



WHITE HOUSE HISTORY

The First Ladies
The Quarterly Journal of the White
House Historical Association
Number 45



GEORGE W. BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

The first first lady to hold a press conference in the White House Press Briefing Room, Laura Bush (above) encouraged the Burmese military regime to accept international aid following a 2008 cyclone as her chief of staff Anita McBride (far left) looked on. First Lady Melania Trump made her first White House podium appearance during a luncheon on International Women's Day, March 8, 2017 (opposite).

The Office of the First Lady Managing Public Duties, Private Lives, and Changing Expectations

A N I T A B . M C B R I D E

While the U.S. Constitution does not outline any official title or role for the first lady of the United States, this influential position has been shaped through history by individual character and personality, with first ladies embracing policy and political matters as well as the ceremonial tradition of White House hostess. Free from specific statutory responsibilities, each first lady can choose how to use her platform and how to put her unique stamp on the office. Some aspects of the first lady's role are difficult to control, especially the public's increasingly high expectations and the "media crucible"¹ each has faced since the country's founding.

History has shown time and again that each first lady finds a way to operate within her own boundaries. When it was announced on November 20, 2016, that Mrs. Trump would not immediately move to the White House after her husband's inauguration so that the Trump's then 10-year-old son Barron could finish the school year in New York,² many were curious about how she would approach her new role. Melania Trump laid down an early marker that helped establish her tenure as the next first lady of the United States: "I will stay true to myself,"³ she said, and thus not defined by expectations others would have of her, the position of first lady, or the staffing of her office.

Melania Trump was rarely seen on the campaign trail, but strategically deployed when she could add the most value to her husband. In her public remarks she spoke of her dream of becoming an American cit-



izen after having grown up in a communist country.⁴ In particular, at the Republican National Convention in July 2016, she referred to her citizenship as "the greatest privilege on planet Earth."⁵ As only the second foreign-born first lady in American history, she is adapting to her new role by establishing her office on her own timetable while mindful of past traditions.

Mrs. Trump did not follow past practice of hiring a staff prior to the inauguration. When announcing the initial appointments to her office on February 1, 2017, she stated that she was "putting together a professional and highly-experienced team, which will take time to do properly."⁶ In that announcement she also responded to any questions about her interest in the role, saying, "It has been an honor to take on the responsibility of the position of first lady, with its long history as an important representative of the

As the first lady's chief of staff, Anita McBride met with First Lady Laura Bush in the West Sitting Hall (below) on a regular basis. McBride accompanied Mrs. Bush on many trips in the United States and abroad, including three journeys to Afghanistan. In June 2008 they made their third and final trip, which included a side-trip to the Bamiyan Province, to bring attention to the need for continued international aid to the war-torn country. The first trip in March 2005 was a dangerous undertaking. Concerns about potential threats from the Taliban and al-Qaeda in the region meant the visit was kept secret until just before the first lady's plane landed at Bagram Air Base. McBride is seen with Mrs. Bush in this photo en route to Kabul in a U.S. Army CH-47D Chinook—a twin-rotor helicopter outfitted for combat (right).



BOTH IMAGES THIS SPREAD: GEORGE W. BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

President, our family, and the traditions of our nation around the world.”⁷⁷

The new first lady inherits a structure that has evolved over time. The Office of the First Lady (OFL) is one entity within the White House Office (WHO), which is itself an agency of the larger Executive Office of the President (EOP). The OFL staff is accountable to the first lady and expected to support the first lady's traditional duties, her interests, and her efforts to engage in and advance the president's policy initiatives. The size of a first lady's staff typically depends on the extent of her activities.

