the embattled president, such as "I'm just mild about Harry," and "To err is Truman."

85 Barkley traveled in a two-engine DC-3 plane chartered by the campaign from United Air Lines, which he dubbed "The Bluegrass," and his entourage consisted of two speech-writers, a secretary, a steno-typist, two political advisers, two newspapermen, a trip manager, an airline representative, two pilots, a flight engineer, and two stewardesses.

86 Barkley had returned to Paducah, Kentucky, to cast his votes. He and his family were joined by several friends at their home, Angles, for an all-night vigil, with commentators stating that Dewey's victory remained inevitable even as Truman's margin of support expanded. Barkley
upset in American political history. In hindsight, many point to the Truman-Barkley ticket's aggressive, populist campaign style, which contrasted with Dewey's complacent, distant approach to the campaign, which was reflected by Dewey's over-confident failure to respond to the Democrat's attacks. In addition to carrying the White House election, Democrats won back majorities in both chambers of Congress.

XX. A WORKING VEEP (1948-1953)

On January 20, 1949, Barkley was sworn as the nation's Thirty-Fifth Vice President by Supreme Court Associate Justice Stanley Reed, a native of Mason County, Kentucky. Barkley placed his hand on a Bible presented by Broadway United Methodist Church, where he had been a member since arriving in Paducah. It was opened to Galatians 1:3, which reads: "Grace be unto you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ." Justice Reed inscribed the Bible, noting he had officiated over the ceremony in front of the U.S. Capitol "in the presence of President Truman and his Cabinet, the members of Congress, the Supreme Court and other high officials of this and friendly governments." He also noted the presence of Barkley's daughter, Marion Truitt, and her four sons, and his son, David, and his two children. Several moments later, Truman was sworn in by another Kentuckian, Supreme Court Chief Justice Fred Vinson of Lawrence County. In commenting on the presence of three Kentuckians playing such prominent roles on the national center stage, Barkley also proudly noted that Truman's lineage could be traced through Kentucky, as well.

Barkley was the oldest vice president to be elected, the last to preside regularly over the Senate, the last not to have an office in or near the White House, and the first to be identified more with the executive branch than with the legislative

finally went to bed, and was told of the upset victory in the morning. Truman had likewise returned to his hometown of Independence, Missouri, to vote and await the election results.

87 The January 20, 1949, Inauguration attracted a huge crowd, estimated at over 600,000 people, and was the first to be openly integrated, with minorities welcomed by the president and vice president, and the first to be nationally televised, with viewership estimated at more than ten million. In addition to the many other traditional Inaugural events, the Kentucky Society of Washington initiated its Bluegrass Ball in 1948 to celebrate the election of Kentucky's favorite son as vice president. The Bluegrass Ball has been hosted by the fraternal organization every four years thereafter on the evening preceding the Inaugural Ceremony, and has become widely-recognized as one of the premier, non-partisan gala events of the inaugural season.

88 Former Paducah Sun political writer Bill Bartleman has argued that Barkley should be given credit for having served briefly as the chief executive. He notes that the Twentieth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides that the term of a president "shall end at noon on the 20th day of January" in the year after the election, meaning that Truman's first term of office ended at noon. He then notes that Truman's swearing in for his second term was delayed about ten minutes due to the late arrival and mingling of several senators and representatives. Thus, Bartleman argues, Barkley, having already been duly sworn as vice president, technically served several moments as the nation's president from noon on January 20, 1949, until Truman was appropriately sworn in to his second term.
branch. This was by Truman's design, and as a result, Barkley has been called by some scholars the first modern-day, working vice president. He benefited from the fact that Truman had been frustrated by Roosevelt's neglect and knew better than anyone the necessity of keeping the second-in-command fully informed and involved. He also benefited from the fact that he and Truman had few personal differences and agreed on most political issues.

Soon after their inauguration, Truman issued an executive order establishing a new vice presidential coat of arms, seal, and flag, and supported a raise in the vice presidential salary and expenses.

