DATA AND DOCUMENTATION ON
THE END OF POLITICAL AMBITION FOR US PRESIDENTS
1789-2009

Rebecca McBride and James Lee Ray
(January 2014)

1. Washington George (April 30, 1789- March 4, 1797)
   **Date: Sept. 19th, 1796**
   **Sources:**
   Washington’s Final address


   **Note:**
   Washington notified his intention to retire on February 19, 1792 to James Madison on a private meeting and seeking advice on when to publicize his retirement. On May 20, 1792, Washington wrote to Madison that the retirement decision stood and asked Madison to write a valedictory to explain that his advanced age and belief in rotation in office accounted for the decision. Washington then never openly signified his willingness to stay in office but he did publish the “farewell” address in mid-September 1792. He decided to serve a second term on September 1792. Washington’s farewell address was published on American Daily Advertiser, Philadelphia, September 19, 1796 in which he expressed his declination “being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made”.


2. John Adams (March 4, 1797- March 3, 1801)
   **December 5, 1800**
   Lost to Thomas Jefferson
   [http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/johnadams/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/johnadams/)
3. Thomas Jefferson (March 4, 1801-March 4, 1809)

**January, 06, 1805**

Shortly after his reelection, Jefferson privately announced that he would follow Washington’s precedent and not seek another term. In letter to John Taylor on Jan 06, 1805 Jefferson said:

“The service for 8 years and with a power to remove at the end of the first four, comes nearly to my principle as corrected by experience. And it is in adherence to that that I determined to withdraw at the end of my second term.”

In the same letter, he said

"General Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after eight years. I shall follow it, and a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to anyone after a while who shall endeavor to extend his term. Perhaps it may beget a disposition to establish it by an amendment of the Constitution."

He also said that “I shall make no formal declaration to the public of my purpose, I have freely let it be understood in private conversation.”

But he also gave the impression that he could count on popular support for another term if he wanted it because he said in the same letter that there is one circumstance that could engage my acquiescence in another election. To wit such a division about a successor as might bring in a monarchist”. He conceived that circumstance “impossible”.

http://etext.virginia.edu/jefferson/quotations/jeff1230.htm

The Jeffersonian cyclopedia; Edited by John P. Foley New York, Russell and Russell [1967]


Note:

**In Dec, 1807** in responding the address of legislature of Vermont proposing his run for third term Jefferson said:

“Believing that a representative government, responsible at short intervals of election…I feel it duty to do no act which shall impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should not furnish the first example prolongation beyond the second term of office”.


4. James Madison (March 4, 1809-March 4, 1817)

Dec. 3, 1816

In State of the Union Address delivered on Dec 3. 1816 Madison said:
“The period of my retiring from the public service being at little distance”

Madison's nomination for a second term came just fifteen days prior to his war message to Congress. No incumbent wartime President before or since Madison has ever lost his bid for reelection.

http://www.presidentsusa.net/madison.html

5. James Monroe (March 4,1817-March 4, 1825)

March 5, 1821

Monroe mentioned his retirement in the second inaugural address delivered on March 5, 1821:
“To merit the continuance of this good opinion, and to carry it with me into my retirement as the solace of advancing years, will be the object of my most zealous and unceasing efforts”.

http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/jm5/speeches/monroe2.htm
The writing of James Monroe. Edited by Gaillard Hunt

http://books.google.com/books?id=sZ0eN7mkQzAC&dq=The+writing+of+James+Monroe&printsec=frontcover&source=bl&ots=qvkCoqX97Q&sig=seRqq2_g8v45rs94-AYPH4hdjiA&hl=en&ei=FtvSu2xNZ6Btwfd8tzdCA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=5

Monroe had no thought of seeking a third term as the election of 1824 neared. He was 67 years old when he turned over the presidency to John Quincy Adams

http://www.oswego.edu/library2/archives/digitized_collections/granger/jamesMonroe.html

6. John Quincy Adams (March 4, 1825-March 4, 1829)

December 3, 1828
Lost to Andrew Jackson general election of 1828.

Note: In 1824 election, John Quincy Adams emerged victorious mainly due to the strong support of Henry Clay, a powerful member of the House of Representatives despite
having received less than one-third of the popular vote. Adams faced absence of an electoral mandate and the disadvantage of a Congress during his first term.