I remember my own experience of working with First Lady Laura Bush to assemble a team that would execute her priorities and support the president and his goals for the country. While writing this article, I reflected on my own journey through White House history, which started with a volunteer position on the 1980 presidential election campaign of

Ronald Reagan and ultimately led to becoming chief of staff to First Lady Laura Bush twenty-five years later. The experiences over two decades and three administrations included roles in such offices as Presidential Correspondence for President Reagan; and positions as diverse as director of White House Personnel for Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush, as special assistant to the president for White House Management and Administration as well as White House liaison to the State Department for President George W. Bush, all of which prepared me for the role of policy strategist with overall management of daily operations and long-range domestic and international planning that was expected of a senior White House aide and the first lady's chief of staff.

The opportunity to serve the first lady in this capacity started with a conversation in November 2004, one week after President George W. Bush's re-



election. I had previously met Mrs. Bush a decade earlier when her husband was elected governor of Texas. I was familiar with her policy interests and activities as first lady of the United States, and I particularly admired her strength and ability to calm a shocked and grieving nation in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on 9/11.

In our meeting in the West Sitting Hall on the Second Floor in the White House residence, Laura Bush laid out a bold vision for her work in her husband's second term. Listening to her, I recognized the first lady's office would not be the less intense milieu than the West Wing that I had envisioned.

The Office of the First Lady that I led had six departments including Chief of Staff, Social Office, Projects and Policy, Communications and Press, Scheduling and Advance, and Correspondence. We worked closely with departments and agencies across the federal government, the National Security

Council, and other White House offices to lead the strategy and execution of Mrs. Bush's domestic and international events. We traveled the world and all fifty U.S. states.⁸ I worked daily with the Residence staff on matters pertaining to preservation of the White House as a living [ok?] museum as well as the home of the first family.

From my previous White House experiences, I saw firsthand how first ladies Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush approached their roles and I appreciated the ways a first lady has influence on the president, the White House, and the country. The ever-increasing body of research and scholarship on American first ladies increases our understanding of their specific circumstances and contributions from the American Revolution to contemporary times.



From 1977 to 1978 First Lady Rosalynn Carter served as the honorary chair of the President's Commission on Mental Health. She is seen chairing a hearing in January 1978 (left) and with her assistant Madeline MacBean at work in the Office of the First Lady in 1977 (opposite). It was Mrs. Carter who officially established this office, which remains today on the second floor of the East Wing.

Rosalynn Carter and the Establishment of the Office of the First Lady

That our first ladies have an office and specialized staff is owing to the contributions of First Lady Rosalynn Carter. When Jimmy Carter and his family moved into the White House in January 1977, the new first lady knew she wanted to continue the work she had dedicated herself to for a large portion of her public life: focusing people's attention on mental health. It was a natural transition for Mrs. Carter, who had made mental health her primary focus as first lady of Georgia. In Georgia, she was appointed to the Governor's Commission to Improve Services for the Mentally and Emotionally Handicapped, and the recommendations the commission made became state law. Mrs. Carter knew the issue well, not only from these executive and legislative experiences but also from her hands-on work as a volunteer at the Georgia Regional Hospital. Mrs. Carter cited "my work with the mentally ill" as one of her most rewarding achievements as first lady of Georgia.⁹

It would come as no surprise, then, once the Carters moved into the White House, that this work for such an important issue would continue. One month after his inauguration, President Jimmy Carter signed an executive order establishing the President's Commission on Mental Health, mirroring what they had done in Georgia. Who would chair this commission? Mrs. Carter, of course. That was

until the White House ran into more than a couple of roadblocks as the president tried to make this appointment.

The Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice (DOJ) rang the alarm. According to the Antideficiency Act of 1884, voluntary service in the government was virtually barred, with only a few exceptions. The DOJ "ruled that if a president's wife took on new responsibilities [as in the case of Mrs. Carter and the new commission], she would violate this law and be susceptible to legal challenge. [On the other hand,] if the first lady sought to avoid this problem by accepting a salary, she would violate the federal anti-nepotism law."¹⁰ The DOJ's Office of Legal Counsel specifically said Mrs. Carter could not chair the commission because President Carter was prohibited from appointing a close relative to a civilian position.¹¹ The solution? Mrs. Carter was named "honorary chair" instead,¹² "as the two laws caught the first lady in a seemingly inescapable catch-22."¹³

"Honorary chair" conjured up the image of someone who shows up for photo ops, and Mrs. Carter's knowledge on the topic extended far beyond doing something just for "show." Considering the depth of Mrs. Carter's experience in mental health reform, the dedication she had exhibited to the issue, and her success making meaningful change in Georgia, being labeled "honorary" did not reflect the weight of her carriage.

President Carter's efforts to install Mrs. Carter as the chair of the commission brought to the forefront a legal question: what can a first lady do and how can she be supported? Throughout history the first lady's role has changed, reflecting not only their interests but also the times in which they lived. But it was Mrs. Carter's dedication to mental health, which included testifying to Congress, and the president's recognition of her leadership on the issue, that shaped the Office of the First Lady as we know it today.

What also shaped the office were the circumstances of the time. The nation was experiencing a period of turmoil in the late 1970s as the American people were still reeling from decisions made to extend a war they did not want, Vietnam, and from the deepest scandal within the government anyone could have imagined, Watergate. Wide-ranging public distrust was the motivation behind the passage of the White House Personnel Authorization Act of 1978. It was adopted by Congress and signed into law by President Carter to bring transparency to the White House. Public opinion demanded more accountability in the federal government, and this legislation addressed it for the first time since the Pendleton Act of 1883 sought to ensure that jobs in the federal government were awarded on the basis of merit and competitive exams, and not the "spoils system."

Another consequence of the 1978 legislation was the legal clarity it brought to the first lady's office. The legislation specifically addressed the issue in Section 105(e): "Assistance and services authorized pursuant to this section to the President are authorized to be provided to the spouse of the President in connection with assistance provided by such spouse to the President in the discharge of the President's duties and responsibilities. If the President does not have a spouse, such assistance and services may be provided for such purposes to a member of the President's family whom the President designates."¹⁴ Budgetary allocations were made for staff and resources to support the first lady or spouse. The wording separated the spouse from other personnel as being "designated" (not hired, appointed, or nominated).¹⁵

Essentially, by 1978, as Bradley H. Patterson has written, "the tradition of spousal duties had become so firmly established that Congress passed a statute that finally authorized a government-paid staff for the spouse." The statute made it clear, however, that it is the president's duties being helped, not the spouse's own.¹⁶

This was a historic moment for the Office of First Lady. Up until this point, first ladies had made their own staffing decisions one by one, each shaping the future of the office incrementally, as the occasion, the need, and the expectations grew in the historical circumstances they experienced.



The First Lady's Role in Historical Perspective: An Overview

As the nation's first president and presidential spouse, George and Martha Washington had the burden of setting precedent as they began their life in these new roles. Martha Washington was known as "Lady Washington" or simply "Mrs. Washington," as the term "first lady" was not yet in common use.¹⁷ Expectations existed, however, about the proper tone for their public life. The Washingtons "decided to balance the seemingly irreconcilable goals of democratic simplicity, which befitted the new republic, with the need to make sure that the nation was seen to have proper credibility in the eyes of the world."¹⁸ Some "grumblings surrounded [Martha Washington's] entertainments as she created the role of First Lady. . . . But Martha Washington, like her

As first lady in the 1870s, Julia Grant (below) pushed boundaries and paved the way for the women who followed her in the role, including First Lady Edith Roosevelt, seen at her White House desk in 1903 (right).