However, Truman's inclusion of Barkley was much more than symbolic and ceremonial. Due to Barkley's extensive legislative experience, Truman insisted on the vice president's attendance at all cabinet meetings and weekly legislative conferences. Further, when Congress established the National Security Council in 1947, Truman insisted that the office of the vice president be included as a regular member. Finally, because Barkley was such a popular and effective speaker, Truman designated him as the Administration's primary spokesperson, and he made forty major speeches during their first eight months in office. Moreover, as Truman's attention focused on addressing the outbreak of the Korean War, Barkley assumed increasing responsibility for the Administration's

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89 Senate Parliamentarian Floyd Riddick once estimated Barkley presided between 50-75 percent of the time, reflecting the traditional view of the constitutional role of the vice president. In presiding over the Senate, Barkley routinely made rulings regarding parliamentary procedure, but occasionally his interpretations were overridden by the conservative coalition of Democrats and Republicans which dominated the Senate during the period. Barkley used the historical Vice President's Room located outside the Senate chamber as his working office.

90 The point was driven home again when Puerto Rican pro-independence terrorists attempted to assassinate Truman on November 1, 1950, in Washington, D.C. At the time, the White House was undergoing major renovations and Truman was residing at the nearby Blair House. The two terrorists approached Blair House from opposite directions, but their plan to enter and assassinate the president was foiled by vigilant security officers. In the ensuing gunfight, one of the terrorists was shot and killed, and the other was captured, while one police officer was killed and two were wounded. The surviving terrorist was tried and sentenced to death, but Truman converted the sentence to life imprisonment in 1951, and President Jimmy Carter commuted the life sentence in September 1979, freeing the aging terrorist to return to Puerto Rico, where he died at the age of eighty in February 1994.

91 The Korean War began on June 25, 1950, with the North Korean invasion off South Korea. The division of the Korean Peninsula had resulted from post-World War II agreements between the U.S. and its former ally, the Soviet Union, at the conclusion of the Pacific War, ending World War II. The Peninsula had been ruled by Japan since 1910. When Japan surrendered in 1945, American administrators divided the peninsula along the 38th parallel, with U.S. military forces occupying the southern half and Soviet military forces occupying the northern half. The original plan was for unification following free elections. However, increasing tensions prevented free elections, and cross-border skirmishes and raids persisted. Following the invasion, the Soviets boycotted the United Nations Security Council, and in their absence, the U.S. and its allies passed a resolution authorizing military intervention. Ultimately, fighting stalled and casualties mounted, and the Republic of Korea, supported by the U.N. forces, was established in the south, while the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, supported by the Soviets, and subsequently China, ruled in the north. After firing General Douglas McArthur for insubordination in threatening all-out war against China, which Truman feared would result in Soviet aggression in Europe and
domestic affairs, and campaigned for Democratic candidates during the 1950 mid-term elections in place of the president. At the same time, Barkley supported Truman's Korean wartime policies and remained an ardent supporter of soldiers and veterans. Even so, Barkley admitted he missed taking an active part in the Senate debates and piloting legislation through to passage. In his free time, Barkley pursued his romantic courtship with his future second wife, Jane Hadley, after being introduced to her at a social gathering hosted by Truman's top political strategist, Clark Clifford.

Determined not to enter into a "four-year period of silence," Barkley continued to accept hundreds of invitations to speak at meetings, conventions, banquets, and other partisan and nonpartisan programs. He clearly enjoyed promoting Truman's legislative agenda, and he enjoyed the increased crowds and respect afforded by his national position, with its ceremonial duties and prestige. He explained that he liked public speaking, liked people, and enjoyed the thrill of crowds, and that he felt it was the duty of those elected by the people to high office to take government to the people "whenever and by whatever legitimate means possible." As a result, Barkley claimed to have amassed more flight time than all his predecessors combined.

As Barkley marked the end of his legislative career, he received many awards and honors recognizing his legacy of leadership. Barkley was particularly proud

the outbreak of World War III, Truman and his new military commanders initiated peace talks at Panmunjom. Finally, after two years of negotiations, an armistice was signed on July 27, 1953. By that time, Dwight Eisenhower had been elected president on November 4, 1952, when he defeated Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson by attacking the Truman administration's handling of "Korea, Communism, and Corruption."