1824 election was a confusing affair. With 133 electoral votes needed for election, Jackson received 99, John Quincy Adams 84, William Crawford and Henry Clay received 41 and 37 respectively. Jackson lost to Adams after Henry Clay threw his support to the second-place finisher (Adams maneuvered to win another two votes).

Adams had rejected active pursuit of reelection. He rarely permitted ceremonial honors in his behalf when he travelled home for his annual vacation.

Sources:


7. Andrew Jackson (March 4, 1829-March 4, 1937)

Revision: James Ray, January 15th, 2014. It is not easy to find information about Andrew Jackson’s attitude about a possible 3rd term. In Becca’s Excel file on political ambition, she attributes ambition to Jackson until May of 1836, when Van Buren (she says) was nominated for President with the support of Jackson. But actually the Democratic convention that year was held in May of 1835, so early so as to avoid anybody being able to mobilize against Jackson’s choice of Martin Van Buren as his successor.

And actually, I believe that Jackson was looking forward to passing the mantle onto Martin Van Buren will before 1835. Jon Meacham, American Lion, 2008, New York, Random House, observes that “Not even a full year into his administration, Jackson was promoting Van Buren for president.” (p. 308) He also tells about a conversation that Jackson had with a friend in the autumn of 1834, in which he encouraged that friend to support Van Buren in the upcoming election of 1836.

And Meacham begins his discussion of the election of 1836 by saying that “The politics of 1836—the first presidential election in a dozen years in which Jackson, who was retiring in accordance with George Washington’s two term tradition, would not be a candidate—were already moving quickly. For years now, Jackson had dreamed that Van Buren would succeed him.”

It isn’t absolutely clear, but I think those years go back to immediately after the re-election of Jackson in 1832. By the time he won that re-election, in other words, I think it was clear in Jackson’s mind that he would support Van Buren in 1836, and that he, Jackson would not run for a third term.
3 December 1833

Andrew Jackson believed that “it is rotation in office that will perpetuate our liberty” and had proposed constitutional amendment that limit the life of president of a single term.

“I would also call your attention to the views I have heretofore expressed of the propriety of amending the Constitution in relation to the mode of electing the President and the Vice-President of the United States. Regarding it as all important to the future quiet and harmony of the people that every intermediate agency in the election of these officers should be removed and that their eligibility should be limited to one term of either 4 or 6 years, I can not too earnestly invite your consideration of the subject.” _State of the Nation

Sources:
http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/aj7/speeches/ajson5.htm

8. Martin Van Buren (March 4, 1837-March 4, 1841)

   **November 3, 1840**
   Lost to William Henry Harrison in election.

   Note: Van Buren remained optimistic about his chances for re-election until October 1840 but defeated by William Henry Harrison.
   Van Buren attempted to run for his party’s nomination in 1844 but failed.
   In 1948 Van Buren ran for president as the candidate of the new anti-slavery Free Soil Party.

   Sources:
   http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/vanburen/essays/biography/3

9. William Henry Harrison (March 4, 1841- April 4, 1841)

   **April 4, 1841**
   Died one month after inauguration.

   Sources:
   http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/vanburen/essays/biography/3

10. John Tyler (April 6, 1841- March, 1845)

   **August 1844**
   Note: John Tyler wished to run for reelection in 1844 but neither of the major parties wanted to nominate him. He formed a new party and gained the nomination but he withdrew in last August 1844 and gave his support to Polk.
11. James K. Polk (March 4, 1845- March 4, 1849)

March 4, 1845

Note: Upon accepting his party’s nomination in 1844, Polk declared that he would not run for a second term and he kept his promise in 1848 by not seeking the Democratic presidential nomination.

Sources:
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/vanburen/essays/biography/3  


12. Zachary Taylor (March 4, 1849-July 9, 1850)

July 9, 1850

Died on July 9, 1850.

Sources:

13. Millard Fillmore (July 10, 1850- March 4, 1853)

June 1852

Note: Fillmore said privately that he was reluctant to seek another term but he didn’t announce formally. He joined the candidacy nomination campaign but lost Whig presidential nomination in 1852. Fillmore accepted the 1856 presidential nomination of “Know-Nothing” party but lost.

