To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Tabitha Alissa Warters entitled "The Political Roles of Presidential Children: Kennedy through Clinton." I have examined the final paper copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Political Science.

John M. Scheb, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Chancellor and Dean of
Graduate Studies

THE POLITICAL ROLES OF PRESIDENTIAL CHILDREN: KENNEDY THROUGH CLINTON

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Tabitha Alissa Warters
December 2004

Thesis
2004b
.W275

Copyright © 2004 by Tabitha Alissa Warters
All rights reserved.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Don and Martha Warters, for their love and support throughout this process. Also, to my grandmothers, Bernice Warters and Laura Ford. Although gone for many years, their love and belief in me sustain me even now.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank all of those who aided me in completion of my Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science. I would like to thank Dr. John Scheb for his guidance and effort in helping me complete the degree. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee: Dr. Anthony Nownes, Dr. Michael Fitzgerald, and Dr. Dorothy Bowles.

I would also like to acknowledge the daily help given by Sue Howerton and Debby McCauley in the Political Science Department at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Without their help, the past four years of hard work would have been much more difficult.

I would also like to acknowledge Dr. David Feldman for his leadership in acquiring grant money for my research, which enabled me to travel to several presidential libraries to do research for this dissertation. In addition, I would especially like to thank the William G. McCall Graduate Quasi-Endowment for its financial support for my research.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends, whose encouragement throughout the process made this work possible.

ABSTRACT

Many facets of the institution of the presidency warrant examination. Individual presidents, cabinets, staffs, and first ladies have all been studied in-depth, but one aspect of the presidency remains fundamentally unexplored: the political activities of presidential children.

Role analysis using case studies was the method of examination used. Role analysis was the method used in early studies on first ladies and is replicated in this study on presidential children. The basic assumption is that all presidential children from Kennedy through Clinton have performed political roles. By examining the repeated political activities of the 24 presidential children, five political roles were designated. First is the role of *symbol*. Symbols serve to display the presidential candidate or president as a person that is a good family man, loving father, and someone with high moral integrity. *Surrogates* serve to stand in for the president when the president cannot be present. The bulk of a surrogate's role takes place on the campaign trail. The increase in importance of primaries and the decrease in power of political parties have both made the need for campaign surrogates mandatory. *Informal advisors/confidant(e)s* provide opinions and advice to the president. *Skeletons* tend to embarrass the president. Finally, if an individual presidential child performs several of these roles equally, they are labeled as *hybrids*. Each of the 24 children from Kennedy through Clinton is categorized in one of the above roles and their actions and impacts are analyzed through expansive case studies.

The findings display that all presidential children have performed at least one of these political roles. It is interesting to note that these roles vary by the age of the child. Those children younger than eighteen years old were almost exclusively symbols because they really had no other choice. The study also highlights that the use of symbols has become more important since the beginning of the media age of American politics. In many cases, images have become more important than messages, and younger children of presidents are utilized as image-makers to help increase the popularity of the candidate or president. Roles also vary by the sex of the child. Female children are often called upon to fill in for the first lady as hostess at the White House while the male children are not. Through an historical overview of the political activities of presidential children before 1960, this study also elucidates that presidential children have been important political actors even before the dawn of the media age.

Finally, this study is significant to presidential studies for several reasons. First, it seems as if the presidential strategy of "going public" has been conceptualized too narrowly. Beyond presidents making personal appeals to the American people, "going public" may also include activities such as sending surrogates out to interact with the public. Second, presidential children can be seen as extensions of the presidents himself. This is extremely significant because it means that presidents with children, or more specifically, active children, may in fact have an advantage over presidents without children. If presidential power is personal, then having active children may increase the total sum of personal power. Third, having, children increase a president's ability to manipulate or mold public perceptions of him through their symbolism. Finally, just as

formal staff and advisor influence the decisions presidents make, so too do presidential children. Therefore, presidential children can perform multiple roles that do have an affect on the institution of the presidency. They can be physical surrogates, symbolic personifications, mouthpieces of Administrative policies, protectors of the president, ambassadors overseas for the president, public defenders, or extensions of the president himself. Therefore, this study elucidates that although presidential children may not be formal players in the institution of the presidency, through their personal influence they impact the institution nonetheless.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	**INTRODUCTION**	1
II.	**THE CASE FOR THE STUDY OF PRESIDENTIAL CHILDREN**	7
III.	**DATA AND METHODOLOGY**	15
IV.	**HISTORICAL OVERVIEW**	25
V.	**SYMBOLS**	49
VI.	**SURROGATES**	71
VII.	**INFORMAL ADVISORS/CONFIDANT(E)S**	119
VIII.	**SKELETONS**	131
IX.	**HYBRIDS**	153
X.	**CONCLUSION**	189
	REFERENCES	205
	VITA	223

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

I hope sometime you'll make a study of the families of the Presidents...You've made a contribution to history that will help some Ph.D. in the future to evaluate all these families...

Harry Truman[1]

In his 1867 titled *The English Constitution*, Walter Bagehot asserts that there are two parts of any form of government: dignified and efficient. Bagehot defines *dignified* parts of government as those that "excite and preserve the reverence of the population" and *efficient* parts are "those by which it, in fact, works and rules."[2] Bagehot points out that in a Constitutional Monarchy, a family on the throne, or the dignified part of government, is important because "(i)t brings down the pride of sovereignty to the level of petty life."[3] Bagehot argues that the Royal family "sweetens politics by the seasonable addition of nice and pretty events. It introduces irrelevant facts into business of government, but they are facts which speak to 'men's bosoms,' and employ their thoughts."[4]

Frequently the First Family in the United States is compared with the Royal Family of Great Britain. Each does have a similar political significance. As noted above, the Royal Family carries political significance through their "dignity." For example, Bagehot uses as an illustration the wedding of the Prince of Wales. According to

---

[1] Harry Truman in a letter to "Miss Heggie" regarding her article written about his daughter Margaret Truman in *Woman's Home Companion*. Quoted in Margaret Truman, *Bess Truman*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1986): 367.
[2] Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1867): 7.
[3] Ibid., 41.
[4] Ibid.

Bagehot, "they treated (it) as a great political event."[5] The same is done for First Family weddings…they become political events. What all of this suggests is that the family members, specifically children of presidents, have political significance through their symbolic activities or more overt political activities such as campaigning or advising their father.

Expanding upon Bagehot's understanding of the need for a Royal Family in a Constitutional Monarchy, Stacy Cordery highlights the advantage of a presidential family in American democracy. Cordery points out that, "(f)amilies make presidents more human. Ultimately they can't help but be used because in this democracy you can't separate the professional president from the man he is: The father, stepfather, the uncle, the husband."[6] Indeed, presidents are "stewards of the public trust, to serve not only as political leaders but also as role models of personal behavior, setting standards for raising their children."[7]

With new forms of media, including television and electronic media, "politicians, particularly presidents, have tended to personalize their office and, taking advantage of the new channels of communication provided by the explosion of communications technology, reach out through the media to exploit the emotions of the electorate."[8] This "personalized presidency" has led to the need to use presidential children in a symbolic manner. Indeed, "(t)he emergence of film, radio, and television brought the first family

---

[5] Ibid.
[6] Quoted in Megan Garvey, "Carefully Crafted Cloak of Privacy Surrounds Children of Candidates," *Los Angeles Times,* 4 August 2000, pg. E1.
[7] Robert Shogan, *The Double-Edged Sword: How Character Makes and Ruins Presidents, From Washington to Clinton,* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999): 3.
[8] Ibid., 9.

closer to the American public. Presidents and the press had a new powerful means of communication."[9]

Presidential children go beyond just symbolic political uses. As Robert Watson highlights, the presidency is a "dynamic political office,"[10] in which more than just the man behind the desk can have political impact. In his study on first ladies, Watson points out that scholarly research is sparse concerning first ladies even though they are "responsible for many political contributions to the presidency."[11] Watson and other presidential scholars emphasize the impact first ladies have on symbolic politics and presidential decision-making in particular.

One of the earliest approaches used to study first ladies was through "assessing the first ladies' political and public activities, roles, and influences..."[12] Expounding upon this notion; this study purports to elucidate the political activities and roles of presidential children. One of the difficulties with cultivating a study of first ladies was the fact that for so long they were only examined as anecdotal backdrops to what their husbands were doing in the Oval Office. Therefore, little academic research and writings focused on the political roles of first ladies. In recent years however, scholars have begun to treat the study of the first lady with more reverence and have produced studies examining their roles, political activities and influence upon the presidency. As Robert Watson points out, these studies are still very elemental.[13]

---

[9] *A & E Biography: Presidential Children*. Arts and Entertainment Network.
[10] Robert P. Watson, *The President's Wives: Reassessing the Office of First Lady*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000): 6.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., 25.
[13] Robert P. Watson, "Source Material: Toward the Study of the First Lady: The State of Scholarship," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, June 2003: 423-441.

Thus, if research on first ladies has struggled in such a manner to gain its footing, then it will be no surprise that presidential children are rarely considered at all outside of their uncanny ability to find themselves on the evening news casts because the media treat them as fodder for their ratings. Of course this is not to imply that some presidential children are not active participants in making their own headlines. Therefore, when presidential children are discussed, they are often used for their entertainment value only. However, presidential children, just as first ladies, do perform important political roles. The roles presidential children performed in the past and their potential roles in the future, remain an unexplored area in presidential studies research. The purpose of this study is to elucidate through case studies the political roles presidential children have performed from Kennedy through Clinton.

Chapter Two explains the theory and scholarship surrounding the study of the political activities of presidential children. In particular, it makes the case for the study of presidential children in the greater subfield of presidential scholarship. Chapter Three discusses the data sources used for this study, as well as the methodological tools used. In particular, it examines role analysis and how it is employed in this study. Chapter Four is an historical overview of the political activities of presidential children before John F. Kennedy. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight that although the current study begins with Kennedy, presidential children pre-1960 also performed important political roles that also need to be highlighted. This chapter provides case studies of a handful of presidential children from Washington through Eisenhower. Chapters Five through Nine are the data chapters that provide case studies of each presidential child from Kennedy through Clinton. Chapter Five examines the role of symbol; Chapter Six

examines the role of surrogate; Chapter Seven examines the role of informal advisor/confidant(e); Chapter Eight examines the role of skeleton; and Chapter Nine examines the hybrid role, which is a combination of the four preceding roles. Finally, Chapter Ten is a concluding discussion of the study and an examination of future research possibilities.

CHAPTER II.

THE CASE FOR THE STUDY OF PRESIDENTIAL CHILDREN

Presidential scholarship has different center points that raise questions of whether presidential scholarship should focus on the individual or the institution. Should it be president-centered or presidency-centered?[1] Supporters of the presidency-centered approach argues that "presidential studies should focus more on institutional details....Supporters of the president-centered approach suggest that focusing on the institution ignores the basic fact that presidents act as individuals and to ignore presidents misses the fundamental fact of the institution."[2]

Personal presidency theories originate from the work of Richard Neustadt. This type of presidential scholarship is president-centered. Neustadt's *Presidential Power* paved the way for the study of the presidency from a personal standpoint.[3] Neustadt accepted the fact that presidents have formal authority and work within a strict structure. But he felt that knowing the formal constitutional powers of presidents was not enough to explain presidential leadership. Instead, Neustadt argued that "the foundations of presidential leadership are informal and personal, and these are the things that scholars ought to be studying."[4] Institutions are not at the fore. Rather, they are pushed into the background for Neustadt. The personal should be studied more closely than the

---

[1] Gregory L. Hager and Terry Sullivan, "President-centered and Presidency-centered Explanations of Presidential Public Activity," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 38, No. 4, November 1994: 1079-1103.
[2] Ibid., 1080.
[3] Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*, (New York: The Free Press, 1990).
[4] Quoted in Terry M. Moe, "Presidents, Institutions, and Theory," *Researching the Presidency*, eds. George C. Edwards, John H. Kessel, and Bert A. Rockman (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993): 338-339.

impersonal institution, because even with the growth of the institution the power still rests with the man. Personal theories are centered on values, beliefs, and skills.[5] James David Barber in his book *Presidential Character* also espouses a personal theory of the presidency. Barber argues that the character, style, and world-view of a president provide the basis for which decisions will be made.[6]

Institutional theorists argue that the institution of the presidency is too powerful a force to be "put on the back burner." Institutional theorists argue that the presidency is fluid. The men who have occupied the office come and go, but the institution remains. Real power, they say, is not fashioned in the man who sits behind the desk, but rather in the Executive Office of the President. These individuals surround the president, provide advice, take direction, and execute the daily activities. "The responsibilities of the job simply overwhelm the president as an individual. It (is) impossible for any person to do it all, or even to do most of the things that successful presidential leadership required. The key(s) to a successful presidency (is) not self-help. It is institutional capacity..."[7] In sum, these scholars argue that focus must be on structures, roles, authority, control, hierarchy, incentives, and other general properties of organization.[8]

Personal theory has been criticized in current literature because it does not hold a high enough methodological standard. Personal theory has sought to "attach explanatory value to virtually everything that might influence the specific decisions of the unique human being occupying the office; and his overload, in turn, encourage(s) 'explanation'

---

[5] Ibid., 343.
[6] James David Barber. The *Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.), 1985.
[7] Moe, 342.
[8] Ibid., 353.

through history, description, anecdotes, and educated judgments."[9] Recent scholarship has moved away from personal theories in order to provide more explanatory power to the institution of the presidency. Some argue that there is little theoretical payoff from research from a personal theory perspective. Presidents must, then, be regarded as institutional actors. Decisions that are made are not made in a personal vacuum, but rather in an institutional context. The institution influences the everyday workings of the government just as much as individual skill and persuasiveness. Neustadt argues that presidential power is the power of persuade. Institutional theorists point out that presidential power actually arises from the structure of the institution itself.

Some scholars have argued for both personal and institutional approaches to the study of the presidency. "The common notion is that relevant (personal) variables help explain presidential behavior to the extent that, via causal chains...they ultimately affect the thinking of the man who is president."[10] Essentially then, presidential scholarship can treat the presidency as an institution, but the activities performed in that institution must be filtered through a very personal president-centered environment. One does not exist without the other. Terry Moe observes:

> Most aspects of the modern institutional presidency...are doubly personalized. Not only are their effects realized through the president's personal filter, but the institution itself is taken to be highly malleable, its form intricately shaped and reshaped as presidents come and go. Each president, as an individual with a unique personality, background, and style, builds his own system of operation

---

[9] Ibid., 344.
[10] Terry Moe, quoted in *Researching the Presidency*, 8.

> inside the White House and throughout the executive branch, fashioning an institutional presidency in his own image—a personal institutional presidency, as it were.[11]

Erwin Hargrove also concludes that studying individuals is essential. According to Hargrove, "the task of scholarship…is to integrate the study of individuals with the web of social and institutional forces that move them and which they in turn, may influence."[12] Samuel Kernell displays how the personal strategy of "going public," or a modern style of presidential leadership in which presidents seek out the public to promote himself and his policies, can affect the outcomes of the institution.[13] Therefore, president-centered and presidency-centered approaches do not have to be mutually exclusive.

Presidential children are no doubt personal aspects of the presidency. But are they personal or institutional powers? Presidential children can indeed be considered part of the personal power of presidents because they can affect what happens inside the institution of the presidency. Presidential children are quite often surrogates for their father. They can advocate policy positions and influence decision-making. They can also "perform crucial advisory and support service for the president."[14] As symbols, presidents can use their children as another tool for "going public." Presidential children can affect a president's public approval, which in turn can influence the level of political capital a president has at his disposal to compromise with Congress. Therefore,

---

[11] Ibid.
[12] Erwin Hargrove, quoted in *Researching the Presidency*, 8.
[13] See Samuel Kernell, Going *Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press), 1997.
[14] Betty Glad and Michael W. Link, "President Nixon's Inner Circle of Advisers," *Presidential Studies Quarterly,* Volume 26, (1996): 16.

presidential children are another personal power available to presidents. The key is that just like the power to persuade; some presidents may in fact have an advantage if they have active children.

The research on first ladies is a good basis to start to make the case for the study of presidential children. Research on the "unknown institution,"[15] of the first lady had been highly disregarded because there is no constitutional grounding for the position. First ladies have also been treated historically as just anecdotal backdrops to what is going on in the Oval Office. The study of first ladies has also "lacked anything approaching systematic inquiry, a conceptual framework, the development of theory, the development of models by which to test theories."[16] The reason for this is that first ladies have no "statutory legitimacy, electoral mandate, or clearly defined roles and responsibilities."[17] But the study of first ladies is expanding and recent literature has argued that they have become part of the institution of the presidency. The same cannot be said for presidential children. They too have no constitutional standing. But they should be a scholarly concern. They have influence on presidential power, perceptions, popularity, and performance. They may provide advice that influences the president's decisions, or attitudes. They may affect public perceptions, thereby making the job either easier or more difficult. They may affect decision-making. The can also provide a greater understanding of the president's goals and ideals.[18] Therefore, the political

---

[15] Robert P. Watson, *The President's Wives: Reassessing the Office of the First Lady* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers), 2000.
[16] Robert P. Watson, "Toward the Study of the First Lady: The State of Scholarship," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (June 2003) : 434-435.
[17] Ibid., 434.
[18] Pamela J. Zwaluwenburg, "First Partner: First Ladies and Their Roles," in *Presidential Frontiers: Unexplored Issues in White House Politics*, ed. Ryan J. Barilleaux (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998): 196.

influence of presidential children is real and needs to be studied in order to offer a more complete picture of the personal tools available to the president.