GRANT FAMILY COLLECTION / ULYSSES S. GRANT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

husband, occupied a place in American society above common criticism.”¹⁹ When Abigail Adams followed Martha Washington in holding regular receptions, she described her situation as one of “splendid misery” and faced a press that “criticized her formality and accused the starchy Adams couple of monarchical aspirations.”²⁰

Dolley Madison, on other hand, loved entertaining and was actively engaged in promoting her husband President James Madison’s policies, especially to a hostile Congress, and she encouraged bipartisanship through invitations to her drawing room parties. She made the White House into a “symbol of the capital city”²¹ and appealed to Congress to appropriate funds for it. After the War of 1812, when the British burned the White House and Mrs. Madison saved cherished historical items from the flames, she became a “celebrated public figure”²² and elevated the Office of First Lady to new heights. After she left the White House, however, as Maurine H. Beasley, observes, “The role of the first lady was diminished for decades.”²³

It was not until some forty years later, when Harriet Lane served as the hostess for her uncle

James Buchanan, that the title of “first lady” was used. Her tenure was also notable for its effectiveness. She even won praise from Buchanan’s sworn and vocal enemy, John W. Forney of Pennsylvania, a former Philadelphia newspaper editor and failed Senate candidate, who called her “the most accomplished young Mistress of the presidential mansion in modern times.”²⁴

When Julia Grant, wife of Ulysses S. Grant, arrived at the White House in 1869, she joined her predecessors in making her own mark on the role and further pushing its boundaries. She considered herself “an equal partner in her relationship with Grant,” and as such she felt emboldened to go many places where previous first ladies had not gone. As Pamela K. Sanfilippo explains, Mrs. Grant actively “kept informed of political events, attended Senate hearings, and occasionally walked in on [President] Grant’s meetings, asking questions and sharing her views with those in attendance.”²⁵

Julia Grant’s activism set the stage for Edith Roosevelt, the “first truly modern occupant of her post” who, according to Catherine Forslund, laid a new foundation for the office.²⁶ Married to Theodore



Ellen Wilson devoted much of her time as first lady to humanitarian causes including improving housing for the poor in the District of Columbia. She would not live to see the effect of the passage of the bill she inspired to abolish slums in the city's alleys.

MRS. WILSON'S BILL SIGNED.

Her Measure to Abolish Capital's Slums Is Now a Law.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25.—Mrs. Woodrow Wilson's dying wish that the alley slums in Washington be abolished was finally realized today when the President signed the bill clearing alleys of dwelling places. On her deathbed Mrs. Wilson expressed the hope that the bill would be passed and both houses of Congress acted.

Although it differed in some particulars from the measure as Mrs. Wilson originally championed it, the President decided it accomplished the principal purposes sought.

Roosevelt, the youngest president in U.S. history, and moving into the White House with a large family to balance, Mrs. Roosevelt was also faced with the difficult task of handling the duties of first lady after the sadness of William McKinley's assassination. Her predecessor, Ida McKinley, had had a limited public role due to her debilitating illness. These circumstances did not hamper Edith Roosevelt's vision for the office. She was the first to hire a social secretary and broke new ground by managing press coverage of her children. She realized early on that "she could not deny the public's curiosity" and, as Betty Caroli writes, "decided to satisfy it on her terms. Raised in a society that dictated that a lady's name should appear in print only at her birth, her marriage, and her death, she had to cope with being a First Lady whose activities the public wanted to see in print every day. By supplying posed photographs of herself and her children, she solved most of the problem. . . . Edith Roosevelt instituted changes to increase, not lessen, the distance between her brood and the public."²⁷ Mrs. Roosevelt institutionalized other aspects of her role as well, including delegating the responsibility of preparing food for official dinners to hired

caterers, continuing the presidential china collection started by Caroline Harrison, and hanging a first ladies portrait gallery in the White House, so that presidents' wives—"myself included"—could have memorials.²⁸

