President	Chester A. Arthur
Chronological Order	21
Life Span	1829-1886
Home State	New York
Elected	Vice President in 1880, succeeded to the presidency in 1881.
Political Party	Republican
Vice President	None
First Lady	Wife Deceased
Children	2 sons, 1 daughter
Physical Attributes	6' 2" tall, wavy brown hair, dark brown eyes, muttonchop sideburns, impeccable dresser
Undergraduate Education	Union College
Military Service	Quartermaster General of New York (with the rank of brigadier general) during the Civil War
Profession	Attorney
Other Political Offices	None
Nickname	Chet or The Gentleman Boss
Family Lineage	Scots-Irish, English, Welsh
Religious Affiliation	Episcopalian

Biographical Notes

1. Some men, like Bill Clinton, dream of becoming president from a very young age. Other men, like Thomas Jefferson and Richard Nixon, expect to become president after holding a succession of important public offices. But never in his wildest dreams did Chester Arthur ever think that he would become president of the United States.

Before the election of 1880, Arthur had never run for elective office. He had held only one notable public office – Collector of the New York Custom House – and been removed from that post by President Hayes following a federal investigation. He was most comfortable as a supporting player in party politics, and he excelled as Roscoe Conkling's lieutenant in the New York Stalwart political machine.

Arthur received the Republican nomination for vice president to appease the Stalwart faction of the party. Also, he came from a state with a treasure-trove of electoral votes (only Pennsylvania was comparable). He was proud to be selected as James A. Garfield's running mate. He was delighted when the ticket won the election. And he was stupefied when Garfield was assassinated, and the heavy burdens of the presidency descended upon him. When Garfield died, one Republican exclaimed, "Chet Arthur? President of the United States? Good God!"

2. Chester Alan Arthur was born on October 5, 1829, in a small log cabin in Fairfield, Vermont. His father, Reverend William Arthur, was a Baptist preacher and an ardent abolitionist. The family moved from parish to parish in Vermont and New York until William found tenure at a church in Union Village, New York, when Chester was ten, and nearby Schenectady when Chester was fifteen. Chester had six sisters and an older brother.

At age 16, Arthur entered Union College in Schenectady as a sophomore. He was allowed to skip his freshman year because his father had already taught him Latin and Greek. He pursued a traditional classical curriculum at Union and supplemented his income by teaching at a nearby town during winter vacations. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa in the top one-third of his class in 1848.

After college, Arthur spent several years teaching school and reading law. In 1853, after studying at the State and National Law School in Ballston Spa, New York, Arthur moved to New York City to read law at the office of Erastus D. Culver, an abolitionist lawyer, and family friend. When Arthur was admitted to the New York bar in 1854, he joined Culver's firm, which was subsequently renamed Culver, Parker, and Arthur.

3. Arthur's first high-profile case was *Jennings v. Third Avenue Railroad Company*. Elizabeth Jennings was a middle-class African American woman who set off a ruckus by boarding a streetcar that did not have a "Colored Persons Allowed" sign on it. According to the custom of the time, she should have waited for such a car, but she was late for church and chose not to. When the conductor tried to remove her, a scuffle ensued, and she decided to sue for damages. The case was tried in the New York Supreme Court, Brooklyn Circuit. In arguing the case, Arthur called the judge's attention to a recently enacted state law holding common carriers liable for the acts of their agents and employees. Arthur won $250 in damages for his client. The Jennings decision did not immediately desegregate all of New York's streetcar lines, which were owned by several different companies, but it set the process into motion. For years after, the Colored People's Legal Rights Association celebrated the anniversary of the verdict.

4. In 1856, Arthur met Ellen (Nell) Herndon, who was his roommate's cousin. Nell was the daughter of U.S. Navy Captain William L. Herndon. Captain Herndon was an explorer who had become famous for leading an expedition that explored the Amazon River from its headwaters to its mouth. Nell was born in Virginia, and her family's roots there reached back into the seventeenth century. But she spent most of her early life in Washington, where her mother hobnobbed with the capital's elite. As a teenager, Nell helped her mother entertain Washington's leading political and military figures, and the two women moved between the upper-class resorts of Newport, Rhode Island, and Saratoga Springs, New York, during the summer (Captain Herndon was often absent). Chester and Nell became engaged in 1856 and married in 1859.