Robert Dahl noted that it is hard to measure political influence. Dahl cautions that "indirect influence on political or governmental decisions is even more difficult to 'observe and weigh' than is the influence of elected and appointed officials."[19] Therefore, indirect influence can be just as powerful, or more powerful, as direct influence. A study of the direct and indirect influence of presidential children on the institution of the presidency will bring a greater understanding of the resources available to presidents. An example of indirect political influence is the use of symbolism. "If symbolism is central to politics, it is clearly also central to the office of the President as we understand it."[20] Presidential children are frequently used on the campaign trail as symbols. They are symbolic representatives of the type of person the candidate is. As Doris Graber elucidates, "citizens perceive the president as a person, rather than in terms of his policy commitments or his skills in the specialized tasks of leadership."[21] Therefore, even if presidents do "go public," the American public tends to view the president in personal terms. Indeed, as George Edwards argues, "(t)he fact that Americans pay relatively little detailed attention to politics and policy adds further support for the view that the presidents' personality plays a large role in his approval."[22]

---

[19] Karen O'Connor, Bernadette Nye, and Laura Van Assendelft, "Wives in the White House: The Political Influence of First Ladies," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (1996): 836.
[20] Barbara Hinckley, The *Symbolic Presidency: How Presidents Portray Themselves* (New York: Routledge, 1990): 1.
[21] Doris A. Graber, "Personalized Qualities in Presidential Images: The Contribution of the Press," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (February 1972): 46.
[22] George C. Edwards III. *The Public Presidency: The Pursuit of Popular Support* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983): 222-223.

Therefore, through their children, the candidate can control their symbolic message to the public. The same can be done once in the White House.

As Lori Cox Han argues, even though the presidency has become more institutionalized over the past few decades, it has also become more personalized because of the increase in media attention.[23] Because of this, there has developed an emphasis on the personal aspects of the presidency, due to a shift in approaches to advocating a public policy agenda. The modern presidency is reliant upon public support and one of the keys to this is to personalize the office. Presidential power is no longer tied only to his ability to persuade his fellow politicians in the beltway, but he must persuade the public as well. As George Edwards points out, the "greatest source of influence for the (modern) president is public approval."[24] Thus, public appeals, or "going public," have become more powerful tools in garnering support and exacting influence than more traditional approaches of using only the Constitution as a basis for presidential power.[25] Therefore, "much of the modern presidency does in fact, involve the projection of images whose purpose is to shape public understanding and gain public support."[26] The end result has been "the extreme personalization of the modern presidency, the excessive expectations of the president that most Americans possess, and the voluminous media coverage that fixes on presidents and treats American politics largely as a report of their adventures."[27] Presidential children are key components to this new personalization of the office and

---

[23] Lori Cox Han, *Governing From Center Stage: White House Communication Strategies During the Television Age of Politics* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, Inc., 2001): 2.
[24] Edwards, 2.
[25] See Jeffrey Tulis, "The Two Constitutional Presidencies," in *The Presidency and the Political System*, 4th edition, ed. Michael Nelson (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995): 91-123.
[26] Bruce Miroff, "The Presidency and the Public: Leadership as Spectacle," in *The Presidency and the Political System*, 4th edition, ed. Michael Nelson (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press): 274.
[27] Ibid., 294.

presidents can utilize them as symbols or surrogates as part of their "going public" strategy.

A popular president is often more successful than an unpopular president. Presidents and their staffs know that they need to monitor public opinion in order to "effectively mobilize the president's audience toward the president's policy concerns, ideology, and goals."[28] The president's audience may include the citizenry of the United States, Congress, his own party and opposition party, as well as foreign observers. He needs to be able to work with, and influence, all his constituents in order to be an effective leader. "Using public opinion (also) enables president's to bridge the gap of understanding between elites and masses, and to create rhetoric which appeal to a supportive audience for proposed policies."[29] Studies have shown that the greater the public support for a president, the more influence he has with Congress and the support that he receives for his policy programs.[30] Relying totally on public approval to move presidential programs will not work. Presidents do have to use the institutionalized powers as well. But public approval is a factor that can influence presidential leadership. Therefore, any variable, including the use of presidential children as surrogates that make public appeals on behalf of the president or as symbolic image-makers, needs to be considered and given its proper weight and concern.[31]

---

[28] Quoted in Diane J. Heith, "Presidential Polling and the Potential for Leadership," in *Presidential Powers: Forging the Presidency for the Twenty-first Century*, eds., Shapiro, Kumar, and Jacobs (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000): 400.
[29] Ibid., 399.
[30] See George C. Edwards III, *The Public Presidency* and Samuel Kernell, *Going Public*.
[31] For a discussion on the effect of media coverage of presidential children on the public approval of presidents see Mandi L. Bates and Tabitha Alissa Warters, "New Perspectives on the Public Relations Presidency: The News Media and the Influence of First Families," originally presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, April 25-28, 2002. Chicago, Illinois.

CHAPTER III.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Research on the presidency has been beset by the fact that there is no consensus on the best methodological tools and approaches that should be used.[1] This study does not seek to add any new revelations to this debate. As Gary King points out:

> We require systematic descriptive work to provide the basis for more parsimonious explanations of presidential behavior and its consequences. The traditional literature emphasizing history and thick description, is most useful...for mining what needs to be explained by theory-driven research and for providing texture to more austere explanations and theories.[2]

This study contributes to the foundation of descriptive inference.[3] Because the analysis of the political roles of presidential children is being initiated in this study, there is an understandable lack of available information or approach of study. The following chapter elucidates the methodological issues involved with this particular study.

The Presidential Children

The research in this study is limited to the "public presidency,"[4] or John F. Kennedy through Bill Clinton.[5] Due to the pursuit of public support through the use of various forms of media, presidential children have been used more frequently as symbols

---

[1] George C. Edwards III, John H. Kessel, and Bert A. Rockman, eds. *Researching the Presidency* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993): 11.
[2] Ibid., 12.
[3] See Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).
[4] The "public presidency" is marked by the beginning of the use of mass media in presidential politics. Most mark this demarcation line as beginning with the 1960 election and the presidency of John F. Kennedy. See George C. Edwards III. *The Public Presidency: The Pursuit of Popular Support* (New York: St. Martin's Press), 1983.
[5] I have decided not to include the presidency of George W. Bush because it is still in its infancy and there is limited available data.

and surrogates than they have in the past. This does not mean that presidential children in the past did not perform political roles. Indeed, many were very valuable assets to their fathers and were used in a political capacity, as can be seen in the *Historical Overview* chapter. Even though this is the case, due to time constraints this study has been limited to the "public presidency." In a preliminary study[6] the presidencies of FDR, Truman, and Eisenhower were included in order to compare the roles of presidential children before the "public presidency" and those after. The preliminary study concluded that roles of presidential children before or after 1960 did not change significantly except for surrogates who are in greater demand on the campaign trail. The preliminary study also concluded that children used as symbols has become easier to manipulate (but presidential children have been used as symbols from the beginning of the presidency).

Role Theory

The key methodological approach used for this study is based on role theory. Role theory developed within several social science disciplines as a way to study the actions of human beings in various social roles. Role theory has been utilized most often in such disciplines as sociology and anthropology, but can also be utilized in the discipline of political science. It is used frequently in public administration with the study of organizations.

Role theory is defined as "a science concerned with the study of behaviors that are characteristic of persons within contexts and with various processes that presumably

---

[6] See Tabitha Alissa Warters, *The Political Roles of Presidential Children: FDR through Clinton* (Thesis: Virginia Tech).

produce, explain, or are affected by those behaviors."[7] According to Bruce Biddle, role analysis is an important methodological tool because we can learn how certain sets of persons share a common identity, how the execution of roles is determined by the expectations those executing the roles have, and what the consequences of these roles are.[8] In particular the study of roles is "merely a prelude to the study of other events with which the roles are associated."[9]

Biddle also suggests there are several ways to study roles. The most effective way to study roles is through participant observation. A second way is to administer controlled laboratory conditions in order to test how humans perform their roles (and how they understand their expectations). The third way is for those being studied to fill out questionnaires or conduct interviews to describe the roles they perform. The major critique of all three of these methods of role analysis is that it is hard for the researcher to know when they have succeeded in studying the role.[10] As Biddle points out,

> there is no way on earth to guarantee that other investigators will not shortly come along who discover other aspects of the same role, using different conceptual tools of which we had not conceived. In this sense, then, trying to conduct an exhaustive study of a role is similar to the problem of making an exhaustive study of a personality or culture.[11]

The best way to approach the study of a role is to make sure to study a representative sample in order to remain unbiased and garner as much evidence as possible.

---

[7] Bruce Biddle, *Role Theory: Expectations, Identities, and Behaviors* (New York: Academic Press, 1979): 4.
[8] Ibid., 8.
[9] Ibid, 83.
[10] Ibid., 79-83.
[11] Ibid., 83.

In its infancy, the study of first ladies and first families used role theory,[12] and I have chosen to employ the same methodology to study presidential children. Of the three ways to study roles detailed by Biddle, this study could not employ participant observation. Due to security and privacy concerns, observing presidential children is almost impossible. Also, because presidential children do not have formal constitutional roles, their informal political roles are not structured, and therefore, are hard to observe as they are in progress. The second way of studying roles is absolutely not a consideration. Laboratory study of presidential children cannot be done. However, interviewing can be executed.

Although highly criticized, some have argued that the best way to study the personal power of presidents is "to study its occupants and the best way to study the occupant is to rely on a series of case studies examining the president's use of personal power."[13] Therefore, role theory was executed for this study through case studies, which included primary and secondary evidence as well as interviews. Several presidential children were interviewed as well as White House and campaign staffers. But because participant observation was not an option, I had to examine the activities of presidential children from an historical perspective. Using all data sources available, I examined the political activities performed by all presidential children from Kennedy through Clinton and from their repetitive behavior delineated the roles performed. A detailed analysis was undertaken on each presidential child and their involvement in their father's

---

[12] See Barbara Kellerman, *All the President's Kin*, (New York: The Free Press, 1981) and Myra G. Gutin, The President's Partner: The First Lady in the Twentieth Century, (Greenwood Press, 1989).
[13] Lyn Ragsdale, "Presidential Power and Presidents," in *Presidential Powers: Forging the Presidency for the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Shapiro, Kumar and Jacobs, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000): 33.

campaigns and administrations. All were researched in detail. Through this research, a larger understanding of how they participated politically was acquired. The more I came to understand their political activities, the more it became clear which role each executed most often.

Role Categorizations

After studying the political activities of each of the 24 presidential children from Kennedy to Clinton, I demarcated four distinct roles that they performed. In creating these roles, I relied heavily on the study done by Barbara Kellerman in which she used role theory to outline the roles of all family members (including brothers, sisters, and pets) of presidents.[14]

The role "symbol" in this study is a modification of the role Kellerman labels "decorations." For Kellerman, decorations are those family members who "make the president more attractive. They enhance the man; make him and his administration at the most more glamorous and at the least more appealing."[15]

For this study, the role of "surrogate" is based on Kellerman's second role of "extensions." For Kellerman, an extension is a family member who is "the president when the president cannot be there."[16] This role is most common. Due to the increase in presidential primaries since the 1960s, as well as an increase in electronic media, it has become essential for presidents to have as many representatives as possible on the campaign trail. As former First Lady Lady Bird Johnson stated: "Well, the man can't be everywhere and meet everybody. An interpreter-somebody close to him, his wife or

---

[14] Barbara Kellerman, *All the President's Kin* (New York: The Free Press), 1981.
[15] Ibid., 36.
[16] Ibid., 59.

members of his family-can do something to explain him, his aims, his character, his hopes…"[17]

What I have termed "informal advisor/confidant(e) was derived by collapsing four of Kellerman's roles. Kellerman designates the roles of "humanizer," "helpmeet," "moral supporter," and "alter egos." These four were collapsed so as to provide for one role that encompasses all of these. Kellerman used these four categorizations because she was studying all family members and not just children. Therefore, for this study, collapsing these four allows me to display a wide array of actions that informal advisors/confidant(e)s performed. An informal advisor/confidant(e) performs a political role that goes beyond merely listening. Instead, these individuals provide opinions and advice to the president. They serve as a check upon the institution of the presidency. Each president has a multitude of formal advisors, many of whom may have their own agendas, and an outside informal advisor that can be trusted could be beneficial to the president.

Finally, Kellerman uses the role of "skeleton" for those family members who "embarrass the president."[18] The term is used in the same manner in this study. These presidential children, through their public and private actions, served to have a negative impact upon their father's administration.

These roles are not mutually exclusive. Presidential children can perform more than one role at a time or they can move form one role to another over time. Due to this fact, three of the presidential children in this study performed many of the roles

---

[17] Barbara Kellerman, "Campaigning Since Kennedy: The Family as 'Surrogate,'" *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 10, pgs. 244-253.
[18] Ibid., 209.

continuously throughout their father's administration. Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Jack Ford and Maureen Reagan are therefore labeled "hybrids" in this study. Although these three performed many political roles, most of the presidential children dominantly performed only one role and have been categorized accordingly.

Data Sources

There is very little academic literature on the subject of presidential children. Indeed, this study is the first to examine many of the data sources pertaining to the political activities of presidential children. Besides interviews conducted with several presidential children and presidential staffers, other primary evidence was collected from the presidential libraries. Due to time, monetary, and other logistical constraints, only three presidential libraries were visited for this project. The White House Subject Files, Central Files, Campaign Files, Social Files, Presidential Papers, and First Lady Papers, among others, were examined at the Johnson, Ford and Carter libraries. Not all files were open for examination though at every library. Each presidential library is given a set number of years to open their presidential papers. Therefore, each presidential library opens their presidential papers before they open social files or campaign files. For example, the campaign files were open in the Johnson and Ford libraries but not the Carter library. These three libraries were chosen to visit because consultation with archivists at each library indicated that the data sources were most promising at these three. Because the Kennedy children were so young while their father was president, the Kennedy Library has no organized files on the children. Therefore, more time will be needed to meticulously analyze the files in order to find information on how Caroline and John Kennedy were used as symbols for political purposes. The Reagan and Bush

libraries are still considered to be in their infancy and do not have many files open to the public yet because they have yet to be examined by archivists to be catalogued. Finally, the Clinton library is still in the developmental stages. Therefore, this study is limited to the primary sources found in only three presidential libraries. Other primary data included interviews conducted with several presidential children and presidential staffers.

The most helpful secondary sources were biographies and autobiographies of presidential children, presidents, and first ladies. Many presidential children have written their autobiographies detailing their experiences in the White House. Many others have written biographies of their parents, which also include their observations while in the White House. In some cases, other family members have also written books that were also relied upon.

Beyond these sources, evidence was pieced together by reading and analyzing historical accounts of each administration. These include biographies and autobiographies of those who worked in the White House (these range from accounts from press secretaries to accounts of nannies in the Kennedy's case) as well as accounts from journalists. More general historical accounts were also utilized.

Newspaper accounts from each administration about the presidential children were also analyzed. These were utilized in combination with newsmagazine articles. Because news coverage of presidential children tends to focus on the more personal aspects of their lives, many articles from magazines targeted toward female readers, such as *Harper's Bazaar* and *Family Circle,* these were also examined to gain a greater understanding of what type of media coverage each presidential child received. For

example, articles on Susan Ford were just as likely to appear in *Newsweek* as in *Seventeen* or *Ladies Home Journal*.

Many of the articles used as data sources were found at the presidential libraries, but the primary method used to find newspaper and magazine articles were through using the electronic databases available at the library at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Lexis-Nexis Academic, ProQuest, Academic Search Premier and the *New York Times* Historical Archive were used. Key word searches were executed using each child's name for the period of the presidential campaign through the end of their father's presidency.

Limitations

Before displaying the findings, it is necessary to highlight several potential limitations to this study. The first limitation is the sample size. Although an historical overview chapter is provided which includes an analysis of the political roles of a select number of presidential children prior to Kennedy, this study only examines in depth 24 presidential children. This low population size is the same limitation that any study on the presidency has.

Another limitation is the limited primary data sources. Even though primary data from three presidential libraries is used, the rest of the study is heavily reliant on secondary data sources. Again, this could not be avoided. The reason that primary sources were not gathered from all presidential libraries was mainly monetary. Further examination of this subject will need to include primary data from all the presidential libraries. The concern over the use of secondary data is whether or not these secondary sources can be trusted as being accurate. One can be more confident in the authority of primary sources and first hand accounts.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Although the focus of this study is primarily on the public presidency, presidential children across time have executed political functions during the course of their fathers' administrations. Considering that campaign activities were limited prior to the modern presidency, campaigning by surrogates such as presidential children was limited as well. Therefore, this chapter will primarily highlight the political activities of presidential children during their time in the White House post-election. One of the patterns that stands out when reviewing the early political activities of presidential children is that they generally fall into two categories and along gender lines. The male descendants of presidents tended to serve in a secretarial capacity,[1] while the female descendants served mainly as White House hostesses. The reason for the disparity in duties is the eighteenth and nineteenth century's "cult of domesticity" in which women were expected to perform the stereotypical roles of wife and mother. As President Calvin Coolidge stated: "Women can never escape the responsibility of home and children, and the working woman as a mother and potential mother challenges universal interest."[2]

For this discussion I have selectively chosen several presidential children prior to the Kennedy administration that fulfilled political roles. Because information on these children is limited and due to the change in the modern presidency, this chapter will only briefly examine the activities of these children and will not perform a role analysis as will be done with the children from Kennedy through Clinton.