One first lady in particular stands out for her influence: Ellen Wilson, the first wife of Woodrow Wilson, who served as first lady briefly, for only one year, 1913–14, due to her untimely death. She used her position "to advance a specific social and political agenda," explains Barbara Klaczynska. "She led people down to the slums of Washington and urged them to tear these decrepit buildings down and build decent housing."²⁹ Washington's slums were in the back alleys where mostly blacks and recent immigrants lived, and the high mortality rates thwarted her first visit due to a smallpox outbreak. The first lady "popularized concern for the poor and supported this effort with money she earned with her paintings."³⁰ She took an issue that was in the back alley, literally, and brought it to the forefront despite significant hurdles. Ellen Wilson became active in organizations that enacted legislation to address the problem. The urgency she felt gained momentum



First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt traveled extensively around the country to support New Deal programs and humanitarian causes. In 1938, she traveled to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (left) where she would protest segregated seating; in 1936 she asked to be photographed with two African American honor guards escorting her to an event at Howard University (below); in 1939 she wrote to the DAR (opposite) resigning her membership after they refused to allow black contralto Marian Anderson to perform at Constitution Hall.

GETTY IMAGES

when word of her deteriorating health reached the halls of Congress, and the Senate and then the House passed “Mrs. Wilson’s bill,” hours before she died. Ellen Wilson’s legacy of establishing the need to address urgent societal issues “broadened the political potential of the institution of First Lady,” says Shelley Sallee.³¹

It was a prescient move on Mrs. Wilson’s part that, as first lady, she had a future first lady with her on one of her tours of the slums of the capital city. Eleanor Roosevelt accepted Mrs. Wilson’s invitation, along with other cabinet spouses, to see firsthand the deplorable housing conditions where the largely African American underclass lived. At the time, Franklin D. Roosevelt was serving as assistant navy secretary in the Wilson administration. “Ellen Wilson’s efforts to build decent housing and abolish Washington’s ‘alley slums’ particularly captured [Eleanor Roosevelt’s] imagination as first lady,” writes Blanche Wiesen Cook. “Like [Ellen] Wilson, [Eleanor Roosevelt] believed that adequate and healthy housing was the fundamental key to a more democratic future.”³²

Eleanor Roosevelt’s term as first lady further pushed boundaries both in terms of her dedication to



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

the issues she focused on and in terms of how she communicated about them. Mrs. Roosevelt “spent a lot of time touring around the country” as these unannounced trips “would become her trademark ‘eyes and ears’ inspection tours,”³³ particularly to inspect various New Deal programs. Her commitment naturally “led her into acting as an unofficial administration spokesperson, not so much for FDR as for herself, and she made that clear.”³⁴ She was controversial, but also effective. As Eleanor Roosevelt stumped “for the New Deal, she debated so disarmingly that critics were often left confounded.”³⁵ She used the information she gathered from these trips to report her findings to the president or to relevant staff or agency heads so they could address the problems. Her goal was also to bring the terrible conditions to the public’s attention. She was invited by Congress to testify on these conditions and became the first first lady to testify before Congress on February 9, 1940.