When Barkley returned to Washington, D.C., after tirelessly barnstorming for Democratic candidates around the nation, his physicians attributed his unaccustomed exhaustion to having developed what Barkley called a "tired heart." In addition, as Barkley's age advanced, he suffered increasing visual difficulties. National columnist Drew Pearson noted Barkley's exhaustion when Barkley gave an uncharacteristic brief speech at a 1950 dinner, attended by Truman, Vinson, and Rayburn, commenting that the vice president "seemed a little old and tired," and noting in his private diary, "It was about the first time that his speech wasn't all it usually is."

Barkley had watched quietly as events played out which led to Truman's firing of the insubordinate General McArthur, and presided over the Senate during the General's famed "old soldiers never die" farewell speech, though McArthur was the uncle of Barkley's daughter, Louise "Wahwee" McArthur.

In November 1951, Barkley and his wife ate Thanksgiving dinner with U.S. troops at Kimpo Air Base in Seoul, and on his seventy-fourth birthday, Barkley traveled to the front lines on a fact-finding mission for the president.

Barkley would often share the story once told by Indiana's Vice President Thomas Marshall, involving two brothers, "One ran away to sea, the other was elected vice president, and nothing was ever heard of either of them again."

In 1950, Barkley's main liner "Bluegrass" flight crew presented him a desk set that included a clock designed to look like an aircraft gauge, with the inscription, "To the Honorable Alben W. Barkley, Vice President of the United States. Our everlasting affection to you, Mr. Aviation."
of being presented the Collier Award in May 1948, given after he assumed the unaccustomed role of Senate minority leader, and which came with the following citation:

Under conditions that would have caused a less determined man to walk out and rest, he continued to work for his country through the party. . . . His good temper was as always a good influence in the Senate. . . . His ability in rough and ready debate, his remarkable capacity to argue powerfully on many and diverse issues, and his acceptance of demotion without a trace of venom, made him the Grand Old Man of the Senate last year. As his position came down he seemed to grow in stature . . . by his wisdom, humor and moderation, plus his devotion to the system, he has strengthened the concept of party responsibility.

In 1949, Congress presented Barkley its own award, the prestigious Congressional Gold Medal, which, together with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, is the highest American civilian award, and is presented to persons, "who have performed an achievement that has an impact on American history and culture that is likely to be recognized as a major achievement in the recipient's field long after the achievement" has passed. In 1951, on the thirty-eighth anniversary of Barkley's entry into the legislative branch, Truman surprised Barkley as he presided over the Senate and presented him with a gavel made from timber taken from the White House during its reconstruction. In accepting the gift, Barkley noted Truman had often said no president and vice president had ever worked so well together as he and Barkley, to which Barkley quipped, "The reason for this is that I have let him have his way about everything."

XXI. "TOO OLD"

Though not precluded by the presidential term limits imposed by the recently enacted 22nd Amendment, Truman announced he would not seek re-election at the Jefferson-Jackson Democratic Dinner in Washington, D.C., on March 28, 1952. While not declaring as an official candidate, Barkley immediately expressed his interest in obtaining the Party's nomination.

Soon after Barkley's statement that he was willing to be drafted as the Democratic presidential nominee, the District of Columbia established a Barkley for President Club, and Kentucky's delegation to the 1952 Democratic National Convention announced its support of Barkley for the presidential nomination. As

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97 Truman's popularity was again plummeting, due to several factors, including: the bloody and stagnant Korean War, which was in its third year; the public fears of communist infiltration of American government, which Wisconsin Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy characterized as the encroaching "Red Menace"; and the disclosure of widespread government corruption, including some high-level members of Truman's administration. Sensing Truman's vulnerability, Tennessee Democratic Senator Estes Kefauver, riding a tide of popularity after chairing a nationally televised investigation of organized crime, had recently upset the president in the early New Hampshire primary, asserting America was ready for "new ideas and personalities."
the 1952 Democratic National Convention approached, Truman would ultimately encourage Missouri's delegation to support Barkley, as well.