By the time Chester became Collector of the New York Custom House, the Arthurs were wealthy. Their newfound affluence launched them into the upper echelons of New York society, and they embraced the privileges and obligations of their elevated status. The names in Nell's address book included most of the prominent Republicans of the period, from William Vanderbilt to Theodore Roosevelt Sr., father of the future president. Hosting such distinguished company in the appropriate style was expensive, but the Arthurs did so regularly. At many such events the hosts rolled out a carpet from the front door to the curb and covered the walkway with a temporary awning. Once inside, French servants waited upon the guests. Nell thoroughly enjoyed doing the entertaining. She died of pneumonia in 1880, before Arthur was elected vice president.

Chester and Nell had three children. Their first-born, William, died at age three. Their second son, Chester Alan Arthur Jr., was attending the College of New Jersey (Princeton University) when Arthur moved into the White House. His daughter Ellen ("Nell") Herndon Arthur was ten when Arthur became president.

5. While at the Culver firm, Arthur became a believer in the free-soil cause, and he and Henry Gardiner, another lawyer from the firm, moved to Kansas in 1856 to set up a law practice. But Kansas was a violent, divided place, and when Nell's father died unexpectedly, Chester quit Kansas and returned to New York to help her handle Captain Herndon's affairs.

Back in New York, Arthur built a successful practice, got married, and moved to 34 West Twenty-first Street. His commitment to this neighborhood would last the rest of his life. Even when politics took him to Washington, home was always a small section of Manhattan near Madison Square Park. His practice flourished; he mingled with the elite of the city; he joined the Republican Party. Chester made valuable contacts in the party; in particular, party boss Thurlow Weed recommended him to Governor Edwin D. Morgan.

6. On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln proclaimed an insurrection in the South and called for 75,000 Union men to crush it. Recruiting and equipping those troops would be up to the individual states. Each governor oversaw his own war department. The federal government took control of the regiments formed by each state only after they had reached full strength and had a full complement of officers.

The war was popular in New York, and Governor Morgan's challenge was to channel that enthusiasm into producing real soldiers, trained and equipped for battle. For that, he turned to Arthur. Morgan made the young lawyer a brigadier general and assigned him to be the state quartermaster general's New York City representative. Arthur was responsible for feeding, housing, clothing, and equipping thousands of enlisted men. From his office in a large military storehouse in Manhattan, he awarded contracts, audited expenditures, and quickly became an expert on rations, blankets, ammunition, and underwear.

Arthur performed his job so well that Morgan made him inspector general in February 1862, and then promoted him to quartermaster general for New York state in July. Arthur proved to be an able manager of this complicated task. He championed an innovative approach to requisitioning. Rather than set up government-run kitchens, he contracted the work out to the lowest bidder, in essence, adopting a free-market method that saved the government money and lowered overall costs at a time when the state was strapped for cash.

During 1861 and 1862, Arthur worked closely with the governor, and that allowed him to solidify his

position in the all-important patronage network of the New York Republican Party. He also worked closely with businessmen who provided goods and services to the army. However, in an age when many used their offices as a source of private enrichment, Arthur was scrupulously honest. He did not skim money or take kickbacks.

7. He who lives by patronage dies by patronage, and when the Democrat Horatio Seymour won the 1862 election for governor, Arthur lost his military commission and returned to being a full-time lawyer. His time as quartermaster made him an expert on military supplies and government contracts, and in 1863 ex-Governor Morgan became a U.S. senator. Arthur cashed in on his knowledge and connections by lobbying for his clients seeking government contracts in Albany and Washington. He reunited with his friend Henry Gardiner and their firm "became celebrated for the speed with which it could draft and put through legislative bills." They also handled contract disputes, including businessmen's claims against the state and federal governments for insufficient payments or arrears.

In 1864, Arthur took on a new lobbying client: a New York hatter named Thomas Murphy, who hired Chester to represent him in Washington. The government accused Murphy of delivering inferior hats and caps to Union soldiers, and Arthur's friend Edwin Morgan happened to sit on the Senate committee investigating the matter. Arthur's work on behalf of his client blossomed into a personal friendship, and the two men became partners in several real estate speculations.

The New York state election of 1864 was notable for a significant innovation in campaign finance. It was the first election in which Republicans relied heavily on financial contributions from politically appointed government employees to bolster their candidates. Morgan played an important role as head of the Republicans' Union Executive Committee, charged with collecting the payments – called assessments – from postmasters and other appointees who owed a political debt to the party. Morgan tapped Arthur and Murphy to collect the assessments and also gather donations from their wealthy contractor friends.