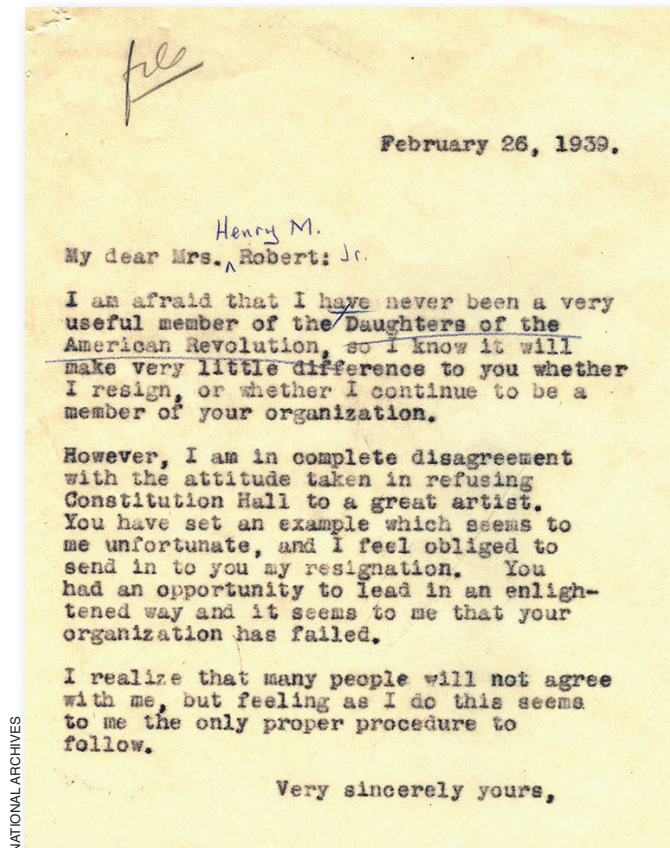
In addition to using her voice to draw attention to issues, Eleanor Roosevelt knew images would also be powerful to convey her commitment to equality. Not only did she choose to travel to Birmingham, Alabama, in 1938, for a Southern Conference for Human Welfare, but she used the event to highlight her strong opposition to segregation laws. When she was not allowed to sit with educator and civil rights activist Mary McLeod Bethune because a city ordinance prohibited integrated seating, Eleanor Roosevelt “requested a chair and placed it squarely in the aisle between the groups, highlighting her displeasure with Jim Crow policies,” writes Allida M. Black.³⁶ In 1936, when she was invited to Howard University in Washington, D.C., Eleanor Roosevelt

requested to be photographed with two uniformed African American male honor guards as escorts. She even went so far as to resign from the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) in 1939 when it “refused to rent its auditorium to the internationally known black contralto Marian Anderson. She then announced her decision in her newspaper column, thereby transforming a local act into a national disgrace.”³⁷ Four months later, she invited Marian Anderson to sing at the White House for the king and queen of England.

Mrs. Roosevelt’s call for equality was important in President Roosevelt’s decision to issue Executive Order 8802 to create a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) in 1941. It banned employment discrimination based on “race, creed, color, or national origin” by both the federal government and defense contractors. Although the FEPC was operative

only until 1946, many of its concerns are addressed today by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Throughout her time as first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt communicated with the public in a way no other first lady had before, but in a manner in which she had always been comfortable presenting her views. She had had experience as a radio commentator before becoming first lady, and she continued her radio addresses while in the White House, despite criticism. She also toured the country giving lectures on her life as first lady. Hundreds turned out to hear her, and she gave whatever fees she received to charities.³⁸ Her syndicated daily newspaper column, “My Day,” appeared in newspapers throughout the country and was read by millions.





Pamela Turnure, the first press secretary to a first lady, is seen at left with Jacqueline Kennedy as she enters the Diplomatic Reception Room to help launch a 1961 American Heart Association fundraising campaign with six-year-old twins and heart surgery survivors. Below Turnure meets with Mrs. Kennedy's social secretary Letitia Baldrige. First Lady Lady Bird Johnson hired former journalist Liz Carpenter as her press secretary. Carpenter was the first to bring specialized experience to the role. They are seen at work (below left).



In 1961 First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy was the first to hire a press secretary, although most of the press operations were still handled by the more-experienced presidents' staff. Following Mrs. Kennedy in office, First Lady Lady Bird Johnson was the first to hire a former journalist, Liz Carpenter, as press secretary (and chief of staff) and thus consolidated a media strategy around the work of the first lady. During her term, "press and communications work was removed from the social secretary's list of responsibilities, and a separate 'East Wing' office was established with specialists in print and broadcast media," writes MaryAnne Borrelli. "Johnson's successors continued this specialization and departmentalization."³⁹

First Lady Nancy Reagan meets with her staff in the East Wing, 1985. Clockwise from left: Projects Director and architect of the Just Say No campaign, Ann Wroblewski; Advance Director Marty Coyne; Chief of Staff Jim Rosebush; Social Secretary Gahl Hodges Burt; Mrs. Reagan; and Press Secretary Sheila Tate.