Sources:
14. Franklin Pierce (March 4, 1853- March 4, 1857)

June 6th, 1856

Pierce’s name was withdrawn from presidential candidacy.
Note: Pierce was confident of another term but failed to be renominated by his party in 1856. Pierce retired after one term.

Sources:

15. James Buchanan (March 4, 1857- March 4, 1861)

March 4, 1857

Note: Buchanan had promised not to run again in his inaugural address.
“Having determined not to become a candidate for reelection, I shall have no motive to influence my conduct in administering the Government except the desire ably and faithfully to serve my country and to live in grateful memory of my countrymen”.

And he did decline to run for second term as he promised.

Sources:

http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/jb15/speeches/buchanan.htm

16. Abraham Lincoln (March 4, 1861- April 15, 1865)

April 15, 1865

Lincoln was assassinated at the beginning of his second term.

Note: Lincoln was not certain his renomination by his party and win of election in 1864. Lincoln believed a Democratic victory was likely in 1864 election partly because the custom of the previous three decades had been for the president to serve only one term and no sitting president been renominated by his party since 1840.
He said privately that “it seems exceedingly probable that the Administration will not be reelected. Then it will be my duty to so cooperate with the President-elect, as to save the Union between the election and inauguration” quoted in Hyman, “Election of 1864,” 1170.

In allowing 1864 election to take place, Lincoln “accepted a risk and permitted his power to be threatened in a way that no dictator, constitutional or not, would be tolerated.”—Belz, Lincoln and the Constitution, 16.

Sources:

17. Andrew Johnson (April 15, 1865-March 4, 1869)

July 9, 1868

Note: After escaped the impeachment trial on May, 1868 by one vote, President Andrew Johnson lost renomination in June, 1868.

Sources:
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/johnson/essays/biography/3

18. Ulysses S. Grant (March 4, 1869- March 4, 1877)

June, 1876

Grant's followers planned to nominate him for a third presidential term in 1876 he declined to be nominated for a third consecutive term in 1876.
Attempted third term:
His supporters put him as presidential nomination in 1880, Grant didn’t make any public statements for or against his candidacy but he accepted his nomination and lost in 1880 convention.

Later Grant said in State of the Union Address on 5 December 1876:

“In submitting my eighth and last annual message to Congress it seems proper that I should refer to and in some degree recapitulate the events and official acts of the past eight years.”

“With the present term of Congress my official life terminates”
19. Rutherford B. Hayes (March 4, 1877- March 4, 1881)

**March, 1877**

Note: Hayes declared that he won’t seek a second term by keeping the pledge he made as part of the compromise resulting in his winning the 1876 election.

Hayes made this pledge in a letter accepting the nomination of the Republican Party for president, in 1876. “In his acceptance letter, Hayes called for reform of the civil service and pledged to serve only one term, lest patronage be used to secure his reelection.” (Anonymous, 2013) *Miller Center.* University of Virginia “American President: A Reference Resource: Rutherford B. Hayes, Campaigns and elections. Available at* [http://millercenter.org/president/hayes/essays/biography/3](http://millercenter.org/president/hayes/essays/biography/3)

He declared in *State of the Union December 6th, 1880:*

“In my last annual message I invited the attention of Congress to the subject of the indemnity funds received some years ago from China and Japan.”

“In my last annual message I expressed the hope that the prevalence of quiet on the border between this country and Mexico would soon become so assured as to justify the modification of the orders then in force to our military commanders in regard to crossing the frontier, without encouraging such disturbances as would endanger the peace of the two countries.”

And in inaugural address delivered in March 5, 1877, Hayes proposed that one term limitation:

“In furtherance of the reform we seek, and in other important respects a change of great importance, I recommend an amendment to the Constitution prescribing a term of six years for the Presidential office and forbidding a reelection.”

[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/hayes.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/hayes.asp)
[http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/rh19/speeches/rh_1880.htm](http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/rh19/speeches/rh_1880.htm)

20. James A. Garfield (March 4, 1881-September 19, 1881)

**September 18, 1881**

Served 199 days of his presidential term, Garfield died after wounded on July 2, 1881.
21. Chester A. Arthur (September 20, 1881- March 4, 1885)

**June 1884**

Note: He kept himself in the running for the Presidential nomination in 1884 in order not to appear that he feared defeat, but was not renominated, and died in 1886.