---

[1] It was practice in the early days of the presidency for presidents to hire their own personal secretaries.
[2] Doug Wead, *All the President's Children: Triumph and Tragedy in the Lives of America's First Families*, (New York: Atria Books, 2003): 44.

Presidential Sons

The Van Burens

All four of the sons of Martin Van Buren were involved in their father's administration. According to presidential historian Joseph J. Perling:

> In Washington, on official missions abroad, on pleasure sojourns in France or Italy, one of the sons was always with him. They acted as secretaries, they fought his political battles and negotiated their own opportunities so that their father might achieve still greater prominence,...Of all Presidents' sons none were more attached to their sire. And none intentionally made less use of their father's prestige to advance their own interests.[3]

Van Buren's oldest son, Abraham Van Buren, was so "(c)onstantly in attendance on his father's needs and desires,...(he) seemed to have no life of his own."[4] In fact Abraham was so attentive to his father's needs that he left the Army in order to become an aide to his father upon President Van Buren entering the White House. Abraham was appointed to a position as an auditor in the Treasury Department, and was essentially "loaned" out to the White House as his father's secretary.[5] Abraham's primary duty as presidential secretary was to write by hand his father's correspondence, but he was also involved with speech writing and it has been suggested that he helped write Martin Van Buren's Inaugural Address.[6]

---

[3] Joseph J. Perling, *President's Sons: The Prestige of Name in a Democracy*, (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1947): 55.
[4] Sandra L. Quinn and Sanford Kanter, *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983): 34.
[5] Doug Wead, 66.
[6] Perling, 56.

"Perhaps no other presidential son had more potential than John Van Buren, second child of America's eighth president. He was a direct, confrontational, and brilliant lawyer, a stirring orator who rose to the top of an emerging political movement, 'the barnburners,' advocating the greatest moral cause of his century, the absolute and immediate end to slavery."[7] While Martin Van Buren was the Minister of England during the Jackson Administration, John Van Buren accompanied his father and served as secretary of the American Legion. It was here that John formed friendships and acquaintances with many powerful European leaders. These "friendships with influential foreigners...always awed and intrigued the father..."[8] Martin Van Buren trusted John's instincts on foreign affairs so much that the President frequently sent John on diplomatic missions including a trip to the coronation of Queen Victoria to carry "critical messages to the English foreign secretary."[9]

One of John's trips abroad ended up bringing more embarrassment to the President than diplomatic help. In the spring of 1838, John was invited back to England as a guest of the Duke of Wellington. While there Queen Victoria gave a State ball to which John was invited. The reaction to John's attendance at the ball was very negative. Congressmen railed from the House floor against "the son of the Chief Magistrate, who should be democratic,...hobnobbing with royalty abroad."[10] The United States press, especially those newspapers unfriendly to President Van Buren, made sport of relating the reports from London of John's activities abroad, "depicting how the son of the

---

[7] Wead, 63.
[8] Perling, 57-58.
[9] Wead, 66.
[10] Perling, 59.

President of a democratic United States became the favorite of the British monarch..."[11] To President Van Buren's distain John was thenceforth nicknamed "Prince John." John's activities led to the charge that President Van Buren was displaying too much reverence to the British Monarchy and this charge "subjected Martin Van Buren, in the White House and out of it, to the censure of his political enemies, who asserted that he was defiling the democratic ideals of the Republic."[12]

Martin Van Buren's third son maintained a much lower profile than his brother John. Martin Van Buren, Jr. performed many of the same secretarial duties that his brother Abraham performed. Martin, Jr. copied and catalogued the President's private correspondence and was paid by his father until granted a "phantom post as clerk in a government land office."[13] Martin, Jr.'s most significant contribution to his father actually happened post-presidency when he developed his father's presidential papers for an intended biography.

Smith Van Buren, Martin Van Buren's youngest son, also served in the capacity of secretary to his father. During his father's time in the White House, Smith prepared official documents, wrote speeches (including contributing to his father's inaugural address), and messages to Congress. Smith was also of great benefit to his father because he "was well informed on political happenings and intimately acquainted with the dominating party personalities."[14] Just as Martin, Jr., Smith continued his work for his father post-White House working on transcribing his father's presidential records as well as the rough draft's of President Van Buren's biography. "It was Smith...whom the aged

---

[11] Ibid., 60.
[12] Ibid., 58.
[13] Wead, 66.
[14] Perling, 71.

ex-President appointed as the literary executor of his works…he edited his father's treatise on the development of political parties, and other manuscripts discovered after Van Buren's death."[15]

Robert Johnson

Robert Johnson was the middle son of President Andrew Johnson and his favorite. Robert was very adept at politics as a lawyer and state legislator in Tennessee. Even before entering the White House, President Johnson trusted Robert's political acumen, even to the end of sending Robert to the presidential nominating convention in 1860. Robert traveled with the Tennessee delegation to Charleston, South Carolina to represent his father's interests. Andrew Johnson was the only southern Senator who remained in Washington, D.C. and Robert "delivered 'stirring speeches' against secession" while at the convention.[16]

After Abraham Lincoln was assassinated and Andrew Johnson became president, Robert moved to Washington, D.C. to help his father. President Johnson "needed someone close who could be trusted. Hoping to revive a relationship that had worked back in his congressional days, Andrew Johnson named Robert his new White House secretary."[17] Robert "handled the president's correspondence, carried his father's messages to the Congress and the federal departments, and…(took) down notes on both trivial and important conversations."[18] Robert was initially well-liked in Washington because he provided greater public access to the White House than had previously been

---

[15] Ibid.
[16] Michael Medved, *The Shadow Presidents: The Secret History of the Chief Executives and Their Top Aides,* (New York: New York Times Books, 1979), 34.
[17] Wead, 140.
[18] Ibid., 35.

granted. The Washington press labeled him "alert and efficient," as well as "courteous" and "intelligent."[19]

Even though the more open approach was well received by official Washington, it "did not serve the interests of efficient administration."[20] Soon scandal found the White House because of Robert's open nature. For years Robert had battled with a drinking problem and he brought that problem to the White House with him. His father was already dubbed "Andy the Sot" for showing up to his vice-presidential inaugural in 1861 drunk. Washington began to take notice of Robert's drinking problem and "the public image of 'Andy the Sot' gained new currency."[21] Not only did Robert's drinking draw attention, but his proclivity toward allowing prostitutes into the White House also helped harm his father's political reputation. "Robert had a weakness for women of easy virtue and granted White House access to a number of unsavory characters."[22] One of these characters was known as Mrs. Cobb who involved Robert, and unwittingly, President Johnson, in a pardon's-for-money scandal that damaged the administration.

This scandal forced President Johnson to face Robert's problems and their impact on his administration. His solution, with the help of Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and Secretary of State William Seward, was "to put together a long, ostensibly diplomatic, mission to Africa for Robert, which Johnson paid for personally."[23] Robert was told that he was going to investigate the slave trade on the African coast. "The fact that both the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy spent many hours of their

---

[19] Perling, 157.
[20] Medved, 36.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Medved, 36.
[23] John Whitcomb and Claire Whitcomb, *Real Life at the White House: Two Hundred Years of Daily Life at America's Most Famous Residence*, (New York: Routledge, 2000): 148.

time developing a scheme to get (Robert) out of the country is the best indication of Robert's truly disastrous impact on the administration."[24] In an odd twist to the tale, Robert missed the boat, and even though he did end up eventually traveling to Liberia, it did not end his drinking problem or help the White House image. In the end, Robert stands out among other presidential sons that came to the White House to perform secretarial duties because "his very presence at the center of events prevented the emergence of the sort of effective, coordinated staff that might have saved his father from the series of blunders that led him to his Impeachment."[25]

Webb Hayes

Webb Hayes, the second son of President Rutherford B. Hayes, began his duty serving his father when in 1875; he left Cornell University to serve as his father's secretary during Rutherford B. Hayes's third term as governor of Ohio. Webb continued his duty as his father's secretary following the presidential election. During the campaign Webb also worked side-by-side with his father. Just like Robert Johnson did in 1860, Webb Hayes attended the Republican National Convention in lieu of his father in order to represent his father's interests.

Once in the White House Rutherford B. Hayes hired four presidential secretaries. However, Webb was his most important and "confidential secretary."[26] Webb performed a variety of duties for his father.

> Webb…was everywhere, on Capitol Hill and at important social events across the city. He could go where protocol excluded a president and first lady. He

[24] Medved, 37
[25] Ibid.
[26] Emily Apt Geer, *First Lady: The Life of Lucy Webb Hayes*, (The Kent State University Press/The Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, 1984): 141.

> could ask questions that they could not. He was more than an aide; he was the president's alter ego, his eyes and ears, his foremost counselor. As a White House presidential assistant and secretary, Webb was with his father throughout the working day. As a presidential body-guard, who packed a weapon, he watched over him after-hours as well.[27]

Webb's dedication to his father and his dedication to performing his multiple tasks with precision and fortitude has garnered him the title as "one of the most powerful White House staffers in American history and surely one of the most powerful presidential sons during his father's own administration."[28] After his father's administration, Webb continued his political work as an unofficial advisor to President William McKinley and after serving many years in the military worked to establish the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, the first presidential library in the United States.

James (Jimmy) Roosevelt

Jimmy was the second child and oldest son of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Educated at Harvard University for his bachelors and Boston University Law School, Jimmy was 25 when his father was first elected in 1932. At his father's suggestion, Jimmy decided to leave his job in insurance to work on the '32 campaign. FDR was fond of Jimmy and relied on him for advice and companionship as well as for physical support. Jimmy was FDR's "legs" while on the campaign trail.[29] Even though FDR could use braces and a cane to walk, on the campaign trail Jimmy would walk beside his father, propping him up as they walked so that it appeared that FDR was walking on his own. Jimmy would

---

[27] Wead, 187-188.
[28] Ibid, 190.
[29] James Roosevelt, *My Parents*, (Chicago, Illinois: Playboy Press Book, 1976): 245.

perform this task throughout the rest of his father's life. During the primary season Jimmy was also assigned the task of campaign manager in Massachusetts. FDR lost the primary in Massachusetts but won the state in the general election.

Once in the White House Jimmy "believed it his right and duty to make suggestions for appointments in the new administration, as he had been his father's campaign manager for the important state of Massachusetts."[30] As Jimmy recounts:

> When Father went into the White House he asked me to come to Washington to help him as a sort of unofficial aide...It was an ambiguous sort of arrangement: I had no official status, no salary, and despite the wild stories that were written during this period about how I allegedly was coining money because of my connexion(sic) with Father, I was not capitalizing on our relationship.[31]

After returning to the insurance industry for a while, Jimmy returned to the White House in 1936 after Louis Howe, FDR's top secretary and close friend and confidant, passed away. Therefore, FDR began "to groom...Jimmy, as an aide..., beginning by getting him commissioned as a lieutenant colonel in the marines so that he could accompany him on his goodwill tour of South America and then offering him the job of presidential assistant in 1937."[32] Although there was some criticism of the move from informal advisor to formal secretary, the administration ignored the criticism. Soon Jimmy took on the job of presidential liaison with Congress. As Jimmy recounts: "My basic assignment was to coordinate father's dealings with those government agencies not

---

[30] Sandra Quinn-Musgrove and Sanford Kanter, *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995): 181.
[31] James Roosevelt, *Affectionately F.D.R.*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1959): 227-228.
[32] Peter Collier, *The Roosevelts*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994): 349-350).

under a cabinet office…I participated in some policy-making meetings…I was also a sounding board for some of his speeches…"[33]

In this role, Jimmy is most remembered for his involvement in FDR's "court-packing" scheme. Jimmy made speeches on behalf of the bill sent before Congress, which called for an increase in Supreme Court membership. The bill did not pass, and those White House aides involved were ridiculed and criticized in the press. "Although James Roosevelt was the target of somewhat less public brutalization, he too endured criticism for his role in the court packing fiasco."[34] As the demands of the job grew and the negative press allegations increased, Jimmy felt that it would be better for his health (he suffered from stomach ulcers) and for his father if he resigned. But even after leaving the White House Jimmy remained an informal advisor to his father keeping in constant contact via memos.

Jimmy was given the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Marine Corps in 1936 in order to accompany his father on diplomatic trips but the title was meaningless. As it became apparent that the United States would become involved in World War II, Jimmy felt it was unfair that he had such a high rank. Therefore, he resigned his commission and reentered the reserves at the lesser rank of Captain and in September 1940 he was called to active duty along with his brother Elliot, and later his brothers Franklin, Jr., and John.

In April 1941, Jimmy was summoned to the White House for a "secret mission." As Jimmy recalls:

---

[33] Roosevelt, *My Parents*: 245.
[34] Charles E. Walcott and Karen M. Hult, *Governing the White House*, (University Press of Kansas, 1995): 33.

> I was to accompany Major Gerald Thomas on a trip to the Philippines, China, Burma, India, Iraq, Egypt, Crete, Palestine, and Africa. On the surface, Major Thomas was to observe and report back to the president on the military buildup and the success of our supply lines in these areas. Beneath the surface, I was to speak privately to the heads of state or government officials to assure them in father's name that, although we ourselves were not at war with Germany, Italy, or Japan, he would do everything he could to help those who were at war. I was to suggest that we might well be at war before long and that we then would pitch in with both hands to help them. In effect, I was to tell them, "Hang on until we get there."
>
> Major Thomas knew nothing of this. Only father and I and his closest advisers knew. I presume I was selected because as the president's son I would be believed and because father felt he could trust me to keep the mission confidential...[35]

At the time the media was aware of Jimmy's trip, but reported only that he was delivering "personal message(s) of greetings from his father."[36] In this situation Jimmy was used as his father's surrogate when it was of utmost importance for these messages to be sent but the president could not do it on his own lest the confidentiality be broken.

Jimmy left active duty shortly after his father passed away. What is interesting about Jimmy's service (as well as his brothers) was that since their father was president and was the one responsible for all four of his sons fighting overseas, their service sent a

---

[35] James Roosevelt, *My Parents*: 258.
[36] "Capt. Roosevelt Visits Chungking," *New York Times*, 30 April, 1941: 6.

message to the rest of the United States: FDR was not insolated from the daily worries about the war.

John Eisenhower

John Eisenhower was the only child of President Dwight D. Eisenhower.[37] Like his father, John chose the Army as his career. When President Eisenhower entered the White House John was stationed in Korea. He returned to the United States in 1953 and periodically worked at the White House beginning in the summer of 1954. At first he just editing drafts of speeches, but in 1955 was invited to accompany his father to a summit conference between the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and France in Geneva. John's attendance had two purposes. To all outward appearances it seemed as if John was only an observer and note-taker for his father. Much of the concern of the American contingent was who was actually in control in the Soviet Union. The Soviets sent the four "who were supposed to be sharing power,"[38] but President Eisenhower was suspicious that Krushchev was actually the man in charge and dispersed John to find out the truth. As John recalls:

> Remembering that Marshal Zhukov had paid me a good deal of personal attention on the Moscow trip ten years earlier, Dad arranged for me to be in the marshal's company as much as possible. He just might, Dad hoped, drop something to me that he would otherwise withhold.[39]

Thus, John was essentially acting as a spy for his father in order to gain information on the Soviet contingent.

---

[37] John Eisenhower was born on August 3, 1923, two years after his brother, Dwight Doud Eisenhower passed away from scarlet fever. Thus, John was considered an only child.
[38] John Eisenhower, *Strictly Personal*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1974): 175.
[39] Ibid.

In 1957 John took a temporary post at the White House as an informal aide. Brigadier General Goodpaster was leaving for three weeks and "a caretaker was needed."[40] Therefore, President Eisenhower arranged for John to take this position. Generally, John was involved with national security affairs. He provided daily briefings for his father and "ensure(ed) that national security actions were coordinated..."[41]

On November 25, 1957 President Eisenhower suffered a stroke, and from that time until the end of his administration, John was called on several times to fill in as a temporary aide to his father. It was almost impossible to accomplish much of substance during these temporary forays and he made himself available in the best way he knew how which was doing "odd jobs, a little editing, and expressing of opinions."[42]

When President Eisenhower's Chief of Staff Sherman Adams resigned in 1958, the White House staff was reorganized and John was called to join the staff. John was one of the two principal subordinates to Andrew Goodpaster who was staff secretary. John's duties were to assist Goodpaster in national security matters. Following the hierarchical chain of command that President Eisenhower preferred, John reported to Goodpaster, who reported to General Persons, who took over Adam's position, and Persons would then report to the President. But because John's office was only a few yards away from the Oval Office, "the theory had little application in practice."[43] John's main duty was to deliver the daily intelligence briefing to the President.

John remained at the White House until the end of his father's administration. As many of the other presidential children had performed earlier, upon leaving the White

---

[40] Ibid., 190.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid., 197.
[43] Ibid., 204.

House, John helped his father perform his post-White House duties and helped organize President Eisenhower's presidential papers.