GETTY IMAGES

The Modern Office of the First Lady

Each of these steps by her predecessors set the stage for Rosalynn Carter's term in office and the long-lasting changes she made. Mrs. Carter "reorganized and upgraded the functions and pay for her staff, which numbered about eighteen persons," says Beasley.⁴⁰ Mrs. Carter also became the first president's wife to maintain her own working space in the East Wing of the White House, now officially called the Office of the First Lady, rather than in the family quarters, where many first ladies had just placed a desk in their dressing room. Her work on behalf of mental health reform produced a report with recommendations she lobbied for in both television appearances and in testimony before Congress. Her Mental Health Systems Act was signed into law in 1980.

Nearly fifteen years later another president asked his wife to take the lead on a key policy issue: President Bill Clinton named First Lady Hillary

Rodham Clinton to head a panel on health care reform. Mrs. Clinton herself made another historic move by establishing her own office in the West Wing, the only first lady ever to do so. But other than the West Wing office, Mrs. Clinton's framework for the Office of the First Lady mirrored that of her predecessors, and the staff she assembled was somewhat smaller than previous first ladies. While her predecessor Nancy Reagan was the first to hire men as chief of staff to the first lady, Mrs. Clinton hired the first African American woman, Margaret Ann (Maggie) Williams, as her chief of staff. Yet it was her historic move to have an office in the West Wing for which she would be remembered. As they toured the White House in December 2000, before the Bushes moved in, Laura Bush recalls Hillary Clinton telling her that "if she had it to do all over again, she would not have had an office in the West Wing, that she seldom used it after the healthcare debate ended."⁴¹



AP IMAGES

In 1993, fifteen years after First Lady Rosalynn Carter served as the honorary chair of the President's Commission on Mental Health, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton testified before Congress at hearings on health care reform.

The White House Personnel Authorization Act of 1978 enabled First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's work on health care in 1993. Had it not been adopted, she would not have been able to take on such a policy initiative with staff to support her. After the healthcare controversy, Mrs. Clinton made a pivot to the global stage, promoting the issues of women's rights and human rights and laying a foundation for her later work as the first first lady to become a U.S. senator (2001), a presidential candidate (2007), and a secretary of state (2009). In 2016, she became the first woman to win a major political party nomination for president—an historic milestone capping two decades of public service. Mrs. Clinton lost the 2008 Democratic nomina-

tion for president to then Senator Barack Obama who would go on to become the nation's first African American president. Entering the White House with a young family, Michelle Obama said her most important role was "mom-in-chief" to their daughters Malia and Sasha. As first lady, she also focused her energies on combatting childhood obesity; championed the education of girls and women; and launched an initiative to support military families and veterans.

The Office of the First Lady now presents Melania Trump with her own unique challenges and opportunities. Standing on the shoulders of her predecessors, she will undoubtedly leave her personal mark on the office, as well as on the country.

President-elect Barack Obama takes the stage with his young family on election night, November 4, 2008. Michelle Obama described herself as "mom-in-chief" but, during her eight years as first lady, she also led several creative and successful initiatives focused on health and education and the needs of service members and veterans and their families.





OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO

First Lady Melania Trump meets with her chief of staff Lindsay Reynolds in the Blue Room (left) before a Mother's Day event to honor active-duty military and their spouses and mothers with a White House reception. Many thousands of guests are welcomed to the White House each year at public tours and events, orchestrated by the Visitors Office, whose staff works closely with the Office of the First Lady. Dating back to 1878, the annual Easter Egg Roll (seen below in 2017) is one of the oldest annual events in White House history hosted by American presidents and their families on the South Lawn.