Sources:
http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/chesterarthur/


22. and 24. Grover Cleveland (March 4, 1885- March 4, 1889; March 4, 1893- March 4, 1897)

**Nov. 6, 1888 for first term**

**July 11, 1896 for second term**

Cleveland run for reelection in 1888 but lost to Harrison.

In 1892 Cleveland was nominated again for his party and won the election. Cleveland was denied Democratic nomination in 1896 convention.

Sources:
http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/grovercleveland/

23. Benjamin Harrison (March 4, 1889- March 4, 1893)

**November 8, 1892.**

Note: His party renominated him in 1892, but he was defeated by Cleveland in 1892 election.

Sources:
25. William McKinley (March 4, 1897-September 14, 1901)

*Modified, James Ray, 01/21/2014* Actually, it is pretty clear that McKinley lost political ambition when he won the election in 1900. By June of 1901, he publicly announced he wouldn’t run for a third term. See [http://millercenter.org/president/mckinley/key-events](http://millercenter.org/president/mckinley/key-events)


And those accounts make it reasonably clear that he never seriously considered running for a third term.

**September 14, 1901**

Died after shot on September 4, 1901.

Sources:
[http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/williammckinley/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/williammckinley/)

26. Theodore Roosevelt (September 14, 1901- March 4, 1909)

*Revised: James Ray. January 21, 2014*

Roosevelt may have come to regret the pledge not to run again, but there is little evidence, it seems, that he seriously thought about breaking it. I think he was resigned to ending his career at the end of the term that he won for himself in the election of **November 1904**.

**March 4, 1909**

Note: After the 1904 election victory, Roosevelt vowed not to run again for the presidency, believing it was wise to follow the precedent of only serving two terms in office. However, he came to regret that promise in advance of the 1908 election, believing he still had much of his agenda to accomplish. However, he held true to his pledge and supported his chosen successor, William Howard Taft, in 1908. When he sought president nomination in 1912 he said that third term limitation only applied to consecutive terms.

In 1904 election, Roosevelt became the first successor president to win the White House in his own right after serving the unfinished term of his predecessor.
In 1912, Roosevelt declared his interest in the Republican nomination for president but lost the nomination to William Howard Tuft. The new organized party Progressive Party persuaded Roosevelt to run. He run as a third party presidential nominee but lost to Woodrow Wilson. In 1916, Progressive asked Roosevelt to run for president again he declined.

Sources:
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/roosevelt/essays/biography/3


27. William Howard Taft (March 4, 1909- March 4, 1913)

**November 1912**

Note: Taft was nominated by the Republican party but split the Republican vote with Roosevelt that doomed his reelection bid.

Sources:
http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/williamhowardtaft/

28. Woodrow Wilson (March 4, 1913- March 4, 1921)

**June 1920**

Wilson entertained thoughts of seeking a third term as president in 1920 but the Democratic party refused to consider it.

Sources:

29. Warren G. Harding (March 4, 1921-August 2, 1923)

Died on August 2, 1923 during first term.

Sources:
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/harding/essays/biography/6

30. Calvin Coolidge (August 3, 1923- March 4, 1929)

**Aug. 2, 1927**
Note: On August 2, 1927, the fourth anniversary of his assuming office, he announced his decision at his press conference, in writing, with typical terseness: "I do not choose to run for President in 1928."

Coolidge elaborated. "If I take another term, I will be in the White House till 1933 … Ten years in Washington is longer than any other man has had it—too long!"

In his memoirs, Coolidge explained his decision not to run: "The Presidential office takes a heavy toll of those who occupy it and those who are dear to them. While we should not refuse to spend and be spent in the service of our country, it is hazardous to attempt what we feel is beyond our strength to accomplish."

Sources:
http://www.answers.com/topic/calvin-coolidge

31. Herbert Hoover (March 4, 1929-March 4, 1933)

November 8, 1932

Note: Hoover was nominated by the Republicans for a second term but lost to his Democratic opponent, Franklin D. Roosevelt in general election.