Presidential Daughters

Martha (Patsy) Jefferson Randolph

Patsy was the eldest child of President Thomas Jefferson. She was ten years old when her mother died and she "became the feminine head of her father's household, a position she never relinquished."[44] She learned early on how to perform this supporting role for her father. She accompanied Jefferson to Philadelphia during his attendance at the Continental Congress and in 1784 she accompanied him to France. Patsy was a well educated, but,

> Thomas Jefferson, like most of his counterparts, believed that women should be 'protected' from worrying about security and money so they could attend to their domestic chores.[45]

Therefore, Patsy was only able to perform hostess duties while in the White House. "During the social season Patsy accompanied him to the White House as acting first lady."[46] Patsy was also her father's constant companion attending to his every need. According to most accounts, Patsy "was an astounding woman, brilliant, accomplished, secure in herself, strong and resilient."[47]

Martha Johnson Patterson

Martha was one of two daughters of President Andrew Johnson. Because her mother was consistently ill, Martha for many years had been responsible for taking care

---

[44] Quinn and Kanter, (1983), 15.
[45] Doug Wead, 144.
[46] Ibid. 131.
[47] Ibid., 144.

of her family. When her father became president she moved to Washington, D.C. to continue her efforts. First Lady Eliza Johnson was too weak to perform her duties and only made two public appearances throughout her husband's term in office. Therefore, Martha was tapped as the acting first lady, official White House hostess, and handled all of the household accounts.[48] According to most observers, "Martha was (Andrew's) mainstay"[49] while in the White House.

> Most historical accounts agree that Martha Johnson Patterson, the humble mountain girl from east Tennessee, ushered in a White House elegance and style that has continued unabated to this day. In the middle of bitter impeachment proceedings, she used her powers of persuasion to convince a hostile Congress to allocate funds for White House refurbishments. She then stretched the modest allocation with hard work and volunteer labor to astound visitors by her extensive renovations.[50]

Alice Roosevelt Longworth

Upon her death in 1980, Alice Roosevelt Longworth was eulogized as "one of the greatest practitioners of honesty, the queen of candor, the mistress of mischief."[51] Indeed, when at 17 years of age her father ascended to the presidency after the assassination of President William McKinley, "Anna's candor and beauty were an irresistible combination to the American press, who dutifully passed on their infatuation to the American people."[52] The press fell in love with "Princess Alice" as they dubbed

---

[48] Whitcomb and Whitcomb, 146.
[49] Doug Wead, 141.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Sally Quinn, "The Canny Candor of Alice Longworth," *The Washington Post*, 21 February 1980, D1.
[52] Wead, 45.

her. Their stories abounded with tales of her exploits while in the White House. "Her youthful antics delighted the tabloids: cavorting with Newport's Four Hundred, driving her own car (with speeding tickets to prove it) and gambling on horses. Her acerbic wit never left her, and she made a lifelong career of casting aside every convention of her day."[53] Her antics frustrated her father so much that at one point he proclaimed: "I can either run the country or attend to Alice, but I cannot possibly do both."[54]

Even though she served as a distraction for the president, he Roosevelt realized she could also be a political asset. For example, one of the political pressure points during Theodore Roosevelt's administration was the Russo-Japanese War. President Roosevelt believed that an end to this conflict was necessary to American security. President Roosevelt knew that if he could negotiate an end to the war, he could forge a new relationship with the Japanese in order to "guarantee the security of America's new territorial acquisition, the Philippines."[55] In an effort to bring an end to the war, he dispatched Secretary of War William Howard Taft on a secret mission to Tokyo which was advertised as a fact-finding mission to the Philippines. In addition to Tokyo, other cities would be visited by Taft on the trip. President Roosevelt decided that he needed a major diversionary tactic and he chose to send Alice along on the trip. "It would turn out to be a stroke of genius."[56]

Alice Roosevelt was the number one story on the Taft diplomatic junket to the Far East. Alice stole the show so completely that even history has been

---

[53] Katharine Ferguson, "A Curse on Woodrow Wilson," *The New York Times*, 13 March 1988: Sec. 7, page 29.
[54] Quoted in Wead, 45.
[55] Wead, 232.
[56] Ibid.

> fooled. Even if the true purpose of the mission had leaked, it is doubtful that it would have moved the president's daughter off the front pages. She jumped fully clothed into the ship's swimming pool, talked Hawaiian hula dancers into doing their real, more erotic, version of the dance, and smoke quaint pipes of Japanese tobacco.[57]

"It had long ceased being a diplomatic mission led by an American cabinet member."[58] President Roosevelt's diversion had worked. No one was the wiser that Secretary of War was on a secret diplomatic mission because all eyes were focused on Alice.

In 1906 Alice married Ohio congressman, Nicholas Longworth, who would go on to become Speaker of the House. In reality, Alice made a hasty marriage in order to extricate herself form the pressures of living in the White House. Alice lived out the rest of her life as a Washington social leader and continued to captivate the media with her irreverence and unorthodox mannerisms. For example, Alice garnered much media attention when she "lobbied" against President Wilson's League of Nations by casting spells and sticking pins in dolls, which "shed (s) new light on possible methods of lobbying the Congress and the executive branch."[59]

Anna Roosevelt

Anna was the eldest child, only daughter, and favorite child of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.[60] On the campaign trail in 1931, the 25-year-old Anna (who was married at the time with two children), met her future husband John Boettiger, a Republican

---

[57] Wead, 233.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ferguson.
[60] Collier, 363.

newspaper reporter who worked at the *Chicago Tribune*.[61] The two married in 1935 and moved to Seattle where John was made editor of the *Seattle Post Intelligencer* by William Randolph Hearst, a Roosevelt enemy. While John was stationed over seas serving in World War II, Anna moved her family, now consisting of three children, to the White House. "The move signaled Anna's commitment to stay with her father for the duration of the war, to serve as the hostess of the White House in her mother's absence..."[62]

Anna was very comfortable with her role of surrogate. But she also did not want to step on her mother's toes, which had happened in the past when others had been brought in to hostess in Eleanor's absence. Therefore, Anna made it very plain at the time that she was not an official hostess but would from time to time fill in for her mother. She actually told the State Department's protocol office, "...at White House guest dinners, 'Put me anywhere, I'm not official.'"[63]

Beyond her hostess duties, Anna's role in the White House was nondescript. Anna's role blossomed from being an extra helping hand with little duties such as making sure the president was eating correctly to a full time job with more demanding tasks. Anna helped plan the 1944 campaign, took meetings for her father when he was too busy and kept a log of all of her father's conversations. Anna also helped write speeches for

---

[61] Anna and John Boettiger carried on a relationship aboard the campaign train even though she was married. The press knew about the relationship but did not report it. Eventually Anna's marriage ended in divorce and she married John.
[62] Doris Kearns Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994): 488.
[63] Ibid., 491.

her father.[64] In fact, the prayer FDR delivered to the nation on D Day was written by Anna and her husband John Boettiger.[65]

Anna became a constant in her father's life. She has been described as her FDR's "lifeline" during the last years of his presidency.[66] It has also been suggested that the relationship between FDR and Anna and the duties she performed were "shaped by the president—his needs, his weariness, his desire to be shielded from the one person [Eleanor] who knew him beyond all masquerade and stratagem."[67] Anna quickly became her father's confidante, informal advisor, helpmate, "partisan and co-conspirator."[68]

As her father's health began to fail Anna became an expert on cardiovascular disease because she was determined to lengthen her father's life. Anna quickly became her father's shadow enforcing a very strict regime designed to strengthen his heart. She watched what he ate and made sure his work load did not overburden him. FDR found himself having a lot of alone time because Anna kept a close watch on who was able to come and go and who was able to have her father's ear. Anna quickly became the one person FDR spoke to the most during the course of the day. She became his confidante as well as his constant companion. This seemed to be a political plus at because "Anna ha(d) the most political savvy of all the Roosevelt children."[69]

Anna also served the purpose of freeing up her mother's schedule. "Anna's continuing presence in the White House freed Eleanor to do what she wanted, and 'what

---

[64] John R. Boettiger, *A Love in Shadow*, (New York: W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978): 255.
[65] Elliot Roosevelt and James Brough, *A Rendezvous With Destiny*, (New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1975): 373.
[66] Boettiger, 255.
[67] Ibid., 254.
[68] Peter Collier, *The Roosevelts*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994): 364.
[69] Goodwin, 589.

she wanted,...was to be out on her own. She had an opportunity to develop her character and to enjoy a range of experiences few women had.'"[70] Although Anna did help free up her mother's time, she and Eleanor seemed to have cross purposes when it came to FDR. Eleanor resented her daughter's relationship with the President.[71] Anna was being used as his primary confidante when Eleanor felt that she herself should be. "More and more frequently Eleanor was heard to say, 'Anna is the only one who would know about that;' 'I'll have to ask Anna;' 'We'll have to get Anna to ask the President.'" Anna's brother Elliot stated: "She (Anna) exercised far greater influence than Mother ever had, and she became what Mother never truly was—a conduit to the President."[72]

In 1945 Anna was invited by her father to join accompany him to the Yalta Conference with Churchill and Stalin. Besides serving as hostess at formal dinners given during the conference, Anna's main role was to be a confidante to her father. She was the conduit between staff members and the president. She was dispatched to each White House staff member every morning to discuss the day's plans, the meetings that were scheduled, and to gain information on what was going on in these meetings. She would then go to her father's room to get his version of events and relay what she had learned from the staff.[73]

Years later Anna confessed:

> It was immaterial to me whether my job was helping plan the 1944 campaign, pouring tea for General de Gaulle or filling Father's empty cigarette case. All that mattered was relieving a greatly overburdened man of a few details of work and

[70] Ibid., 502.
[71] Boettiger, 255.
[72] Gil Troy, *Affairs of State*, (New York: The Free Press, 1997): 10.
[73] Goodwin, 579.

> trying to make his life as pleasant as possible when a few moments opened up for relaxation.[74]

Even though Anna downplayed her role, even Eleanor admitted that "Anna's presence was the greatest possible help to my husband."[75]

Margaret Truman

Margaret Truman performed mainly a symbolic role during her tenure in the White House. When her father ascended to the presidency following FDR's death on April 12, 1945, Margaret was the age of 21 attending George Washington University. Although Margaret made limited public appearances with her parents, but the press made her an instant celebrity. The press

> Monitored the First Family around the clock…The Roosevelt family antics, and the politicization of private life during the war, had expanded the definition of news. The White House became "America's most ornate, complex and inescapable gold fish bowl." Bess (the First Lady) happily yielded the spotlight to her daughter…They (the press) bombarded the Trumans with names of potential suitors and requests for a White House wedding. "We have watched with keen interest your lovely family circle, and admire the fatherly relationship existing between you and your charming daughter Margaret," said a typical letter to Truman. "We…feel that it is about time our 'first daughter of the land' should Treat us to a romance that would be of 'particular' interest to the citizens of the United States." Such requests prompted the Saturday Evening Post to describe

---

[74] Bernard Asbell editor, *Mother and Daughter: The Letters of Eleanor and Anna Roosevelt*, (New York: Coward, McCann, and Goerghegan, 1982): 176.
[75] Ibid.

Miss Truman as "an item of public property looking for a little privacy."[76]

Margaret herself did not argue with the latter comment. She became an item of national interest. Everything she did was put forth for public scrutiny. Thus was Margaret's path in life for the eight years of her father's administration. As Margaret herself recounts, she became the symbol of the youth of America as well as of the family closeness of the Trumans.[77]

While finishing her work at George Washington University and afterwards as she planned a singing career, Margaret frequently attended White House luncheons with her mother and from time to time accompanied her parents on domestic and foreign trips. The Truman family nicknamed themselves the Three Musketeers because of their frequent trips together. Margaret began going on diplomatic trips with her father even though she claims she was "excess baggage."[78] Margaret does not assert that she had any role beyond a symbolic one. She never gave public addresses while on these trips and never performed any of the functions that Anna Roosevelt performed for FDR. Instead, Margaret declared that "other countries like a chance to look over the youthful members, just as we loved it when foreign diplomats brought their sons and daughters to the White House."[79]

During the 1948 campaign, Margaret's role in the whistle-stop tour took on a celebrity status. The Trumans traveled more than 30,000 miles across the country in 35 days of campaigning, and President Truman made more than 350 speeches from the caboose of the train, the Ferdinand Magellan. Margaret was at first unsure of what her

---

[76] Troy, 35.
[77] Margaret Truman, *Souvenir*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956):121-122.
[78] Ibid., 176.
[79] Ibid.

role was to be on the campaign trail. "I knew my father liked to have me around, but it wasn't until we got to Detroit that I realized he considered me an integral part of the program. He didn't tell me. He introduced me to the audience as his best campaigner and a real asset to him. As you can imagine, this was a heady thing for me."[80] Margaret was not being used as a surrogate for her father by making speeches; instead, she was used for her symbolic presence. The hope was that, when the train left each stop with the family waving from the railing of the caboose, the audience would leave with a better sense of Truman as president but more importantly who he was as a man, husband, and father.

Margaret role on board the whistle-stop tour has been described as an "essential prop."[81] Richard H. Rovere, a reporter for *The New Yorker*, traveled with the Trumans on the campaign train and recorded his experiences. Rovere stated that "the part of the act that involves the President's daughter is invariably the most effective part, and Truman's management of it displays a good deal of canniness and trouping instinct...It will be a picture to cherish, and it will stand Harry Truman in good stead for the rest of his life."[82] Author Jhan Robbins comments that: "(t)his scene had dignity, it had warmth, and it put the nation's First Family on a comfortable footing with millions of Americans whose own home family life was reflected there."[83]

With all of the difficulties President Truman faced during his presidency (bringing an end to World War II, the beginning of the Cold War, the steel strikes, the

---

[80] Ibid., 222.
[81] Gil Troy, *Affairs of State*, (New York: The Free Press, 1997): 42.
[82] Richard H. Rovere, "Letter From a Campaign Train," *The New Yorker* 9 October 1948: 63-71.
[83] Jhan Robbins, *Bess and Harry*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1980): 122-123.

growing angst in Korea), his image of a good hearted family man, dedicated to his wife and daughter, remained intact.

The family's non-partisan popularity allowed citizens to find common ground during tumultuous times. Bess and Margaret gave disaffected Americans a benign address in the White House. Patriots could disagree with Truman, but like his family.

Some of this popularity did reflect, and reflect on, important personal characteristics of the President. If Bess and Margaret were distinguished by their "humanness," as B.C. Forbes wrote in *Forbes*, that was also one of Harry's most appealing traits.

Bess and Margaret like all wives and children, provided glimpses into the husband's character. If that was not enough to keep his party in power, it did help detoxify the atmosphere.[84]

Conclusion

This chapter has served the purpose of providing an overview of a select number of presidential children's political roles before the beginning of the public presidency. Of the children analyzed the male descendants tended to serve as presidential secretaries and the female descendants tended to serve as White House secretaries. Some had more prominent roles than others, but all did perform political roles that affected their father's administrations at some level.

---

[84] Troy, 51.

CHAPTER V.

SYMBOLS

In the book titled, *The Image-Is-Everything Presidency*, the authors detail the different methods in which American presidents try to shape their own leadership through the images they portray. The authors assert that "(i)n adopting an image or images, presidents…attach themselves to certain symbols and imagery conducive of that image."[1] According to the authors, a president or candidate might want to be portrayed as a common man; therefore, they may adopt a log cabin as a symbol to highlight the fact that he is just like every other American. Alternatively, they may portray themselves as a Washington outsider by using such symbols as plaid shirts. Personal images are also key to the image-is-everything presidency. "These images relate to the personality of the individual president or presidential candidate, as well as to the specific political needs of a particular administration."[2]

The American presidency is unique in that it combines head of government and head of state into one office. In doing so, "the American Presidency has its symbolic as well as its executive aspects."[3] As presidential scholars George Edwards and Stephen Wayne highlight, the office of the "presidency uniquely lends itself to symbolic manipulation"[4] and one of the indications that modern presidents take advantage of this is the "presence of advertising specialists in the White House."[5] Presidential children are an

---

[1] Richard W. Waterman, Robert Wright, and Gilbert St. Clair, *The Image-Is-Everything Presidency: Dilemmas in American Leadership*, (New York: Westview Press, 1999): 47.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. *A Thousand Days*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965): 554.
[4] George C. Edwards III and Stephen J. Wayne, *Presidential Leadership: Politics and Policy Making*, 6th edition, (New York: Thomson Wadsworth, 2003): 133.
[5] Ibid., 134.

integral component of the symbolic and imagery making aspects that mark the head of state. "…[T]hey add nothing to the substance of the presidency (at least nothing we can point to with certainty). But they do add to the style of an administration; they do temper the climate in which it is received; and they do adorn the president himself."[6] Moreover, the use of these symbolic images has become more important because the growth in the use of television and electronic media "puts a premium on the visual depiction of people and events."[7] Therefore, because of the growth of television as a campaign and governing tool, the use of symbolic imagery is paramount and presidential children can be used to perpetuate this goal. Indeed, in this new media-driven political environment, politicians,

> have tended to personalize their office and, taking advantage of the new channels of communication provided by the explosion of communications technology, reach out through the media to exploit the emotions of the electorate. And the media, grappling with some of the same problems have found it hard to resist their tactics.[8]

The following chapter examines how presidential children are used by candidates and presidents as symbols in this image-is-everything presidency. The following examines Caroline and John Kennedy, Amy Carter, and Chelsea Clinton.

Caroline and John Kennedy

Even before entering the White House, Caroline Kennedy had begun to leave her mark on the American public (and hopefully for the Kennedys, the American *voting*

---

[6] Barbara Kellerman, *All the President's Kin*, (New York: The Free Press, 1981): 37.
[7] Waterman et.al., 137.
[8] Robert Shogan, The Double-Edged Sword: *How Character Makes and Ruins Presidents, From Washington to Clinton*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999): 9.

public). Caroline Bouvier Kennedy was born November 27, 1957, just as her father's campaign for president began to take shape.