With Morgan's assistance, Arthur's standing in the party rose steadily. In 1867, he joined the executive committee charged with setting party policy and supervising assembly districts in New York City. The next year he assumed a similar position at the state level. Arthur's political prospects took a hit in 1869 when New York Republicans replaced Senator Morgan with Reuben E. Fenton, but he soon found an even more powerful patron.

8. In the summer of 1870, Thurlow Weed was seventy-two years old, and his political power as boss of the New York Republican Party was waning. Two leading contenders vied for the crown slipping from his head: Senator Roscoe Conkling and Senator Reuben Fenton. The key to the kingdom was the New York Custom House, with its 1,300 patronage jobs.

In July, President Grant nominated Arthur's good friend Tom Murphy for the top position – Collector – at the Custom House. The nomination was widely understood to be a direct attack on Fenton's aspirations to be the boss of New York. When the Senate considered Murphy's nomination, Fenton gave a three-hour speech that attacked Murphy, but Conkling effectively counterattacked. The Senate voted overwhelmingly to confirm Murphy, and Conkling – Murphy's protector – became New York state's Republican boss. That night scores of New York politicians and lobbyists celebrated Conkling's victory at a gathering in the Willard Hotel in Washington. One of the men celebrating was Chester Arthur, who had come to Washington to lobby for his friend Murphy. Arthur and Conkling had been on the same side in the unsuccessful fight to save Edwin Morgan's Senate seat from Fenton, and now the battle over Murphy's nomination cemented their friendship.

9. Arthur became Conkling's loyal lieutenant in the New York Stalwart political machine, and for the next decade, they advanced together, accumulating power and influence. The two men were the same age, but they had very different personalities. Conkling was more forceful, the orator who dominated any room. But he could also be arrogant, condescending, and demanding. Arthur was more subdued, got along well with almost everybody, and was adept at handling people. Chester was best suited for a supporting role; Roscoe followed only himself. It was a perfect match.

10. In 1871, Arthur was given, with Conkling's blessing, Murphy's old job as the Collector of the New York Custom House. Chester had been earning more than ten thousand dollars a year when the average salary in the U.S. was slightly more than five hundred dollars a year, but this new position allowed him to earn even more.

The Port of New York was the primary gateway for goods from abroad, and smuggling – bringing in items without paying taxes on them – was a constant. Even with a staff of 1,300, the New York Custom House could not prevent all the smuggling, but it did intercept a fair amount. As an incentive, officials who snared illegal, unregistered, or untaxed shipments were given a percentage of the goods seized or the fine levied.

This "moiety" process made it possible for even a low-level official to double or triple his income. Arthur's salary as Collector was $12,000 a year, but his actual income exceeded $50,000 a year ($1 million a year in today's dollars) because of the moiety system.

In early 1874, it came to light that Special Agent B.G. Jayne of the Custom House had strong-armed a respected importing firm into paying a huge fine, earning himself more than $60,000 and Arthur and two others $21,906 each due to the moiety system. When it was discovered that the fine was blatantly excessive, the U.S. House Ways and Means Committee investigated the matter. In response, Congress passed the Anti-Moiety Act in June 1874, which outlawed the practice. The vote in the House was unanimous; in the Senate there were only three dissensions.

11. There were some complaints about goods being "lost" and overcharging for storage, but, on the whole, Arthur was a popular Collector. His charm and elegance played well with the wealthy merchants and importers who had business with the Custom House. Chester's college education, training in the law, and membership in the prestigious Union League Club distinguished him from Murphy and other less-sophisticated party politicians. Always a natty dresser, his nickname became "The Gentleman Boss." Arthur was also well-liked by Custom House employees. He demanded personal and party loyalty from them but fiercely resisted efforts to reduce their salaries. Also, since Murphy had already filled the ranks with Conkling loyalists during his short tenure as Collector, Arthur did not have to fire many people.

While Arthur was Collector, Conkling left the day-to-day management of the state GOP machine to him. Chester knew how to handle people, and Roscoe leaned heavily on him to lubricate the relationships that kept the machine humming. Arthur exerted his influence in the nominations and campaigns of hundreds of office-seekers, and he took an interest in even the smallest public jobs. He also forged alliances with the Democrats of Tammany Hall when he needed to.