Sources:
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/hoover/essays/biography/3

32. Franklin D. Roosevelt (March 4, 1933-April, 12, 1945)

James Lee Ray, Revised, January 23, 2014  My impression is, based mostly on a chapter entitled “The President Decides” in Never Again: A President Runs for a Third Term, by Herbert S. Parmet & Marie B. Hecht. (New York: Macmillan, 1968.) The thesis of that chapter is summarized in this passage: “Any attempt to pinpoint accurately the precise date when Roosevelt made up his mind to be the Democratic candidate for 1940 is presumptuous. Contemporaries, including the President’s closest friends and advisers, differ sharply on this matter. Most agree, however, that it was after Hitler’s resumption of the war in the spring of 1940.” (p. 176) So, we stipulate that Roosevelt was sufficiently uncertain up to July of 1940 that he lacked political ambition, and then he regained it. (July 1940), in other words.

Then of course there is the question of whether or not after he won third term, did he start to ponder immediately that he might run for a fourth term? We will stipulate here that he did, and that he felt that unless the war was concluded by 1944 he would run again. So, he will be

**April 12, 1945**

Died on April 12 during his fourth term.

Note:
In 1940, Roosevelt decided to run for an unprecedented third term, breaking the tradition set by George Washington that limited Presidents to eight years in office. FDR had been coy about his future for most of his second term, but finally told confidantes that he would run only if the situation in Europe deteriorated further and his fellow Democrats drafted him as their candidate.

In 1944, in the midst of war, Roosevelt made it known to fellow Democrats that he was willing to run for a fourth term. With the war still raging, he urged voters not to "change horses in mid-stream." But what were his thoughts during most of the third term. Gordon (2011, 138-139) makes it pretty clear that Roosevelt was during the fourth term quite ambivalent about running for a fourth term, but also makes it clear that he never, probably even in his own mind, categorically rejected the idea. Since he never, apparently, rejected the idea of running for a 4th term, it would probably best to categorize him as still a politically ambitious president up to the time that he won re-election for that term.

**Sources:**


33. Harry S. Truman (April 12, 1945- January 20, 1953)

**March 29, 1952**

Note:
Truman announced at Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner on March 29, 1952 that he would not run for reelection.
The 22 Amendment passed in 1951 prohibits any person who has succeeded to the Presidency and served as President or as Acting President for more than two years of their predecessor's unexpired term from being elected more than once.

The amendment specifically excluded the sitting president, Harry S. Truman. Truman, who had served most of FDR's unexpired fourth term and who had been elected to a full term in 1948, his name was on primary for a third term in 1952, but quit on March 29, 1952

Sources:

34. Dwight D. Eisenhower (January 20, 1953- January 20, 1961)

Nov. 6, 1956

Note: He told friends that he would be happy to serve only a single term. Then, in September 1955, the President had a major heart attack. For several months, as Eisenhower convalesced, the question was whether the President could run again. But by the beginning of 1956, Eisenhower had resumed a full schedule, and his cardiologist announced that the President was capable of serving a second term. On February 29, 1956, Eisenhower announced that he would seek reelection.

In 1960, under the provisions of the 22nd amendment, Eisenhower was disqualified from running because he had been elected twice.

Sources:
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/eisenhower/essays/biography/3


November 22, 1963

Assassinated during first term.
Sources:
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/kennedy/essays/biography/6

March 31, 1968

Note: Because Lyndon B. Johnson had been elected to the Presidency only once and had served less than two full years of the term before that, the 22nd Amendment did not disqualify him from running for another term. Johnson announced via national television address that he would not seek or accept the Democratic nomination for president on March 31, 1968. “Accordingly, I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President.”

Sources:

37. Richard Nixon (January 20, 1969- August 9, 1974)

Nov. 1972

Won second term.

Sources:
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/nixon/essays/biography/6

38. Gerald R. Ford (August 9, 1974- January 20, 1977)

November 2, 1976

Lost in election to Jimmy Carter in 1976 election.
Sources:
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/ford/essays/biography/3


November 4, 1980


Note: It was the first loss by an elected presidential incumbent since Hoover had been defeated in 1932.

**Nov. 6, 1984**
Won second term.
Sources: 
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/reagan/essays/biography/6


**November 3, 1992 (lame duck)**
Defeated by Bill Clinton in 1992 election.
Sources: 
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/bush/essays/biography/3

42. Bill Clinton (January 20, 1993- January 20, 2001)

**Nov. 5, 1996**

Sources: 
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/clinton

43. George W. Bush (January 20, 2001- January 20, 2009)

**Nov. 2, 2004**

Sources: 
http://millercenter.org/academic/americanpresident/gwbush