> She was christened at St. Patrick's Cathedral in Manhattan, probably for the media exposure it would give her father, Massachusetts senator and presidential hopeful John F. Kennedy. Photos of baby Caroline peering from her crib appeared in women's magazines, charming potential voters. Her very first spoken words-'plane,' 'good-bye,' 'New Hampshire,' and 'West Virginia'- betrayed the political environment into which she was born.[9]

Kennedy knew that Caroline was a political asset from the beginning. Whenever Kennedy entertained potential voters in his home, he would always make sure that Caroline was brought in to visit with the houseguests. The guests were thoroughly taken with her every time she made an appearance. Kennedy recognized this and commented that "Caroline is a great hit with everyone. I think she could be the greatest vote getter of all!"[10] Others referred to Caroline as Kennedy's "secret campaign weapon"[11] Indeed, during the 1960 campaign, the Kennedys decided they needed to "counter Pat Nixon's Republican-cloth-coat-image."[12] Therefore, they used Caroline as much as possible. "In magazine layout after magazine layout, Caroline was shown napping, beaming at her parents, hugging her stuffed animals, or simply gazing in wide-eyed wonder into the camera lens."[13]

---

[9] Robert L. O'Brian, "The Quiet Kennedy," *Biography Magazine*, November 1997, pg.: 44.
[10] Maud Shaw, *White House Nannie*, (New York: The New American Library, 1965): 65.
[11] Evelyn Lincoln, *My Twelve Years with John F. Kennedy*, (New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1965): 133.
[12] Christopher Anderson, *Sweet Caroline: Last Child of Camelot*, (New York: William Morrow, 2003): 37.
[13] Ibid.

Fascination with little Caroline became front and center not only because she was so visible but also because her father could not resist talking about his family and showing them off to the American public. By doing so, "Kennedy was cultivat(ing) the image of himself as a caring young father, always making sure that photographers were nearby to record the seemingly offhand, unstudied moments of quiet or play that the Leader of the Free World shared with his two children."[14] It also did not hurt that the Kennedy family was young and virile as opposed to the previous occupants of the White House, the Eisenhowers. John Kennedy was no doubt proud of his daughter but also knew that she was a political asset and was more than happy to put her on public display if it helped his public image. For Kennedy, "(f)amily was an important theme to promote with the press, because he and his advisors had realized that 'personal style could counter political frustration, mask ineptness, and create popularity in a media-dominated society.'"[15]

Caroline's first real experience with the press and the public was several days after her father was elected president. Helen Thomas has stated that she

> had a field day with Caroline stories and so did other reporters. She captured national attention during President-elect days when she wandered out onto the patio of Kennedy's Palm Beach villa during a news conference, wearing her pajamas, a robe, and her mother's high heels. 'Where's my Daddy,' she asked a television technician. 'He's over there, honey,' the technician told her,

---

[14] David M. Lubin, *Shooting Kennedy: JFK and the Culture of Images*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 264.
[15] Lori Cox Han, *Governing From Center Stage: White House Communication Strategies During the Television Age of Politics*, (Creskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc.,): 31.

pointing at Kennedy, who joined in the laughter.[16]

This and other antics that were to follow made Caroline the "darling of the nation."[17] Maud Shaw, Caroline and John's nanny, has stated that these scenarios created, "a lovely picture of the President as a family man, to whom his children were terribly important."[18] Caroline along with her brother John, who was born shortly after the election on November 25, 1960, "presented to the public an image of the ideal family…The antics of the child and the obvious loving warmth between father and daughter further endeared both to the nation."[19] Caroline became a star with the American public without even trying and became at four years old the youngest politician in Washington, soliciting more supporters with her smile than days spent on the campaign trail by her father.

Caroline's appeal did not end once inside the iron gates surrounding the White House. Instead, now with her partner in crime, her brother John, they left a lasting impression behind for not only the American public but also the world at large. Indeed, "(o)ver the thousand days the Kennedys occupied the White House, these controlled glimpses of the First Family would melt the hearts of the American public—and remain some of the most enduring images of the era…"[20]

Jacqueline Kennedy was very concerned about the media exposure that her two children were getting and took every step available to her to shield them from the ever-present clicking of cameras. Her attempts were successful most of the time but "Jack Kennedy… allowed photographers into the White House while his wife was away. He

---

[16] Helen Thomas, *Dateline: White House*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co, Inc., 1975): 18.
[17] Sandra L. Quinn-Musgrove and Sandford Kanter, America's Royalty: All the President's Children, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995): 199.
[18] Shaw, 134.
[19] Quinn-Musgrove and Kanter, 199.
[20] Anderson, *Sweet Caroline*, 57.

saw the family pictures as a way to shore up his political image damaged after fiascoes like the Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961."[21] Indeed, while Jackie Kennedy was recovering from the stillbirth of Patrick by touring around the Greek islands with her sister Lee and Aristotle Onassis,

> the president--temporarily a "single dad"—placed a call to the *Look* photographer Stanley Tretick. "Things get kind of sticky around here when Mrs. Kennedy's around," Tretick recalls the president saying. "But Mrs. Kennedy is away. So now's the time to do some of those pictures you've been asking for John and Caroline." Tretick had five days of shooting. When he came back to the White House afterward with a set of glossy prints, the president picked one out of the group and said, "With this one, you can't lose, Stan."[22]

The picture in reference is the now famous shot of John peering out from under his father's desk while the president works.

For the most part, it seemed his attempts at media exposure of himself and his children were successful. The American public was captivated with the images of a young family in the White House for the first time since Theodore Roosevelt.

> The nation had been charmed and delighted by the image of love between Jack Kennedy and his son "John-John" when the press photographed the young president tossing the little boy into the air; the obvious glee of the child captured the nation, as did the relationship of

---

[21] "Biography" (Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis), Arts & Entertainment, # AAE-14118.
[22] Lubin, 269.

his sister Caroline and her father.[23]

Images were key with the Kennedy children. Even the most insignificant photo of the children was in high demand. The documented capers of these two children (whether planned or not) displayed two very happy children who obviously loved and looked up to their father who just happened to be the President of the United States. This was an absolute benefit to John Kennedy because his public image could no doubt be bolstered when he had two children at his side who had captured the hearts of the American public.

Barbara Kellerman stated appropriately that:

> The cuteness of these two leapt out of the simplest snapshot, and their innocent appeal separated them from the stolidly adult world of presidential politics-of which they were nonetheless a part. Like most young children, they could be shown off or kept from public view at the discretion of their parents. And when they were on display, they could usually be counted on to do something unpredictable and, given the setting, really quite funny.[24]

Some have suggested that the Kennedy children's role went beyond just the imagery. Indeed, historian Thomas Reeves suggests:

> the president's extraordinary personal restraint during the Cuban missile crisis "may well have reflected a growing sensitivity Kennedy was experiencing toward his own family. From all accounts Jack had reached out to his children and had become emotionally engaged in their lives. He enjoyed them, fretted about their well being, and worried about their future."[25]

---

[23] Quinn-Musgrove and Kanter, 201.
[24] Kellerman, 38.
[25] Quoted in David M. Lubin, *Shooting Kennedy*, pg. 264.

In all, the two Kennedy children did "frame" the character and personal image of President John F. Kennedy. They served the political purpose of showing him to be a family man dedicated to his two small children and tempered his decision-making during a time of crisis for the United States. Also, although not detailed by the media at the time, President Kennedy might have had reservations that his now-documented womanizing would become public knowledge and he would need these family images to promote him as a family man and worthy of reelection.

Amy Carter

Amy Carter was born on October 19, 1967, in her father's hometown of Plains, Georgia. Amy was the youngest of the Carters' four children. She was the only daughter and was separated in age from her youngest brother by fifteen years. Once again, Amy was a child who was born immersed in the political life of her father. Amy was practically born campaigning. "Amy Carter was born into a family already embroiled in the 1970 race (for governor of Georgia). When Rosalynn went into labor, Jimmy was doing some early campaigning eighty miles away. When Amy was two, her mother was campaigning full-time."[26] By the time, Amy was three, Jimmy Carter had been elected governor of Georgia, and Amy moved with her parents to the governor's mansion in Atlanta.

Amy Carter was very special to the Carters. Due to a medical condition, Rosalynn was unable to conceive any more children until a surgery in 1966 made it possible for the Carters to have Amy. She was treated as a miracle by her family. Jimmy Carter's response to Amy exemplifies what she meant to him and to Rosalynn:

---

[26] Troy, 242-243.

> It was after twenty-one years of marriage…Amy has made us young again, rebound our family together, and been a source of joy, pride, and delight. Her three brothers are so much older that it is almost as though she has four fathers, and we have had to stand in line to spoil her.
>
> Amy was three years old when we moved into the governor's mansion in early 1971, and she has had a rapidly developing life among adults. She is probably the most photographed member of our family, being interviewed and photographed continually at a young age and being actively involved in all sorts of state activities.[27]

Thus, from an early age, Amy was highly visible to the media, and her parents allowed her to be. This made her fascinating to the media in 1976 when her father ran for and won the presidency. Amy also stood out in another fashion. She became a focal point because "she was extraordinary within the family [and known to have brought it extraordinary joy]."[28]

The attention Amy garnered during her few years in the governor's mansion in Georgia made for an easy transfer of attention to the campaign trail in 1976. Amy was eight years old in 1976 and provided a great amount of symbolism during this campaign. Amy's main assets for Jimmy Carter at the time were her age (in comparison to her brothers) and her visual image. Amy's youth promoted the image that the Carters were still a young family that had been revitalized by her youth. She helped paint an image of

---

[27] Kellerman, 52.
[28] Kellerman, 53.

a loving family and of a devoted father to an only daughter who had been prayed for so many years.

Amy also presented the image of the typical American girl. At the time, she was described as, "A female Huckleberry Finn, her waist-length, strawberry-blond hair stream(ing) behind her."[29] Even further, she was described as a duplicate of her father in both mind and body with the exception of her extroversion and her sense of humor.[30] Remembering the antics of the Kennedy children, it seemed as if it were about time that the press and the public had a young, spry child to pay attention. "...[O]n countless occasions Amy...provided the public with the 'simple delight that comes from seeing something nice'—a delight that was derived from the mere fact that she was a young child."[31]

The campaign of 1976 provided an opportunity for the Carters to show off their young daughter to the American public. Amy was interviewed quite frequently. Although the topics covered during these interviews did not vary far from her favorite pastimes, the fact that she was being quoted in national newspapers on a daily basis was overwhelming for such a young girl. She captivated the media that was assigned to cover the Carter home in Plains. She began a lemonade stand and charged the media members for each glass. By the time the election was finally over, she was charging them for sandwiches and a renter's fee for her frisbee. Amy reveled in the attention that she was getting. "A campaign was clearly on to transform Amy from the village darling into the

---

[29] Kandy Stroud, *How Jimmy Won*, (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1977): 67.
[30] Ibid., 70.
[31] Kellerman, 53.

nation's darling..."[32] And it seemed that this would be the case when Jimmy Carter beat Gerald Ford for the presidency.

No matter how much the Carters hoped that Amy would be a distraction in 1976, she quickly became a topic of bad press and "press barbs really directed at her father."[33] The problems began shortly after the election when it was announced that Amy would be attending an integrated public school near the White House. The media went wild for several weeks until Amy started school in January 1977. The objective of the decision to send her to public school was to provide a modicum of normalcy for Amy, but also to continue the imagery that Carter was a man of the people.[34] Amy, though, was not "normal;" instead, she drew so much press attention to herself, the school, her teachers, and fellow students that she had to withdraw. Amy's attendance at public school also carried a political component because she was to attend "Stevens" school which the Washington, D.C.'s first school for African American children and was named after Thaddeus Stevens, an anti-slavery Congressman.[35]

The next big news story concerning Amy came when she was baptized at First Baptist Church in Washington, D.C. Some of the reaction from the press at the time was skeptical about the motives behind Amy's baptism. Questions such as, "Was it necessary to wait until the family moved to Washington? Was it done then deliberately,

---

[32] Kellerman, 54.
[33] Quinn-Musgrove and Kanter, 224.
[34] Ibid.
[35] "Public School Near White House Hopes to Enroll Carter's Daughter," *New York Times*, 9 November 1976, pg.: 18.

for propaganda purposes or maybe for political reasons?"[36] The Carters took offense and vehemently rejected these notions but they still lingered in the media.

The media also noticed a practice that the Carters began early on in his administration. The Carters would allow Amy to come to state dinners.

> People...criticized the Carters for taking Amy along to state dinners, and seeing the child's picture in the next morning's papers, sleepily slumped in a chair between her parents, wearing a long, lacy robe and reading a book.
>
> "Amy attends some state dinners because we like her to be with us," Rosalynn explain(ed) simply. "She reads books on those occasions because she's fidgety and can't sit still. If you were going to that kind of a party, wouldn't you take a book?"[37]

Even though the press chose these moments to pick on Amy (or her father through her), they also lavished her with praise. Pictures of her were in high demand. She was pictured yawning at the inauguration, going off to her first day back at school, and playing with her dog Grits. In early 1977, she was on the cover of *Time* magazine.

> Stories such as those about Amy's attending an integrated public school...have *symbolic* (emphasis mine) functions. Whatever the Carters' real motivations, the net effect of decisions like these was to make Amy serve a political end...We never had a passionate interest in what she—who was, after all, only a child—said, or even specifically what she did. The appeal was in her little-girlishness. And the fascination was with the juxtaposition between this girlishness and the

---

[36] Howard Norton, *Rosalynn: A Portrait*, (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1977): 78.
[37] Ibid., 79.

> hectic political environment in which it was being displayed. But just a Jacqueline Kennedy's style could not help but come to stand for the style of the Kennedy administration itself, so the would-be liberalism and modernism with which Amy was promptly enveloped was taken to be an indicator of the intended direction and mood of the Carter presidency. By 1977 Amy's blond hair and freckled young face evoked instant recognition. They had only to be momentarily glimpsed in a shot of her holding hands with a black classmate as they were paired to take a tour of the National Portrait Gallery for the point to be made.[38]

Therefore, Amy Carter's role as symbol went well beyond giving a glimpse into the type of person Jimmy Carter was personally; she also gave us a measuring stick with which to assess Jimmy Carter's political intentions for his presidency.

Amy Carter's usefulness as a symbol deteriorated, as she grew older. Instead of a cute little girl, 1980 brought a thirteen year old. "...(T)he fact that this child became a victim of increasing age had to be seen as a considerable loss by all who counted themselves in the Carter camp."[39] In the end, "(t)he president's effort to reach the people through the earthy simplicity of a child went from the absurd to the politically disastrous."[40] In Carter's preelection debate with Ronald Reagan, Carter stated he had asked Amy her opinion on the most important political question of the day, and she had answered it was the control of nuclear arms.

While the issue was clearly on the minds of the nation's citizens,

---

[38] Kellerman, 56.
[39] Kellerman, 58.
[40] Quinn-Musgrove and Kanter, 224.

> the well-meaning president's implication caused the nation, and its prominent comedians and cartoonists, to howl with laughter. The image of the most powerful nation's head of state seeking the advice of a thirteen-year-old girl on fundamental issues facing the globe was too much for even the most ardent Carter supporters.[41]

Ronald Reagan also used the incident as fodder on the campaign trail. "At rallies, Reagan asked,--'Who's running the country?' and his supporters shouted back: 'Amy Carter!'"[42]

Any political success has to end and for Amy this was the ultimate end of her positive political influence as a symbol. Amy remained a symbol but she began to have negative influence instead of positive influence. "In general, children have been political pluses to a politician...But in Carter's presidency, little Amy repudiated the time-honored maxim."[43]

Chelsea Clinton

Chelsea Clinton was born on February 27, 1980, in Little Rock, Arkansas, where her father was heavily involved in state politics and eventually occupied the governor's mansion for multiple terms in office. When her father ran for the presidency in 1992 she was only 12 years old, but she was not new to the political arena. With her father's success in 1992, Chelsea continued her "childhood in a fishbowl"[44] for the next eight years. However, many have remarked on how unaffected Chelsea is by the fishbowl lifestyle and thus, "has a clear sense of herself, of who she is, and she marches to her own

---

[41] Ibid., 225.
[42] Troy, 271
[43] Quinn-Musgrove and Kanter, 225.
[44] "Childhood in a Fishbowl," *Time,* 22 July 1996, pg.: 51.

beat."[45] Beyond the personal, Chelsea's political role during the campaigns and while in the White House is similar to the others discussed in this chapter. The Clinton campaigns and presidency were filled with imagery designed for a symbolic purpose and frequently these symbolic images revolved around Chelsea.