With Truman's withdrawal, conservative Southern Democrats offered Georgia Senator Richard Russell, but he was not acceptable to the more progressive Democratic factions due to his segregationist views. Northern Democrats offered Commerce Secretary Averell Harriman, a liberal from New York, but he was not acceptable to the more conservative factions. Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver had won many state primaries, but he was unacceptable to Truman and many Democratic bosses because his crusading investigations into organized crime had uncovered government connections and corruption, and they could not trust him.

To resolve the stalemate, Truman had suggested the effective intellectual Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson, but Stevenson waffled. Thus, Truman finally announced he considered Barkley, who he sometimes privately called "Old Alben," an acceptable nominee, at which point Barkley officially announced as a candidate and initiated a very well-organized public campaign. Many were convinced Barkley would be selected in Chicago as the compromise Democratic nominee to face the Republican nominee, Dwight Eisenhower, in the general election. Interestingly, a 1952 Look Magazine poll had indicated Barkley and Eisenhower were the two most popular public figures of their day.

At seventy-five years of age, Barkley knew he had to overcome the public perception – encouraged by others seeking the presidential nomination – that he was "too old." To counteract the assertion, he repeatedly cited historical examples of statesmen rising to fulfill the demands of high office in the twilight of their years. He noted British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had been re-elected and was still governing at the age of seventy-eight. He also cited the fact that Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., had honorably served on the U.S. Supreme Court until reaching the age of ninety-two. In addition, he pointed out that Goethe had written Faust at eighty-two years old. Later upon arriving in Chicago for the Democratic National Convention which ran from July 21, 1952, to July 26, 1952, Barkley sought to demonstrate his fitness by briskly walking the seven blocks between the bus station and his hotel, causing even younger reporters to struggle to keep pace.

But despite Barkley's best arguments and efforts, he was confronted by labor leaders on the first morning of the Democratic National Convention who told him they considered him "too old" despite his impeccable legislative record regarding labor issues. With Barkley's departure, Stevenson finally removed himself from

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98 Churchill was a current example who had just recently addressed a joint session of Congress on January 17, 1952, warning of an "Iron Curtain" of Soviet influence descending upon Eastern Europe and threatening world peace.

99 Walter Reuther, the head of the UAW, and Jack Kroll, the political operations director of the CIO, delivered labor's message to Barkley, who took their abandonment at the very point of his anticipated political victory as a bitter betrayal. The decision was not unanimous among labor leaders, and John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, immediately issued a scathing attack on Reuther and Kroll. Even so, the momentum of Barkley's candidacy had
the political "fence post" and accepted Truman's invitation to accept the nomination.

Though denied the nomination, party leaders invited their old war-horse to deliver a farewell address, and he performed with characteristic grace and style, again chronicling the Democratic "crusade" in which he had played so important a role. Barkley had received an enthusiastic twenty-minute ovation when introduced, and Time Magazine suggested that "it was impossible not to conclude that he was making a hopeless, last-ditch attempt to bring about some improbable stampede of delegates, to set off some improbable rallying of the television audiences." If that was Barkley's intent, however, his speech failed to wrench the nomination from Stevenson.100

Always the loyal Democrat, Barkley vigorously campaigned for the Democratic presidential nominee. Soon after the Democratic National Convention, he hosted a widely-reported Stevenson picnic and campaign rally at his Paducah home, and thereafter introduced Stevenson at a rally in Louisville.

XXII. RETREAT AND RESURRECTION (1953-1955)

Following Eisenhower's defeat of Stevenson for the presidency, Barkley retreated to his beloved Paducah farm, Angles, where he rested, renewed many local friendships, returned to overseeing his herds, and recorded his rich lifetime experiences in his autobiography, That Reminds Me. However, the Democrats did not forget their venerable "Iron Man."