12. When Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, a civil service reformer, became president in 1877, he appointed John Jay to head a commission to investigate corruption and the use of political influence at the nation's custom houses. The Jay Commission issued a scathing report on the New York Custom House. It criticized the institution's hiring practices, stating that positions were doled out "generally at the request of politicians … with little or no examination into the fitness of the appointees beyond the recommendations of their friends." It also denounced the fact that employees were forced to pay assessments to the Republican Party. It did not charge Arthur personally with corruption, but it emphasized that stamping out "the evils wrought by mismanagement and corruption can be accomplished only by the emancipation of the service from partisan control." In other words, Arthur and the rest of Conkling's gang had to go.

The report's results were precisely what Hayes had hoped for. They motivated him to nominate Theodore Roosevelt Sr. to replace Arthur as Collector. However, the nomination required Senate confirmation, which was blocked by Senator Conkling. Hayes bided his time until the Senate recessed, and then used a recess appointment to replace Arthur with Edwin Merritt (Roosevelt had died). When the senators returned, they sustained Hayes's action, and Arthur was out of a job.

13. President Rutherford B. Hayes's decision not to run for re-election meant that the 1880 Republican nomination for president was wide open, and as the time for the campaign neared, former president U.S. Grant's stock once again rose sharply. The Stalwarts, who believed in the spoils system, had been stymied by Hayes's civil service reforms and pined for "four more good years of stealing" like they had during Grant's previous two terms. Consequently, the Stalwarts – led by Roscoe Conkling – supported Grant, arguing that the three-term tradition only applied to three *consecutive* terms.

Grant's chief opponents for the Republican nomination were Senator James G. Blaine of Maine and Senator John Sherman of Ohio. Blaine was the leader of the "Half-Breed" faction of the party. The Stalwarts gave Blaine's faction that nickname to indicate that since they disagreed with the Stalwarts on a host of issues, they were really only half Republican. The rivalry between the Stalwarts and the Half-Breeds – already fierce due to philosophical differences – was exacerbated by an extreme personal animosity between Conkling and Blaine. Sherman was neither a Stalwart nor a Half-Breed.

At the 1880 Republican National Convention, Grant, Blaine, and Sherman were deadlocked after thirty-three ballots. Then the Blaine and Sherman delegates started moving to a dark horse candidate, James A. Garfield of Ohio. Garfield won the nomination on the thirty-sixth ballot. Grant's supporters stuck with him to the very end, so there were now more than three-hundred disappointed Stalwart delegates.

14. Since Grant's following remained very strong all the way to the last ballot, Garfield's men felt that they must appease the Stalwarts for the sake of party unity by offering them the vice presidency. First, they offered it to Stalwart Congressman Levi P. Morton, who declined. Next, they told the New York delegation, which was dominated by Stalwarts, that they could choose the vice-presidential nominee.

The New Yorkers chose Chester Arthur. The choice was controversial (and made without consulting Garfield), but Garfield's men went along with it, even though it made them feel uncomfortable. The difficulties with the selection were that Arthur was a machine politician, had never run for elected office, and had been removed from his post as Collector of the New York Custom House by President Hayes. Most Republicans rationalized the choice by noting that since Garfield was young and healthy, having Arthur as vice president would do no harm.

15. In the late nineteenth century, the custom was that presidential candidates did not actively campaign. Instead, they relied on hundreds of others to speak for them throughout the country. Organizing events and obtaining speakers were crucial components for victory, and that required money and managers.

Chester Arthur was a brilliant fundraiser and a persuasive manager, and he was a central factor in the ticket's eventual victory. From his elegant office suite in the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York City, he worked tirelessly for the ticket, levying assessments, raising money from donors, wheedling and cajoling, getting speeches printed and distributed, organizing events, and doling out campaign funds. He arranged multiple speaking engagements before huge crowds for Conkling and Grant on behalf of the ticket.

The standard-bearer for the Democrats, Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, was a mirror image of Garfield: a former Union Civil War general who was moderate, competent, colorless, and a compromise candidate nominated at a divided convention. Garfield and Arthur won the election, 214 to 155 electoral votes. New York, with its thirty-five electoral votes, provided them with their margin of victory. The New York Stalwarts had worked hard for Garfield and expected him to fulfill his promise to give them control of the patronage in New York state.

16. Garfield repaid the Stalwarts by reneging on his promise. In particular, Secretary of State Blaine convinced Garfield to appoint New Yorker William Robertson, an avowed enemy of Conkling, as Collector of the New York Custom House.