The Clintons decided early on that if they won the presidency in 1992 they would ask the media to have a hands-off policy where their daughter was concerned. President and Mrs. Clinton were concerned that the media would become a burden upon their daughter's childhood behind the gates of the White House. Even though they wanted to shelter their daughter post-the campaign from the new "peak-a-boo politics"[46] that has emerged in the United States, it did not stop them from utilizing her for symbolic purposes during the campaign. Indeed, Bill Clinton had several political problems entering the 1992 presidential race, including being a relatively unknown Southern governor with alleged womanizing problems. In order to counteract these political problems, the Clinton campaign devised a strategy that began with constructing "a human persona that was vulnerable, humble, and accessible to ordinary people."[47] The Clinton campaign knew what has slowly become the standard in modern presidential campaign politics: "that for better and also for worse, the impact of character and values is pervasive and growing, principally on the presidency…"[48]

In April of 1992 polls showed that American voters were not impressed with Bill Clinton and even less so with his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton. "They saw him as a

---

[45] Dick Morris, *Behind the Oval Office: Winning the Presidency in the Nineties*, (New York: Random House, 1997): 239.
[46] Bruce E. Gronbeck, quoted in Shawn J. Parry-Giles and Trevor Parry-Giles, *Constructing Clinton: Hyperreality and Presidential Image-Making in Postmodern Politics*, (New York: Peter Lang, 2002): 5.
[47] W. Lance Bennett, quoted in Parry-Giles, pg.: 31.
[48] Robert Shogan: 7.

"'wishy-washy,' fast-talking-career politician who did not 'talk straight.' They liked Hillary Clinton even less, regarding her as 'being in the race for herself,' as 'going for the power,' and as a wife intent on 'running the show.'"[49] To combat these opinions the Clinton campaign team "proposed the construction of a new image of (the Clintons): an honest, plain-folks idealist and his warm and loving wife."[50] This softening of their image was deemed necessary if there was a chance to win the election. Thus, entered Chelsea Clinton. Politically she was used as a tool to help soften her parents' image with the American voters.

The Clinton campaign began work on how this should be accomplished, and the result can be seen in a memorandum that was sent throughout the Clinton campaign organization, suggesting that "Bill and Hillary need to talk much more of their own family, including Chelsea, and their affection for each other."[51] The memorandum also suggested such staged events as Bill and Chelsea surprising Mrs. Clinton on Mother's Day in order to show their family togetherness.

The Clinton campaign also utilized Chelsea in the 1992 Democratic National Convention film shown to the delegates (and via television to the American public). The campaign film was titled, "Man from Hope," utilizing the town in Arkansas, where Clinton grew up as a child. The film was designed to introduce Clinton to the American people by using one-on-one interviews with the candidate. Part of the film consisted of Clinton discussing his joy in being a father and images of Clinton and Chelsea dancing and throwing rocks into a pond together.

---

[49] "The Making of a First Family: a Blueprint, *The New York Times*, 14 Novemeber 1992, L1.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.

> In another particularly intimate revelation, the candidate spoke of watching the Clinton's *60 Minutes* interview with Chelsea. In that interview, to respond to the Gennifer Flowers scandal, both Bill and Hillary Clinton discussed the difficulties in their marriage. Of that moment, Clinton noted how "pretty painful" it was "to have your child watch that." When the Clintons asked Chelsea what she thought of the interview, Chelsea reportedly replied: "I'm glad you're my parents." As the camera zoomed in slowly on Clinton's face, it extended the invitation to gaze into the face of the teary-eyed candidate.[52]

The images in this film and the further symbolic uses of Chelsea in the campaign were designed to display "the civic virtue of Bill Clinton's intimate character."[53]

As the youngest child to reside in the White House since Amy Carter, Chelsea's privacy was guarded by President and Mrs. Clinton. The Clinton's knew their history well with how the media dealt with Amy Carter. Thus, when the press began targeting Chelsea they were "short-circuited (by) her parents."[54] Overall, Chelsea was rarely photographed and interviewed in comparison to other first children who have lived in the White House. At this stage in her life, Chelsea was also at an awkward age, just as Amy Carter was during the 1980 campaign. Chelsea was in the awkward teenage years and her parents wanted to protect their child and allow her as normal a childhood as possible.

Other first daughters were supportive of Chelsea Clinton and the choice that her parents made to keep her isolated. Margaret Truman in a letter to the editor of the *New*

---

[52] Parry-Giles, 33.
[53] Ibid., 40.
[54] Quinn-Musgrove and Kanter, 239.

York Times Magazine chastised those who picked up the ball as Chelsea watchers and criticizers. Margaret wrote: "My sympathy is with Chelsea, since I too was hauled off to Washington-at the age of 11, when my father was elected to the Senate, and incarcerated in the White House when he became President."[55] In an article written about Chelsea Clinton, former first daughter Patti Davis stated, "once you enter the world of the White House, privacy becomes a rare, precious thing."[56]

Nevertheless, when it was necessary, the Clinton's once again determined that using Chelsea symbolically in the 1996 campaign was necessary. Therefore, even though they implored the media to have a hands-off policy, the Clinton's placed her in public view in order to garner more votes. Chelsea had accompanied her mother in 1995 to India and earned good press. Indeed, one of the lessons the Clinton campaign learned from this trip was that "Chelsea softens her mother's image and underscores the picture of the Clintons as a young dynamic family. Administration officials said Chelsea's accompanying her mother to South Asia…was a public relations coup."[57] Chelsea was used in campaign advertisements during the 1996 campaign. Chelsea's use in these advertisements was employed to "symbolize how her father is the head of the political household" and that Clinton was "all about protecting families and children."[58]

At 16, Chelsea traveled the campaign trail with her parents and was on-hand at the Democratic National Convention to cheer on her parents. Political analysts at the time noted that her presence on the campaign trail was a "testimony…to Mr. Clinton's

---

[55] Margaret Truman, *New York Times Magazine*, 21 March 1993, pg. 10.
[56] Patti Davis, "Chelsea and Me," *Bazaar Magazine*, September 1997, pgs.: 112-114.
[57] Richard L. Berke, "More Angst for First Family: Convention Roles," *New York Times*, 15 July 1996, pg.: A1.
[58] Nora Fitzgerald, "The Feminine Mystique," *AD Week*, 9 September 1996.

values and maturity—and to Bob Dole's relative age."[59] Indeed, as a journalist at the time noted, "it emphasizes the generational advantage that Clinton has in the election…that he's going to be looking after kids in the next century. And it subtly points out that Bob Dole isn't."[60]

Once the 1996 election was over and her father reelected to the White House, the media blackout on Chelsea was once again imposed. However, the Clintons found ways to utilize her for symbolic purposes. For instance, Chelsea entered Standford University two years into her father's second term. President and Mrs. Clinton let the media follow them around campus as they moved their daughter into her dorm. Chelsea left the Clintons with an empty nest and the news coverage lasted for days. The fronts of all the major newspapers around the country carried photos of Chelsea flanked by both of her parents holding hands and joining other parents as they settled their children in for their first extended period away from their home. The images were of a mother and father saying goodbye to their only daughter and leaving her 3,000 miles away from home. These images once again reinforced the idea that the Clintons were a loving family and that the President was a devoted father sending his daughter off to college just as so many other parents have done.

It is interesting to note that unlike the other children discussed above, Chelsea's role began to modify as she matured in age. As has been made clear, none of the five political roles of presidential children is mutually exclusive. Some children perform multiple roles at once and some move from one role to another over time. Chelsea did

---

[59] James Bennet, "As the Clintons Speak, Chelsea Plays a Silent and Powerful Political Role," *The New York Times*, 29 August 1996, pg.: B10.
[60] Ibid.

indeed move from one role to another toward the end of her father's presidency. During her freshman year at Stanford, President Clinton was impeached. During this troubled time for the country and for the Clinton family, Chelsea "seemed to hold the family together,"[61] literally as well as figuratively. Indeed, "Chelsea took it upon herself to be the emissary (between her parents), and she was terrific."[62] One of the oft-replayed pieces of film footage from the Clinton presidency is the Clinton family leaving the White House the day after President Clinton admitted to the American public that he had lied about his affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. As the family approached Marine One, Chelsea walked in between both of her parents holding each of their hands as if to signify that she was symbolically keeping the family together.

> She intuitively recognized that and it was probably a natural thing within that family and it was an evocative image because it did reflect actual reality that they (President and Mrs. Clinton) were still together in some ways because of their daughter. And their connection to her and their love for her and her love for them and the tension between the two of them was all communicated.[63]

Beyond her symbolic role, Chelsea also began to fill in as a surrogate for her mother. Mrs. Clinton was running for the Senate in New York during the last two years of the Clinton presidency and Chelsea would fill in as "substitute first lady"[64] at state events at the White House. In 1999, Chelsea accompanied her father on a trip to New Zealand, and in the spring of 2000 Chelsea also accompanied her father on a state visit to India.

---

[61] Susan Schindehette, "That Ties That Bind," *People*, 15 February 1999, 78-88.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Jonathan Alter, quoted on *A & E Biography: Presidential Children*, Arts and Entertainment Network.
[64] "Dutiful Daughter, Out of the Limelight," *The New York Times*, 22 March 2000, pg.: A18.

The White House denied that Chelsea was acting as a surrogate for her mother, but proved herself "an adept fledgling ambassador."[65] Therefore, as Chelsea Clinton aged into adulthood, she began to take on more varied political tasks and roles within her father's administration.

Conclusion

The role of symbol is one that can be very important politically. In the cases discussed above, the message is that image-is-everything in American presidential politics. These presidential children were part of a tapestry. They were used as backdrops designed to display to the American public that their fathers were family men who were no different from the average American family man who loves and is dedicated to his family.

[65] "Passage to India," *People Magazine*, 10 April 2000, pg. 198.

CHAPTER VI.

SURROGATES

Most commonly, children of presidents are used as surrogates. The need for surrogates has increased with the expansion of the electronic media as well as the change in the nomination process. With the increase in the number of direct primaries since the 1960s, there has been a greater demand for the time of each candidate. With so much territory to cover in such a short amount of time, it is imperative that the candidates seek out others to make appearances and give speeches on their behalf. The most obvious person for this responsibility is the spouse of a candidate but even then, the demands are overwhelming. The clear answer then is to use the children of candidates. They are what have been described as a candidate's "trusted mouthpiece."[1]

The expanded use of family (including children) on the campaign trail became a trend with the 1960 campaign. It was then that "the Kennedys recruited an astonishing assortment of relatives who swamped voters with teas and sympathy."[2] The trend continued because "family campaigners can extend the candidate's image far beyond what he could achieve alone. They are added eyes, ears and antennas. They can appeal to generations and interest groups by whom the candidate might not be welcomed or understood. They ensure constant exposure of the candidate's name."[3]

Presidential children are often called upon for their evident connection to the president. They are called upon to travel with the president but more often on their own, stumping for the candidate and representing the president outside the campaign. This

---

[1] Barbara Kellerman, *All the President's Kin*, (New York: The Free Press, 1981):63.
[2] Edwin Warner, "A New Idea: Leave the Family at Home," *Time* 11 October 1976, pg:26.
[3] Ibid.

may entail making public appearances, granting interviews, or delivering speeches around the country. On the campaign trail as a mouthpiece for the candidate, their only goal is to get their father elected. They act to convey to the voter the type of human being their father is as well as his agenda and goals for the future of the United States. "Because the spouse (and children) of the candidate has intimate knowledge of the candidate their testimonials may be seen as possessing a higher level of credibility than of other surrogates or testimonials."[4] They are in essence called upon to paint by numbers on the tapestry of a well-drawn campaign. They are not to tread any new waters but to stick close to the well-scripted campaign rhetoric and to present their father in the best possible light.

Although surrogates "have their peak effect during the presidential campaigns,"[5] the need for surrogates in the White House is also high. Children of presidents have been called on to represent either the president or first lady as stand-ins when neither is able to be present. These duties could include meeting and greeting visitors to the White House, giving speeches, traveling to State events around the world in which presidential representation is requested, or required, and hosting functions where a member of the first family is in demand. The duties of a surrogate are just as important after the election as they are on the campaign trail.

The following elucidates the surrogate political roles of several presidential children.

---

[4]William L. Benoit, John P. McHale, Glenn J. Hansen, P.M. Pier, and John P. McGuire, *Campaign 2000: A Functional Analysis of Presidential Campaign Discourse*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003): 162.

[5] Kellerman, 63.

Lynda and Luci Johnson

Lynda and Luci Johnson came to the White House under unfortunate and unexpected circumstances after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in November 1963. At the time, Lynda was a college student at the University of Texas-Austin and Luci was in high school at the National Cathedral School in Washington, D.C. Even though their father's rise to the presidency was unforeseen, the Johnson daughters were used to the world of politics and the demands it placed on a family. Indeed, on the evening of the assassination, after arriving back home in Washington, D.C., President Johnson told Luci, "there is work to be done, Luci Johnson, and I expect you to be there with me."[6] For Luci and Lynda this was to be expected. As Luci relates:

> …politics for us was a little bit like the family farm. On the family farm, somebody milks the cow, somebody feeds the chicken, somebody brings in the eggs, and various people have various jobs. Well for us, politics was a way of life, and my parents expected us to work in the same way that you would if you were a farmer's daughter.[7]

Indeed, Lynda understood her need to be with her family and help in any way she could, so she left Texas to finish her degree at George Washington University in order to be closer to her parents. This is not to say that either of the Johnson daughters did not have trouble with their newfound position within the White House "fishbowl." As Luci relates:

> There are no doubt children of presidential families who may have felt

---

[6] Transcript. *Larry King Live*, CNN, 28 December 2001 Transcript #122800CN.V22.
[7] Ibid.

> burdened, and I am not going to tell you there weren't times when I was an adolescent who wanted desperately to be just a high school girl or a college girl free from responsibilities. But I realized I was part of something far greater than myself and a privilege I did not deserve, nothing I had done to warrant, but it was something for the rest of my life I needed to reflect well upon and I tried.[8]

Lynda and Luci became instantly politically active upon entering the White House because "...President and Mrs. Johnson felt that there were so many benefits that would come to them (Lynda and Luci) that they wanted to involve them in everything from campaigning to official trips abroad with their parents and State dinners at the White House."[9] The following is an examination of the political activities of the Johnson daughters during their father's five years in office.

Lynda Johnson Robb

The elder daughter of President and Mrs. Johnson, Lynda was born on March 19, 1944, in Washington, D.C., where her father was a Congressman from Texas. As has been mentioned, Lynda grew up around politics, but she was not prepared for the news she received on November 22, 1963. With President Kennedy's assassination, Lynda became an instant First Daughter. Lynda was removed from her family at the time while attending college. When her father became president, she was in the middle of her

---

[8] A&E *Biography*: *All The President's Children*. Arts and Entertainment Network. Originally aired September 14, 2003.

[9] Transcript, Bess Abell Oral History, Interview II, 13 June 1969, by T.H. Baker, Internet Copy, LBJ Library.

sophomore year at the University of Texas-Austin[10] where she was working on a major in History. At the age of nineteen she was catapulted from almost obscurity as the Vice President's daughter to national notoriety as one of the first daughters.

Lynda moved back to Washington, D.C., shortly thereafter to begin what she labels her "five year confinement."[11] Upon her arrival at the White House, Lynda became an instant surrogate for the President and First Lady. In a personal interview conducted with Mrs. Robb, she stated that the initial reason for returning to Washington, D.C., was to be a supportive link for her father and mother.[12] Lynda soon began filling in for her mother as White House hostess. For instance, while Lady Bird was in Greece in March 1964, "Lynda Bird...was being hostess...to the last of the six groups of members of the House of Representatives and their wives who were coming to the reception for briefing, upstairs tours, and dancing."[13] This type of hostessing was typical of the duties Lynda was called on to perform when filling in as a surrogate for her mother. Lynda also filled in for her mother as an escort for her father frequently.