As the 1954 mid-term elections approached, Senate minority leader Lyndon Johnson called Barkley back to "active duty" to challenge the incumbent Kentucky Republican Senator John Sherman Cooper. With Barkley's defeat of Cooper, Johnson hoped to return the Democrats to a majority in the Senate, thereby raising him to the more powerful position of Senate majority leader.

In springing from retirement to run against Cooper, Barkley likened himself to a distinguished old fire horse that bolted out of its comfortable stall to dash once more to the scene of a fire whenever it heard the fire bell ring. Like Barkley, Cooper was a progressive, and the election became more of a popularity contest as the two searched for any issue on which they disagreed. In the end, the sole matter separating Barkley and Cooper was their party registration, and Cooper had the unenviable task of running against a popular Democrat in a state then dominated by Democrats.

Though his progressive views had often placed Cooper at odds with the national Republican establishment, his Kentucky campaign against Barkley drew notable Republicans to the Commonwealth, including President Eisenhower, Vice

suffered a mortal wound, and he chose to end his candidacy rather than see it defeated, delivering an angry statement later that same day.

100 Though Stevenson maintained that the nomination had sought him, Barkley suspected otherwise but kept his thoughts private.
President Nixon, and Illinois Republican Senator Everett Dirksen. In contrast, Barkley was invigorated by his return to politics, and as if to dispel accusations of being "too old" voiced by his detractors in Chicago, he resurrected his frenetic "Iron Man" style of campaigning, typified by the fifteen speeches he delivered across the state on the last day prior to the election. In the end, affectionate Kentucky voters swept Barkley back into office by a comfortable margin.

On January 3, 1955, Barkley was escorted into the Senate chamber by senior Kentucky Senator Earle Clements to be sworn in as a freshman. After Vice President Nixon administered the oath of office and Barkley had signed the rolls, his colleagues, witnesses, and the gallery audience spontaneously rose to recognize his achievement with their applause. Barkley would turn down the gracious offer of West Virginia Democratic Senator Harley Kilgore to exchange seats, which would have allowed Barkley to sit with Democratic leaders on the Senate Chamber's front row. However, he did accept prestigious appointments to the Senate Finance Committee and Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It was as a member of the latter committee that Barkley subsequently endorsed and supported the appointment of his friend and former opponent, John Sherman Cooper, as U.S. Ambassador to India.

Even so, as a freshman Senator, Barkley would no longer yield the power his previous seniority bestowed, and he exercised little influence on national policy. During these twilight years, Barkley enjoyed debating measures, working on his committee assignments, and mentoring his fellow freshman senators – and any others who would listen – on the rich history of the Senate and in the peculiar art of parliamentary procedure. And – of course – Barkley remained a popular public speaker, always willing to share his insights, humor, and stories with a national audience.

XXIII. A SERVANT IN THE HOUSE OF THE LORD (APRIL 30, 1956)

On April 30, 1956, the seventy-eight-year-old Barkley traveled to Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia, to deliver the keynote address at the institution's mock political convention. In concluding his lengthy, classic, "rip-snorting," Republican-bashing, Democratic-praising, political oration, Barkley noted that when he returned to the Senate as a freshman, after having engaged in an influential forty-two-year congressional career, he had declined the offer of a front-row chamber seat with senior senators, declaring "I am willing to be a junior; I am glad to sit on the back row, for I would rather be a servant in the House of the Lord than to sit in the seats of the mighty."

101 Since 1908, when Democrat William Jennings Bryan was the first honored guest, students at Washington and Lee University have hosted a spirited Mock Convention at the beginning of each national election cycle to predict the presidential nominee of the party out of power in the White House. Though Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, has the distinction of hosting the earliest student-run mock convention, dating as far back as 1860, the event at Washington and Lee University boasts being the most accurate over time. Numerous other activities occur during the week leading up to the actual Mock Convention, including parades, parties, and balls.