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO BY KEEGAN BARBER

NOTES

- Katherine A. S. Sibley, introduction to *A Companion to First Ladies*, ed. Sibley (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 2.
- Maggie Haberman, "Melania and Barron Trump Won't Immediately Move to White House," *New York Times*, November 20, 2016, online at www.nytimes.com.
- Quoted in Lesley Stahl, "President-Elect Trump Speaks to a Divided Country on 60 Minutes," *60 Minutes*, November 13, 2016, online at www.cbsnews.com.
- An example of a campaign speech in which Melania Trump mentions this dream can be found in Julia Zorthian, "Read Melania Trump's Campaign Speech Addressing Cyberbullying," *Time*, November 3, 2016, online at www.time.com.
- The speech can be viewed at Will Drabold, "Watch Melania Trump's Speech at the Republican Convention," *Time*, July 18, 2016, online at www.time.com.
- White House, "First Lady Melania Trump Announces Chief of Staff," February 1, 2017, online at www.whitehouse.gov.
- Ibid.*
- White House, "Laura Welch Bush," online at www.whitehouse.gov.
- Rosalynn Carter, *First Lady from Plains* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), 97.
- MaryAnne Borrelli, *The Politics of the President's Wife* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 20.
- Ibid.*
- Kathy B. Smith, "Eleanor Rosalynn Smith Carter," in *American First Ladies: Their Lives and Their Legacy*, 2nd ed., ed. Lewis L. Gould (New York: Routledge, 2001), 388.
- Borrelli, *Politics of the President's Wife*, 20.
- White House Personnel Authorization Act of 1978, H.R. 11003, 95th Cong., Sec. 105e (1978).
- Borrelli, *The Politics of the President's Wife*, 20.
- Bradley H. Patterson, *To Serve the President: Continuity and Innovation in the White House Staff* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008), 242.
- Robert P. Watson, "Martha Washington," in *A Companion to First Ladies*, ed. Sibley, 14.
- Ibid.*
- Cokie Roberts, *Ladies of Liberty* (New York: William Morrow, 2008), 11.
- Ibid.*
- Catherine Allgor, "James and Dolley Madison and the Quest for Unity," in *A Companion to First Ladies*, ed. Sibley, 67.
- Maurine H. Beasley, *First Ladies and the Press: The Unfinished Partnership of the Media Age* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2005), 35.
- Ibid.*, 38.
- Quoted in Quoted in Thomas J. Balcerski, "Harriet Rebecca Lane Johnston," in *A Companion to First Ladies*, ed. Sibley, 204.
- Pamela K. Sanfilippo, "Eliza McCardle Johnson and Julia Dent Grant," in *A Companion to First Ladies*, ed. Sibley, 241.
- Catherine Forslund, "Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt: The Victorian Modern First Lady," in *A Companion to First Ladies*, ed. Sibley, 304.
- Betty Boyd Caroli, *First Ladies: From Martha Washington to Michelle Obama* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 122–23.
- Ibid.*, 124.
- Barbara Klacznska, "Edith Wilson: First Lady in Charge," in *A Companion to First Ladies*, ed. Katherine A. S. Sibley, (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 377.
- Ibid.*
- Lisa M. Burns, "Ellen Axson Wilson" in *A Companion to First Ladies*, ed. Katherine A. S. Sibley, (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 351.
- Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt*, 3 vols. (New York: Viking, 1999), 2:17–18.
- Carl Sferrazza Anthony, *First Ladies: The Saga of the Presidents' Wives and Their Power, 1789–1961* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1990), 460.
- Ibid.*, 463.
- Ibid.*
- Allida M. Black, "Anna Eleanor Roosevelt," in *American First Ladies: Their Lives and Their Legacy*, ed. Gould, 298.
- Ibid.*
- Anthony, *First Ladies: The Saga of the Presidents' Wives and Their Power*, 458–59.
- Borrelli, *Politics of the President's Wife*, 19.
- Beasley, *First Ladies and the Press: The Unfinished Partnership of the Media Age*, 153.
- Laura Bush, *Spoken from the Heart* (New York: Scribner, 2010), 165.