Lynda was very active on behalf of some of her father's administrative initiatives. For instance, Lynda took time out of her schedule to travel and make speeches on behalf of Head Start, the Peace Corps, and anti-poverty and anti-discrimination programs. She often traveled with her father as he traversed the country promoting these programs. For example, in May 1964 Lynda accompanied President Johnson on a five-state poverty tour of the United States. At each stop, Lynda was always taken to her own "meet and greet"

---

[10] Lynda finished her course work at George Washington University and received her degree from the University of Texas in the spring of 1966.
[11] "Children of the White House," *Ladies Home Journal*, August 1976, Volume XCIII, No. 8, pgs:103-107.
[12] Lynda Johnson Robb, personal interview with author, 28 January 1998.
[13] Lady Bird Johnson, *A White House Diary*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970): 89.

functions in the same city where she would give a short speech and then meet with those in attendance. Lynda's speeches were always centered on the role of young Americans in the policy that she was advocating. On the aforementioned anti-poverty tour, Lynda spoke to the young of America declaring:

> We are the group that is making the Peace Corps work and we want to make the job corps work too. Someone asked me "What can I do? I am just one person in millions..." Maybe in the evenings you could teach somebody to write who doesn't know how. It doesn't take a college degree to be able to teach someone to be able to read and write.
>
> The young people, of my generation, we are going to be the ones who are leading the country in another 30 years. I want to ask you also for your heart and your hand to help all of us in our war against poverty.[14]

In addition to her travels with her father, Lynda also traveled on her own as a surrogate for her father. In the summer of 1964, she made her first solo official appearance when she took a trip to Hawaii. During this trip, Lynda "attended special discussion-group meetings dealing with teen-age crime, civil rights, teen-age employment, and school dropouts."[15] In September 1964, Lynda was sent by her father to Greece as the "Personal representative of the President"[16] at the royal wedding of King Constantine to Princess Anne-Marie of Denmark. As the U.S. representative at the

---

[14] Gordon Langley Hall, *Lady Bird and Her Daughters*, (Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Co., 1967): 29-30.
[15] Ibid., 34.
[16] White House Social Files—Box 10—Liz Carpenter Files—Lynda's Trip to Greece. Source: LBJ Library.

wedding, Lynda also made a stop at the American Community School in Halandri and spoke to the American students there.[17] In July 1965, Lynda was dispatched by the White House to tour many of the Western states in an effort to promote President Johnson's "See America First" campaign. President Johnson was concerned that Americans were spending too much of their time and money abroad and this campaign was designed to highlight the glories of the United States and thus convince the American public to spend their vacation dollars at home. As part of this effort, Lynda traveled to many of the Western national parks and other popular tourist attractions to promote American tourism. Later, Lynda would draw criticism for a planned trip to Spain. The media labeled her a hypocrite for advocating American travel in one breath and planning a trip abroad in another. President Johnson solved her problem by "lay(ing) down the law and say(ing) she couldn't go abroad that year."[18]

With all of her public appearances on behalf, and with, her father, the press began to feel she was going to be a force in the 1964 campaign. Although Lynda wanted to help her father, she had a "shotgun wedding with the press;" meaning it "was an arm's length arrangement. She knew you had to give them their due at certain times, but she never enjoyed it."[19] Journalist Helen Thomas stated: "Lynda Bird gave the press fits most of the time she was in the White House. She was so much like her father that the First Lady's staff called her 'Lyndon Jr.,' but later on; Lynda mellowed and took us in stride."[20] In a personal interview with the author, Mrs. Robb stated she was very aware of the media presence especially the print media. She stated she knew she could change

---

[17] Ibid.
[18] Transcript, Liz Carpenter Oral History Interview, September 17, 1979, Joe B. Frantz, LBJ Library.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Helen Thomas, *Dateline: White House*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company Inc., 1975): 103.

what the press reported through her personal actions and was very aware of the fact that if she did something that had a negative effect; that would be bad for her father.[21]

Even with her "stand-off" approach with the media, Lynda did prove their prediction true; she proved to be a force in the 1964 campaign. The press secretary for Lady Bird Johnson, Liz Carpenter, knew that using Lynda and Luci in the campaign was a necessity. They were "good drawing cards" according to Mrs. Carpenter because "a candidate cannot be everywhere, but a member of his family is the next best person to a candidate. And they drew young people. They were well organized and set up, and they made good...speeches." [22] Visiting approximately 25 states during the 1964 campaign, Lynda was called upon to "urge people to vote for Daddy"[23] as well as meet with supporters, provide entertainment, and garner positive press for the President.

The Johnson campaign developed a method to use Lynda and Luci to their best advantage. There are many small towns around the country that the candidate's cannot get to during the campaign. Therefore, the Johnson campaign sent Lynda and Luci to many small towns to show that the President really did care about people there. Many of these campaign stops were centered on the Young Citizens for Johnson (YCJ) movement. At each of the YCJ events Lynda and Luci attended a barbeque was open to the public. The Johnson campaign made sure that at each of these barbeques either Lynda or Luci was present. Therefore, Lynda's target audience and message during the campaign was to be centered on the youth of America. At each stop (typically at college campuses) Lynda would make speeches; not unlike the speeches she made while traveling with her

---

[21] Lynda Johnson Robb interview with author.
[22] Transcript, Liz Carpenter Oral History Interview, September 17, 1979, Joe B. Frantz, LBJ Library.
[23] Lynda Johnson Robb interview with author.

father, targeted to this demographic. In an interview conducted several weeks before the election, Lynda stated:

> I just try to urge the young people to get out and be interested in it because I don't come there as an accomplished speaker to talk to them about issues. I want to enlist their help. I want them to feel they really have a part in this election. And of course, this is not only young people but adults too. I think often when they see a member of the First Family they feel a little more associated with the campaign themselves and they feel they have a part in it, and instead of just seeing somebody from a billboard or from some sort of material that's sent out by some group or committee—they don't feel any kinship—but when they actually see the person they feel like they know them. What I hope to do is just try to excite them and make them work harder. I know sometimes you don't excite the people that you don't know but you do help your own organization. They see you and see what they are working for so they work a little harder. They may not be too enthusiastic but after they see you and they know that you are working for their interest specifically and not just a general Utopia.[24]

In addition to traveling by herself from barbeque to barbeque, Lynda also spent time traveling with her mother on the campaign trail on the unprecedented "Lady Bird Special Whistle Stop Tour" that made 47 stop in four days and covered 1,700 miles across the American South. Lynda rode with her mother on the first leg of the tour while

---

[24] "Opinions in the Capital," Mark Evans, Metropolitan Broadcasting's WTTG-TV (Channel 5), Washington, D.C. 25 October 1964. Transcript Source: White House Social Files—Liz Carpenter's Files—Box 13, LBJ Library.

Luci took the second leg. The tour was such a success that later the campaign initiated the "flying" Lady Bird Special in which the First Lady would travel by plane instead of train. Although many of the men on the White House staff disagreed with sending the First Lady on the campaign trail with her daughters, President Johnson disagreed. When his staffers suggested keeping the First Lady off the campaign trail, Johnson stated "...I don't want just men. It's the women who'll get out there and get the garden club groups down...They (the women on the campaign) have stickability."[25] At each stop along the tracks, Lynda would speak from the rear of the train car. Although the whistle stop was touted as a success, the train did meet with some resistance along the way from hecklers protesting President Johnson's civil rights stances. Helen Thomas recounted that the press "silently cheered (Lynda and Luci). Unbiased reporters we were, but we saw their courage and felt they deserved the respect to be heard."[26]

Even though Lynda's primary political role was as surrogate, off the campaign trail she also performed other political roles as well. Lynda Johnson Robb is very quick though to point out that she never was in a position to make decisions or greatly influence her father, but she did serve in the capacity of confidante from time to time. She stated that her father would ask her about particular issues; not necessarily her opinions, but what she was hearing around the country on her travels. Lynda has stated that she did help her father with a speech or two.[27] "No idle flatterer, Johnson was so convinced of her abilities that he often consulted Lynda about his drafts of speeches. Lynda would

---

[25] Transcript, Liz Carpenter Oral History Interview, September 17, 1979, Joe B. Frantz, LBJ Library.
[26] Helen Thomas, 54.
[27] Lynda Johnson Robb interview with author.

reply by awarding the president's work an 'A,' 'B,' or 'C' [there is no record of 'D' or 'F' papers]."[28]

Lynda also performed a symbolic role as well. The greatest example of this is her wedding to Charles Robb on December 9, 1967. Looking back, Lynda emphasizes that the wedding was not meant to create a political storm, but in the end it did display symbolic overtones because the President's eldest daughter was marrying a young Marine set to leave for Vietnam within the next couple of months.[29] President Johnson was portrayed by the media as a loving father and father-in-law having to suffer along with his daughter the impending service in Vietnam of a family member.

At one point during the 1964 campaign, Lynda quoted Shakespeare: "We all play many roles." Lynda was correct in her analysis. In her case, she performed multiple political roles while her father was president; but none quite as prolific as her role as surrogate for her father both on and off the campaign trail.

Luci Johnson

In contrast to her sister Lynda, Luci, born July 2, 1947, did not travel frequently with her father or on her own. The primary reason for her staying close to home was that she was still attending high school when her father became president. Luci did serve as surrogate for her mother on occasion, but her surrogate role outside the campaign was limited. Nevertheless, Luci was a very active surrogate during the 1964 campaign.

As the "First Teen-Ager of the Land"[30] Luci attracted much media attention.

---

[28] Sandra Quinn-Musgrove and Sandford Kanter, *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995): 205.
[29] Lynda Johnson Robb.
[30] Marjory Rutherford, "Day with Luci Like a Marathon," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* 18 October 1964.

Unlike her sister, Luci "mastered" the press.[31] Although Luci and the press understood each other, she was always reluctant about the world of politics. In 1964 Luci stated she changed her attitude about politics because, "I saw the love that my mother and father had for people, and I saw them projecting this love in the best way they know how. I realized that (politics) was no longer a dirty, ugly word, it was just my parents' ways of trying to show people they cared...and give to their society."[32]

Luci carried this newfound attitude with her onto the campaign trail. Luci visited 26 states during the 1964 campaign. Along with Lynda, she too participated in the Young Citizen for Johnson barbeques across the nation. The barbeques that Luci attended were labeled "I Love Luci Barbecues" and her charge was to "go and thank them on behalf of my family."[33] Luci viewed her role as to challenge young Americans not only to vote for her father, but also to get involved in their community. Luci saw her participation on the campaign as following her own advice. "As far as I'm concerned, my sole purpose is the same as any other young person's...trying to give as much to my community as I can and to be the best kind of daughter I know to be..."[34] Upon return from her campaign travels, President Johnson always asked for Luci to update him about what she saw and heard. As Luci relates: "He ask(ed) me what my opinions (were), I don't know if he really label(ed) it advice, but I (did) give him my opinions on an area I ha(d) been to that he may be going to."[35] Unbeknownst to Luci, she was performing a key political role. Many presidents seek out advice and observations from their children because presidents

---

[31] Transcript, Liz Carpenter Oral History Interview, September 17, 1979, Joe B. Frantz, LBJ Library.
[32] "Opinions in the Capital."
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.

are always trapped within the confines of the White House and are rarely able to get an accurate reading on the "pulse" of America. Not only are children of presidents more likely to be living outside the White House and can give a different viewpoint on how Americans are reacting to policy decisions and needs, but they can also give a different point of view from a different generation from the president.

In addition to the barbeques and visiting college campuses, Luci also participated in the Whistle Stop tour with her mother. Luci accompanied her mother on the last two days of the train tour making speeches at each stop along the track. Luci always spoke directly after her mother and tailored her remarks to speak to youth. For instance, upon arrival in New Orleans, Luci told the crowd that the abundant number of young people in attendance "showed...that they cared; that they did not want to shrink away from responsibility... but that we want to face up to it; that we realize that we are going to have to learn today if we are going to lead tomorrow."[36]

After the campaign, Luci began work on a Nursing degree from George Washington University and cut back her public political appearances. Nevertheless, Luci was to become fodder for the media once again; first, with her conversion to Catholicism and later, her marriage to Patrick Nugent. At the age of 19 Luci decided to convert to Catholicism, and although many of her friends stated that she was moving toward this change for many years,[37] others charged that it was politically motivated or a politically bad move depending on who was talked to.[38] As can be seen by the tons of letters sent to Luci during this timeframe, many Americans thought she was too young to make such a

[36] White House Social Files—Liz Carpenter's Files—Box 80, LBJ Library.
[37] President Johnson was a member of the Disciples of Christ protestant denomination and Mrs. Johnson was an Episcopalian. Lynda and Luci were raised in the Episcopalian Church.
[38] Helen Lindow, Transcript of Oral History 28 May 1970, Joe B. Frantz, LBJ Library.

drastic decision.[39] Helen Lindow, a close friend of Luci's, relates that at the time, Luci was concerned that her conversion would have political repercussions for her father especially in terms of the bad publicity Luci received.[40] However, as her mother remarked, "to never be criticized a candidate (or president) needs to be born in an orphanage or remain a bachelor."[41] This was her way of telling Luci not to worry about the criticism and that it just comes along with the territory of politics.

Although her conversion to Catholicism brought bad press, her marriage on August 6, 1966, brought overwhelming good press.[42] The build up to the wedding went on for months. As Liz Carpenter relates, "all the world loves a lover,"[43] and indeed all the world was interested in Luci's wedding. One of the main attractions was that Luci was the first White House bride in approximately fifty years. Each of the television networks aired hour-long special programs on the wedding preparations and all three aired live broadcasts on the day of the wedding. The wedding itself was a "semimonarchical event" to which "nobody (was) invited but the immediate country."[44] Symbolically for the President, the wedding highlighted his close relationship with his daughter. The wedding was also symbolic because, just like Lynda's husband, Patrick Nugent was in the Air National Guard and going off to fight in Vietnam.

As it turned out both Luci and Lynda's husbands were fighting in Vietnam at the same time. Lynda moved back into the White House (after spending a year in New York

---

[39] White House Social Files—Liz Carpenter Alpha File, LBJ Library.
[40] Helen Lindow, Transcript of Oral History 28 May 1970, Joe B. Frantz, LBJ Library.
[41] Lady Bird Johnson, quoted by Liz Carpenter in personal interview with author, 12 March 2004.
[42] The only exceptions were those that believed such an extravagant wedding in a time of war was uncalled for and those who were angry that Luci chose to be married on the anniversary date of the bombing of Hiroshima.
[43] Liz Carpenter, personal interview with author, 12 March 2004.
[44] "The White House: Three-Ring Wedding," *Time*, 5 August, 1966, pg. 19.

working for *McCalls*) to be near her family while her husband was overseas while anticipating the arrival of her first child. Luci was also living in the White House with her first child; Patrick Lyndon (called Lyn). Both of the Johnson daughters brought the war to the White House for the first time and made it a constant reality for President Johnson. An example of the stress the family was under is narrated by author Carl Anthony:

> On March 31, 1968, she (Lady Bird) greeted a "detached" Lynda, who'd just gone through the ordeal of saying good-bye to Chuck as he left for combat in Vietnam. Tired, she flatly asked her father, "Dad, why do they have to go to Vietnam?" Lynda was to have a child the next fall. She later recalled, "I was a big pregnant reminder that it was his policy that was separating husbands from wives, children from parents.[45]

Even though both Luci and Lynda were reminders of the hardships of war, President Johnson also found solace in having them present in the White House. He particularly leaned on Luci during the hard times. Due to her firm religious beliefs, Johnson would reach out to Luci when he was feeling the political pressures of his job. For instance, one evening President Johnson approached Luci asking her to find him a church and Luci accompanied him at midnight to the Little Monks Church in Washington, D.C., and

> he came in and he knelt down, and he stayed there for about an hour, and I didn't know what was happening, so I just knelt with him and prayed for his intentions.
>
> And we came back to the White House, and he said: "I'm alone, Luci,

[45] Carl S. Anthony, *First Ladies: Volume II*, (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1991): 153-154.

> I don't want to be alone. Will you come with me?" And I said, "sure, daddy." And we went into his bedroom, and I sat in a chair, and he got into bed and read his night reading and turned off the light but never went to sleep. And then about 4:30 in the morning, the phone rang. And he picked up the phone, he said: "Yes, yes, yes. Good." And he said, "Luci, you can leave now. All the boys are back." And he had sent a bunch of young men on a very crucial mission.[46]

In this scenario, Luci's mere presence with President Johnson fortified her father during a difficult period of the war in Vietnam. And even though she probably did not recognize it at the time, because she was just helping her father, her actions had political significance as aide and comfort to the commander-in-chief.

Seeing how closely the family worked together at presenting a united family front during the campaign and in the White House prompted one observer to note: "Probably no other modern President has so family-ized his career for political purposes."[47] But why not? asks Lady Bird: "I think people can assess a man a little in relation to what kind of wife and family he has. They are interested in the total man, and that includes his family."[48] Moreover, if that family is made of good campaign surrogates, then all the better for President Johnson.

Tricia Nixon Cox

The eldest daughter of President and Mrs. Nixon was born on February 21, 1946, just nine days after her father launched his first political campaign.[49] Although Tricia grew up around politics, unlike her sister Julie (see "Hybrids" chapter), Tricia was always

---

[46] Larry King Live, CNN, 28 December 2001, Transcript #122800CN.V22.
[47] "The Family Next Door in the Big White House," *New York Times Magazine*, 31 July 1966, pgs:6-7.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Madeline Edmonson and Alden Cohen, *Women of Watergate*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1975): 83.

uncomfortable in front of crowds. Tricia was much more reserved like her mother when it came to participating in political activities. President Nixon described Tricia as "more an introvert. She is not one who enjoys the spotlight."[50] Tricia was 22 years old when her father ran for the presidency for the second time in 1968 and always being protective toward her father, she agreed to hit the campaign trail.[51] Along with her sister, Tricia was dispatched across the country campaigning in smaller towns and cities in more than 30 states.[52]

During the Republican National Convention Tricia "agreed to a full schedule of appearances on local talk shows and at press interviews..."[53] President Nixon knew the benefits of having his children on the campaign trail as surrogates on his behalf. He sought out events and speaking engagements that highlighted Tricia's strong suits, especially youth events. President Nixon looked to Tricia and Julie "for support and input from that generation, with which he otherwise has little contact" and "they remained staunchly loyal and were among his most vocal public defenders, to their own ostracism and ridicule."[54] Indeed, President Nixon essentially micromanaged Tricia and Julie's campaign schedules by choosing "where they should appear, how they should be introduced. Special aides and advance men were recruited for them...Nixon didn't miss a single opportunity to employ them to advantage."[55]

---

[50] "Nixon Depicts His Wife As Strong and Sensitive," *New York Times*, 14 March 1971, A1.
[51] Ibid. 84.
[52] Julie Nixon Eisenhower, *Pat Nixon: The Untold Story*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986): 236.
[53] Ibid., 243.
[54] Donnie Radcliffe, "The Political Heirs of Richard Nixon: His Daughters and the Clintons Were All Shaped by His Era," *Washington Post*, 27 April 1994, B1.
[55] John Ehrlichman, *Witness to Power*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982): 55.