Vice President Arthur was livid when he found out about the Robertson appointment. He told a newspaper editor, "Garfield has not been square, nor honorable, nor truthful with Conkling. It is a hard thing to say of a President of the United States, but it is, unfortunately, only the truth. Garfield – spurred by Blaine, by whom he is easily led – has broken every pledge made to us. Not only that, he seems to have wished to do it in a most offensive way."

Conkling took the loss of the New York Custom House hard. He and New York's other senator, Thomas Platt, fought fiercely in the Senate Republican caucus to block Robertson's confirmation. But many of the senators wanted to give the new Garfield administration a fair shot at success and, consequently, did not support Conkling on this question. Conkling and Platt decided to embarrass the president, so they resigned from the Senate in protest, confident that the New York State legislature would side with them and return them to the Senate. But the state legislature did not do this; it appointed two new senators. Conkling never returned to politics, but Platt did.

17. Charles Giteau was an unemployed, mentally unstable man who fancied himself a Stalwart. He had approached both Garfield and Blaine for a diplomatic post in Europe – for which he was utterly unqualified – and they had rebuffed him.

Following Conkling's defeat, Blaine was triumphant, and Garfield felt that he had scored one for the executive branch. On July 2, 1881, Blaine accompanied Garfield to the Washington railroad station to see him off. But before Garfield reached the platform, he was shot twice by Charles Giteau. One bullet grazed Garfield's shoulder; the second lodged itself deep in his back. Quickly grabbed by onlookers and the police, Giteau calmly stated: "I did it, and I will go to jail for it. I am a Stalwart, and Arthur will be president." In the days after the shooting, there was legitimate concern that Giteau was linked to the Stalwarts and that the attempt on the president's life would cause a political crisis. However, once investigators discovered that he was deranged and acted alone, that concern abated. Garfield's back wound became infected, blood poisoning set in, and he died on September 19.

Garfield's two-and-a-half-month incapacitation was an uncomfortable time for Arthur. First, the assassin's statement about making Arthur president was widely reported in newspapers and condemned by the public. Consequently, many people disapproved of Arthur becoming president. Second, Arthur sincerely did not want to be president because of the job's overwhelming responsibilities. While Garfield was attempting to recover, Arthur commented to a cabinet member, "God knows I do not want the place I was never elected to."

18. When Arthur became president, many people assumed, because of his history as a political partisan, that he would replace Garfield's cabinet with Stalwarts and that Roscoe Conkling would play a significant role in the Arthur administration. Indeed, Secretary of State Blaine resigned soon after Garfield's death because he

could not see himself serving under a Stalwart president.

On October 8, less than three weeks after Garfield's assassination, Roscoe Conkling sat down with President Arthur. Reporters assumed that Conkling came to discuss Arthur's cabinet – and his possible role in it – and civil service reformers feared the worst. But the discussion centered around the New York Custom House. Conkling wanted control of it and asked Arthur to fire Collector Robertson and replace him with a Stalwart. Conkling's request was accompanied by one of the ex-Senator's withering stares.

Arthur did not want to be disloyal. He valued Conkling's friendship and support and told him so. Nevertheless, he said, he was "morally bound to continue the policy of the former president." So, no, he would not remove Robertson from the Custom House.

Conkling's eyes grew wide. Pounding his fist on the table, he shouted that Arthur was not bound "morally nor politically nor any other way." He argued that Robertson's presence at the Custom House was an insult to the Stalwarts. But Arthur stood firm. He knew that firing Robertson would reignite the Stalwart and Half-Breed wars with a vengeance and cast himself as dismantling the most visible symbol of the martyred Garfield's term. It would divide the country and sabotage his own fragile reputation in one stroke – just to settle Roscoe Conkling's old grudge. Whatever debt Arthur may have owed Conkling personally, he knew that it would be political suicide to be viewed as Conkling's puppet. Later, Arthur said, "For the vice presidency, I was indebted to Mr. Conkling. But for the presidency of the United States, my debt is to the Almighty."

Arthur did replace six of the seven members of Garfield's cabinet, four of them with Stalwarts. He did not offer Roscoe Conkling a cabinet position. He offered him a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court, which Conkling declined.

19. As president, Arthur offered Congress no legislative direction – few expected that of any president in the late-nineteenth-century – but two significant measures became law during his term.