102 It was not the first time Barkley had used the catchy phrase in summarizing his political career to national audiences. The phrase, which is a paraphrase of Psalm 84:10, demonstrates Barkley's skill at referencing Scripture and classical texts in his oratory. This particular Scriptural
At that very moment, as the enthusiastic young crowd of 1,700 students and guests erupted in thunderous applause, Barkley drew back and dropped dead of a massive heart attack. At the time of his death, Barkley's political life had spanned over fifty years, and he had engaged in public service during nine presidential administrations, including the presidency's of Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

With the flag lowered to half-mast over the U.S. Capitol, Barkley's body lay in state at the Hysong's Funeral Home in Washington, D.C., with an honor guard of four cadets from the Virginia Military Academy. President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon – together with a throng of the nation's other prominent political figures and international dignitaries – attended the funeral service held on May 2, 1956, at Foundry United Methodist Church, where the Barkleys had attended.

Afterward, Barkley's body was taken by a ten-car special train to his hometown of Paducah, Kentucky, accompanied by family members and many dignitaries, including a Congressional delegation. Along the way, thousands gathered along city and rural railroad tracks to catch a last glimpse of the beloved "Veep" and to pay their last respects. The train arrived at Paducah's Union Station around 11:00 am, and was met by a large crowd and a twenty-four-member Army National Guard honor guard, which escorted the hearse carrying the bronze casket to the Harris Funeral Home, where more than 3,000 people walked past to honor their fallen local hero.

Barkley's final funeral service was conducted at Broadway United Methodist Church, where he had been an active member for over sixty years, serving as a Sunday school teacher, choir member, and lay speaker. Over 1,000 mourners were waiting in line when the church visitation ended. The simple service consisted of prayers, scripture readings, and hymns, with no eulogies, pursuant to the request of Barkley's widow. Seated with the Barkley family were former President Harry Truman and Governor Happy Chandler, along with numerous national dignitaries and Barkley's faithful housekeepers and maintenance workers. More than 1,500 mourners were seated in the pews, while thousands more stood quietly outside the large, historic sanctuary.

passage states: "Better is one day in your courts than a thousand elsewhere; I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God than dwell in the tents of the wicked." (NIV)

103 Barkley lingered very briefly before dying in the comforting arms of his second wife, Jane Hadley Barkley.

104 The Congressional delegation included: Kentucky Democratic Senator Earle C. Clements; Idaho Republican Senator Henry Dworkshak; Arkansas Democratic Senator J. William Fulbright; Tennessee Democratic Senator Estes Kefauver; Massachusetts Democratic Senator Patrick V. McNamara; Connecticut Republican Senator William A. Purtell; Kansas Republican Senator Andrew F. Schepel; and Missouri Democratic Senator W. Stuart Symington; joined by former Democratic National Committee Chairman Frank McKinney; and Michigan Democratic Governor G. Mennen Williams, among others.
A long motorcade procession drove Barkley's body through Paducah's crowded streets, many lined with schoolchildren, and past his quiet home, Angles, as the hearse carried his remains to his final resting place in the family's plot at the Mount Kenton Cemetery. After a short graveside meditation by the Methodist pastor, the funeral gathering was dispersed, though local citizens drove past for several more hours paying their last respects.

XXIV. THE ELOQUENT ELOCUTIONIST

Barkley is recognized as one of the greatest orators of the past century, excelling as a stump campaign orator, convention keynoter, and popular dinner speaker. Whether engaging in rhetoric or debate, Barkley drew on an exhaustive repertoire of anecdotes and stories to convey his message. His effectiveness as a leader arose because these communication skills expressed his classical education, religious foundation, keen logical analysis, parliamentary knowledge, and historical perspective of liberal political ideology. In short, he was successful because his speech communicated substance.

Barkley's eloquent, flowing style of speech was joined with appropriate physical gestures and facial expressions. Similar to a conductor directing an orchestra, Barkley's emphasized movements seemed to guide the ebb and flow of his vocal tone, tempo, and volume. In a style reminiscent of other great classical orators of his era, such as William Jennings Bryan, Barkley's public speaking was meant to inform, inspire, and entertain, and he could command an audience's attention for well over an hour at a time. It is doubtful that many, if any, others will ever match his record of being asked to provide the keynote address at three national conventions of a major political party.