The first was the so-called Chinese Exclusion Act. White westerners, especially Californians, had agitated against Chinese immigration since the 1870s. White organized labor argued that because the immigrants would work cheaply, they drove down "American" wages. Ministers, professionals, and politicians claimed that the Chinese could never be assimilated. Western members of Congress pushed through a bill that banned Chinese immigration for twenty years. Arthur vetoed the bill, and Congress failed to override his veto.

Popular opinion, however, was in favor of such a bill, and a new bill was drafted that lowered the exclusion period from twenty years to ten. Arthur still opposed the bill, which he considered petty and venal, but he signed it because Congress had the votes to override his veto. The law was the first time the U.S. had eliminated immigration based on a group's nationality or race.

20. The second significant piece of legislation enacted during the Arthur administration was the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act of 1883. The bill articulated a new standard for federal employees. Civil servants were to be appointed because of their capacity to do the job, not because of whom they knew or what they could pay. Applicants were to compete for jobs through examinations administered by a neutral civil service commission and graded by boards unaffiliated with political factions. They were no longer subject to mandatory contributions during elections, and they were given job security so that they could perform their jobs without having to worry about losing favor with the party bosses.

The act covered the employees at large custom houses, Washington clerks, and some postal workers – about ten percent of the federal workforce by 1885. However, it also allowed the president to expand the number of federal employees covered by the act, which subsequent presidents did, especially Grover Cleveland. Forty percent of the federal workforce was covered by 1897, and current coverage is ninety percent.

Public support for the bill, which was in part a response to the fact that Giteau was a spoils-seeker, helped override the party bosses' opposition. Observers were pleasantly surprised when Arthur, who built his career on appointing and assessing federal employees, signed the bill.

21. In late 1882 or early 1883, Arthur was diagnosed with Bright's disease, a chronic inflammation of the blood vessels in the kidneys that causes them to lose their ability to rid the body of toxins. Arthur was afflicted with a severe form of the disease, and in an age before dialysis or antibiotics, the only known treatment was fluid intake and bed rest. The symptoms include headaches, chronic fevers, and fatigue, all of which he experienced during his presidency. He kept his diagnosis a secret because Victorian men did not make those kinds of details public.

22. In the decades since the Civil War, the U.S. Navy had wasted away. Its five first-class ships were obsolete; its second-class ships were rotting; more than half the remaining ships were unseaworthy or rusted

beyond repair. There were not enough good ships available to field a credible defense of the nation.

As Collector of the New York Custom House, Arthur had come to appreciate the importance of the navy, and as president, he enthusiastically supported measures to rebuild it. In 1883, Congress appropriated almost two million dollars for three new armor-plated cruisers and one dispatch boat. The four ships – the *Atlanta, Boston, Chicago,* and *Dolphin* – represented the birth of the modern-day navy. Without Arthur's efforts, President McKinley would not have had a navy capable of annihilating the Spanish in 1898.

23. Arthur was a competent president, but he was never the leader of any faction of the Republican Party. He did the right thing for his presidency by not embracing Roscoe Conkling and packing his administration with Stalwarts, but it cost him his political base. Also, James G. Blaine still ruled the Half-Breed faction of the party with an iron hand. Consequently, Blaine, not Arthur, received the Republican nomination for president in 1884. Perhaps that was for the best because Arthur's kidney problems became more severe shortly after leaving office. He died of a brain aneurysm in November 1886.

24. Arthur's achievements as president were unexpected, both by the public and his political peers. In fact, by the time Chester Arthur left the White House, he was politically unrecognizable to those who knew him previously. "No man ever entered the Presidency so profoundly and widely mistrusted," the journalist Alexander McClure wrote, "and no one ever retired … more generally respected." He didn't pander to the Stalwarts. He rejected the spoils system and signed the Pendleton Act. His use of the veto power was judicious and principled, particularly concerning Chinese immigration. And he set into motion the construction of the modern navy.

See the next page for a list of references.

References

1. Scott S. Greenberger, *The Unexpected President: The Life and Times of Chester A. Arthur* (2017).

2. Zachary Karabell, *Chester Alan Arthur* (2004).

3. Bernard A. Weisberger, "Chester A. Arthur," in *To the Best of My Ability*, edited by James M. McPherson (2000).

4. Paula Baker, "Chester Arthur," in *The American Presidency*, edited by Alan Brinkley and Davis Dyer (2004).

5. Jared Cohen, *Accidental Presidents: Eight Men Who Changed America* (2019).

6. H.W. Brands, *American Colossus: The Triumph of Capitalism, 1865-1900* (2011).