In both private and public conversation, Barkley exhibited a warm wit and sense of humor, as was evidenced when Barkley once quipped, "The best audience is intelligent, well-educated, and a little drunk." After Barkley had accompanied him to entertain American Troops during the Korean War, comedian Bob Hope described Barkley as one of the most effective humorists with whom he had ever

105 Mount Kenton Cemetery is maintained by First Presbyterian Church in Paducah, Kentucky. Barkley's parents did not follow their famous son into the United Methodist denomination, and remained active members in the local Highland Cumberland Presbyterian Church at the time of their deaths.

106 After conducting a poll, University of Wisconsin included Barkley as one of the top ten orators of the past century.

107 Barkley was also a popular lay speaker at Broadway United Methodist Church, where he maintained his membership. However, he publicly did not intertwine his religious faith with his political ideology, choosing instead to keep them separate in the tradition of Jefferson, though each certainly impacted the other. Even so, Barkley's public and private speeches are thoroughly salted with regular references and paraphrases of Holy Scripture and the lyrics of favorite popular Christian hymns.

108 Barkley gave the keynote address at the Democratic National Conventions in 1932, 1936, and 1948.
worked. Throughout his career, Barkley used his keen sense of humor and endless stories to ease tension, convey understanding, deflate opposition, or stir passion.

In addition, Barkley's communication skills led to his pioneering of governmental and political uses of television. He was a regular guest on early television talk shows, and even hosted his own short-lived televised talk show on the NBC network during his brief recess from public office, called Meet the Veep.\textsuperscript{109} Whether transitioning from speaking on a stump to conversing with a television camera, or from riding a tired old horse to flying about on a modern airplane, Barkley understood the necessity of remaining current with developing technologies, and always adapted his constant message and tireless movements to the ever-evolving mediums.

After his death, the \textit{Lexington Herald-Leader} described Barkley's public speaking as "preaching the gospel of Democracy," and opined that he was "[t]he last of the old-fashioned orators, the master of the story-tellers," and "the greatest of all convention keynoters." Likewise, the \textit{Louisville Courier-Journal} described Barkley as "a master storyteller, an elder statesman, a political craftsman and the possessor of a quick and cheerful wit," who "carved his special niche in American political lore" with vigilant "self-discipline" and "unbounded energy." Of Barkley's public speaking, the newspaper editorialized, "Loud or soft; long or brief, Alben Barkley's speeches always seemed to be spoken directly to each of his listeners."

\textbf{XXV. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY}

With typical folksy eloquence, Barkley succinctly defined himself as a progressive politician. Contrary to more derisive definitions of a "politician," Barkley considered the term synonymous with being a public servant, and wore the appellation as a badge of honor. His words and actions repudiated the previously long-accepted "hands off" approach to government. Instead, Barkley's stated political credo was that Government should not be static, but responsive. As Barkley put it, government should not be a "tired, old mule" tied to a fixed and rotting hitching post, but a "strong and stout work horse" properly hitched to heavy wagons or engaged in plowing new fields in the service of its people. Barkley's passion for people and devotion to public service reflected his obedient acceptance of what he understood as the Greatest Law, recorded in the ancient

\textsuperscript{109} While Barkley welcomed any opportunity to exhibit his well-known bombastic oratory skills, he quickly realized he had to adapt to the stylistic changes demanded by television, particularly due to the more limited time allotment of the medium and the decreasing attention span of the audience. In addition, Barkley recognized that television tended to personalize the speaker, negating the need of resorting to loud, flowery oratory and demanding the more subtle nuances of plain, down-to-earth talk. The introduction of television would also diminish the necessity of vast numbers of precinct workers, since "the Party line" could be directly communicated to vast audiences. Likewise, the relevance of political parties and their contentious national platforms would be lessened as means of typifying largely unknown and unapproachable candidates due to "Party labels" giving way to individualized marketing of candidates' personal views and backgrounds.
legal texts of Leviticus 19:18, Deuteronomy 6:5, and Matthew 22:36-40, to love God and serve His people.