With Nixon's win in 1968, Tricia moved with her parents into the White House. There she removed herself from public activities. "She held the expected school and hospital visits to a minimum and skipped official dinners; 'Tricia will be busy privately' was the usual notation on the family schedule issued to the press."[56] It got to the point to which members of the President and First Lady's staffs became frustrated by her determination to stay out of the spotlight. Indeed, President Nixon's aide John Ehrlichman stated: "no one could get the fairy princess to agree to come out of her tower."[57] At one point a teenage visitor to the White House inquired where Tricia was and "the First Lady replied, 'If you can find out, you're better than I am.'"[58] Finally, in April 1969, several months after her father's inauguration, she committed to participating in her first public activity. The White House wanted Tricia to participate in the Azalea Festival in Norfolk, Virginia. She obdurately refused to go until her father intervened. Nixon believed that an event such as this was exactly what a first daughter should do because it involved "good, clean young people, flowers and beauty."[59] Nixon also wanted Tricia to participate because "it was Tricia that her parents pinned their hopes for a truly 'royal' daughter..."[60] Furthermore, President Nixon wanted Tricia to participate for political reasons because Virginia was "a good state" that they had "carried twice."[61]

Even after attending the Festival, Tricia was never as active politically as her sister. From time-to- time she would fill in as a surrogate for her mother at White House

---

[56] Edmonson and Cohen, 86.
[57] Ehrlichman, 59.
[58] Nan Robertson, "Patricia Nixon," *New York Times*, 17 March 1971, pg.: 39.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Sandra L. Quinn-Musgrove and Sandford Kanter, *America's Royalty: All the President's Children* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995): 211.
[61] Edmonson and Cohen, 86.

events. In addition, Tricia played host for political visitors. For instance, Tricia, along with Julie, "entertained" Prince Charles and Princess Anne on their formal visit to Washington, D.C., from Great Britain. Tricia also gave a guided tour of the White House family quarters in an one hour CBS special hosted by newsmen Harry Reasoner and Mike Wallace.[62] As Nixon Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman details in his diary, when President Nixon found out CBS was only going to give Tricia 20 to 30 minutes of airtime, he became very agitated demanding that Tricia be given a full hour. As Haldeman recalls: "P(resident) feels she should have a full 60 minutes or nothing, says he controls the film and they can have a full hour, or nothing. Really mad, and said so, chewed me out worse than he ever has as P(resident)."[63] She became so adept at hosting White House events by herself and as a surrogate for her mother that *Newsweek* labeled her "Assistant First Lady."[64] Tricia also traveled as a representative of the president. In late 1969 she traveled to Great Britain as the President's surrogate at the investiture of Prince Charles and in 1972 she announced to the Republican leadership during a reception she was hosting for them that she had been invited by the Premier of China to visit China. Indeed, she did travel to China as a representative of her father along with her husband, Edward Cox, sister, and brother-in-law.[65]

Most remember Tricia Nixon not for her White House parties or her campaign speeches (although each had great political significance), but for her Rose Garden wedding in June 1971. The wedding to Edward Cox was the first outdoor wedding held

---

[62] Edmonson and Cohen, 86.
[63] H.R. Haldeman , *The Haldeman Diaries: Inside the Nixon White House*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1993): 156.
[64] Julie Nixon Eisenhower, 256.
[65] Dorothy McCardle, "China Trip for Nixon Daughters," *Washington Post*, 2 March 1972, B1.

at the White House in its history.[66] Just like Lynda and Luci Johnsons' weddings, Tricia's wedding served a politically symbolic purpose. According to historian Gil Troy, Nixon counted on his family to make him appear warm and loving, "calculating that his family's love made him lovable."[67] The key was to make sure that the family's close-knit loving environment be shown to the rest of the world. He was counting on his family to be symbols and what better way to display family togetherness than a wedding? Indeed, as H.R. Haldeman details in his diary: "this may be one of the event-type things that the P(resident)'s talking about, if we can take advantage of it properly."[68] As Gil Troy notes:

> The wedding solidified the Nixon's image as what Dick would call "America's First Family you can be proud of." The wedding also gave them a chance to reassert old-fashioned traditions focused on love, romance, and place-settings. The Nixon administration scored one of its greatest PR successes.[69]

Ironically, the day after the wedding on June 13, 1971, the *New York Times* published the "Pentagon Papers" which was the first in "a series of stories and events that would culminate in Richard Nixon's resignation from the presidency."[70]

The 1972 presidential campaign can be labeled, "Nixon Campaign, Minus Nixon,"[71] because President Nixon made the decision to minimize his own campaign appearances. Due to this strategy, the "family took over the burden of crisscrossing the

---

[66] Quinn-Musgrove and Kanter, 211.
[67] Gil Troy, *Affairs of State*, (New York: The Free Press, 1997): 194.
[68] Haldeman, 258.
[69] Troy, 193.
[70] Ibid.
[71] James T. Wooten, "Nixon Campaign, Minus Nixon, Spends a Day Here," *New York Times*, 8 September 1972, pg.: 20.

country making appearances."[72] Thus, Tricia took on a heavier campaign schedule. As has been mentioned, Tricia tended to shy away from doing any more than was necessary; that was left up to her sister Julie. Therefore, in the early months of the campaign, Tricia made fewer appearances than her sister and mother, but as the election date approached, she expanded her schedule. Just as in 1968, President Nixon was very concerned over the speech material for his family members during the 1972 campaign. Nixon also suggested talking points and anecdotes, as well as the best campaign schedule for each family member. In addition to Tricia, her husband Edward also "plunged right in and went onto college campuses to face some of the toughest audiences of all."[73]

After the election and the investigation into Watergate began to escalate, Tricia once again retreated behind closed doors like her mother. Therefore, her sister Julie "became the family link to the outside world."[74] Even though Tricia was reluctant to make public speeches during this period, she was not afraid to pick up the pen. In the spring of 1973 Tricia wrote a 1,500 word essay titled, "My Father and Watergate" that ran in two magazines.

> "Accusation without proof, accusation by unnamed so-called sources, accusation by rumor, is often a license to libel and lie." Tricia's essay begins and goes on to explain Watergate as a politically motivated attempt by "accusers" (never identified further) to force Richard Nixon out of office by means of "malicious rumors, charges of wrongdoing—unsubstantiated by any kind of proof—and out-and-out character assassination." Those nameless

---

[72] Richard Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*, (Norwalk, Connecticut: Easton Press, 1978): 686-687.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, *The Final Days*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976): 166.

> accusers, Tricia continues, wanted to rid themselves once and for all of Richard Nixon in order to "satisfy their own jealousy of a man who by his accomplishments reminded them of their own ineptitude and failure." The conclusion she carefully builds toward is that "the people who are now crucifying him for his principles and ideals are using the Watergate caper as their vehicle."[75]

Almost a year later in February 1974, Tricia and Edward did make a "campaign-style appearance in Lafayette Park across the street from the White House at a pro-Nixon rally."[76] They used the event to speak to the Nixon supporters and again denounce the attacks against the White House. It was not until several days before his resignation (and after the release of the June 23, 1972, tape) that President Nixon acknowledged to his family his involvement in the Watergate cover-up.

When her father left the White House, Tricia accompanied her parents back to San Clemente, California. "Yet, curiously, for Tricia at least, her father's political disgrace finally afforded her the anonymity she had always sought."[77]

Michael, Steve, and Susan Ford

Unlike Jack Ford (see Hybrids chapter), the rest of the Ford children are categorized as surrogates and will be discussed together in the following section. When Gerald Ford suddenly became president in August 1974, all of his children, except for Susan, were living outside their parents' home or preparing to leave for college. Michael was 23 years old and attending Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in South

---

[75] Edmonson and Cohen, 81.
[76] "Tricia, Cox Speak Out for Nixon," *Washington Post*, 1 February 1974, pg.: A 15.
[77] Donnie Radcliffe, "The Political Heirs of Richard Nixon..."

Hampton, Massachusetts, working on his master's degree. Jack was 21 and attending Utah State University working on a forestry degree. Steve was 18, a recent graduate from high school and debating going to college or beginning a career as a rancher. Susan, the only Ford child still at home, was 16 and beginning her junior year in high school.

As Jack has stated, the family entered the White House determined to be themselves.[78] They felt that their low-key, down-to-earth lifestyle was what the country needed after the previous occupant of the White House. The Ford family quickly became the object of desire for the media. Because the Ford children (and their mother) were open and honest individuals, and very distinct in personality, the media followed their every move reporting on all things positive and negative (Did they smoke marijuana? Was Susan having an affair? Was Steve a draft dodger? Can Michael quell his mother's tongue?) However, the media soon got to know all four very well through the campaign process. Even thought most were reluctant to make public political appearances, each in their own way sought to help their father as surrogates in the 1976 campaign.

Michael Ford

As the oldest Ford child, Michael had already moved away from home by the time his father became president. Michael was recently married to his wife Gayle and was attending Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in South Hampton, Massachusetts, as a divinity student. Therefore, Michael was the least politically active of the four Ford children. Nevertheless, when the 1976 campaign began to heat up, Michael campaigned as much as his schedule would allow because he found it to be "his Christian duty to do

[78] Jack Ford, interview with author, 16 February 2004.

so."[79] Michael tended to campaign in the Northeast closest to his home base, acting as a surrogate fill-in for his father at Ford-Dole headquarters' openings, visiting strip malls around the area passing out campaign literature, shaking hands, and attending parades in the "caravan"[80] set up by the President Ford Committee.

Beyond his surrogate activities, symbolically Michael's religion became a campaign tool as well. It becomes obvious from White House and President Ford Committee memoranda that Michael's religion was being used strategically to highlight President Ford's religious attitudes and beliefs as compared to his opponent Jimmy Carter (who had been very vocal during the primary phase that he was a born again Christian).

For instance, the first set of campaign commercials released by the Ford campaign during the general election highlighted the Ford family. Ford's primary commercials focused on his leadership skills. These commercials were designed to counteract the Ronald Reagan offensive during the primaries. However, by the time the convention approached, Ford felt that those whom he had hired to improve his image had failed in alerting the American public to who Ford was as a person. The campaign knew it was necessary to get this personal message out and the best way to do this was through his family. A New York based production firm (Bailey/Deardourff Productions) was called in to produce a film for the Republican Convention and subsequent campaign ads that highlighted the Ford family and the human side of President Ford. The convention film was titled "Ford the Man," and the campaign ad featuring the family was titled, "Sometimes a Man's Family Can Tell A Lot About A Man" and was "five minutes of

---

[79] "It's the Clash of the Clans," *Time* 11 October, 1976, pg: 24.
[80] Source: "People for Ford" memorandum from Pat Bailey to Elly Peterson

love, pride, respect, patriotism, and family unity set to music."[81] Indeed, "the emphasis on family as a vehicle for portraying character (was) so pronounced that the President almost appear(ed) to be riding the coattails of his attractive children..."[82]

The convention film and commercials portray "Mike (as) the Republican answer to Carter's appeal to born-again Christians."[83] Indeed, Michael

> talks about the place of religious values in his family's life and declares his parents to be 'very devout.' The President speaks of the satisfaction he derives from his son's commitment to the ministry... The effect of this interlude in the commercial is to balance out the attention that has been paid in the campaign to Mr. Carter's religious views.[84]

In the sound roll transcript of the raw footage of the interview conducted with Michael for the making of the commercials, it is obvious that most of the questions asked Michael revolve around moral and religious values. Therefore, one can deduct that the campaign purposefully set out to use Michael in this manner. Indeed, there are certain areas of the sound roll transcript, which are literally highlighted or underlined by the President Ford Committee. Again, one can deduct that these areas of the interview were more important. For instance, Michael responded to one question by stating:

> ...I feel that the religious feelings within our family are very strong and... and very essential to our lives. I think that they're expressed in a very personal and intimate level... I think that they (parents) are very devout

---

[81] Malcolm D. MacDougall, *We Almost Made It*, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1977): 117.
[82] Joseph Lelyveld, "President's Latest TV Commercials Portray Him As Father Figure Who Inspires Quiet Confidence," *New York Times*, 29 September 1976, pg: 22.
[83] Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Packaging the President*, 3rd edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): 348.
[84] Lelyveld.

> and serious believers in...in their Lord and...and they practice that in their daily lives...[85]

In another part of the interview Michael asserts that the qualities he most admired about his father are Ford's "firm beliefs in the high qualities of truth and honesty and decency and he lives by those consistently or to his best ability and I believe that this is reflective in his work and in his service..."[86] These two quotes were highlighted by the President Ford Committee and appeared in the commercial.

Michael's religion also became the subject matter of a White House memorandum (dated August 2, 1976) about Michael's attendance at the Republican National Convention in Kansas City in 1976. The memorandum was sent from Terry O'Donnell to Dick Cheney. The memorandum expresses a concern over Michael and Gayle's attendance for the first night of the convention. It was noted in the memorandum that the television cameras often pan more to the family and "(n)eedless to say, Mike and Gayle are a great looking couple, and, considering Mike's vocation, they are a terrific asset to the President. It will help to have them seen on television as much as possible."[87] Therefore, even though Michael fulfilled a limited surrogate role during the campaign, the President Ford Committee found ways to use his religion symbolically.

Steve Ford

When his father ascended to the presidency, Steve Ford, the youngest son, had just begun his freshman year at the University of Utah. Eventually Steve transferred to California State Polytechnic Institute to study animal science. Steve preferred to stay out

---

[85] Source: Sound Roll Transcripts—1976: Ford Research Library.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Source: Ford Research Library, PP 5-2; PL 1.

of the spotlight of his father's political world. Steve did not participate in many political activities until the 1976 campaign. The one exception was the news he made when it was announced in September 1974 that he had not signed up for the draft as mandated by law for every man in the United States when he turns 18. The controversy was short-lived. The White House spokesperson argued that, "It really slipped his mind. It's nothing more than that. There were a lot of things going on with his father at that time."[88] Steve quickly signed up for the draft and went back to his private life.

At the 1976 Republican National Convention in Kansas City Steve made his campaign debut and surprised everyone with his abilities. Steve emerged from Kansas City labeled by the media as the Ford campaign's "secret weapon."[89] Campaign staffers were also impressed and decided to use Steve in the campaign as much as possible. Steve began a campaign tour of 11 Western states in a 27-ft. motor home with friends with the notion to lure younger voters to support his father.[90] Steve visited small towns all across the West visiting with campaign workers and going door-to-door soliciting votes.

Steve also participated in the President Ford Committee convention film and campaign commercials. Again, the sound roll transcript of the interview done with Steve also highlights, as with Michael, how the campaign felt Steve could be used. The list of questions asked Steve centered around not only personal questions about his father, but also about Steve's viewpoint on young Americans. For instance, when questioned about young Americans, Steve responded that young people in America were upset and disillusioned coming out of the Nixon years and that his father brought a "new air" to the

---

[88] Diane Henry, "Ford's Son Tardy in Draft Registry," *New York Times*, 21 September 1974, pg.: 18.
[89] Gene Spagnoli, "A Ford's Secret Weapon? Son Steve Has All the Moves," *Daily News*, 20 August 1976, pg.: 4.
[90] "It's the Clash of the Clans."

White House and that made young Americans "feel good...(and) maybe put a little more belief in what they saw there."[91] Steve's political activities were therefore limited to the general election phase, participating politically very little before that.

Susan Ford

Susan Ford, the only daughter (and youngest child) of President and Mrs. Ford, at one point acknowledges the fish bowl she was living in while in the White House. Upon moving into the White House, Susan commented: "I knew I would have to be very very cautious because anything I did in the White House could reflect on my parents."[92] Outside the campaign, none but Susan performed many surrogate duties. Being the only child still left at home (and because of her sex), Susan was called upon at times to perform surrogate duties for her mother in the White House. During her mother's bout with breast cancer, Susan took over the ceremonial duties of First Lady hosting luncheons and attending White House receptions as her father's escort including hosting the white-tie dinner for President Leone of Italy on October 5, 1975.[93] Susan was asked to attend these types of State events because the White House saw her as "decorative at the head table."[94] Susan was also called on frequently to entertain children of other heads-of-state. For example, in April 1975 Susan entertained Valerie Giscard D'Estaing of France while President Ford was having talks with Valerie's father. Susan performed the same

---

[91] Sound Roll Transcript. President Ford Committee. Ford Research Library.
[92] Gerald Ford, *A Time to Heal*, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers and the Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1979): 158.
[93] "Susan Ford: Dressing For an Active Life," *Ladies Home Journal*, 1975 January, pg. 72.
[94] Source: White House Memorandum from Lucy Winchester to President Ford, Subject: Susan Ford's Participation in Upcoming Social Events, 1 October 1974.

function again in June 1975 when she entertained Anura Bandaranaike, daughter of the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.[95]

Until the campaign began, most Americans knew Susan primarily as the "all American girl" next door. She was featured frequently on the cover of women's magazines and then got her own job with the media writing a monthly column for *Seventeen Magazine*. Each month for a year beginning in the Spring of 1975 in "Susan Ford's White House Diary," Susan discussed whatever was on her mind at the time (the topics of discussions ranged from her mother's illness to how her brothers teased her about her boyfriends). As part of her dream to become a photojournalist, Susan was granted summer internships with Ansel Adams and the *Topeka State Journal/Daily Capital*. Later, Susan was a part-time photographer for the Associated Press covering the White House. However, Susan was fired from this job due to "irresponsible journalism." Susan had been told that she could not work for the Associated Press and her father's campaign because of the conflict of interest. When she chose to help on the campaign trail, the Associated Press had to terminate her employment. This ended the "heated" debate over whether to allow Susan into the White House Photographers Association.[96]

Even though Susan was a working member of the press for a while that did not mean that she would not make news herself (thanks to her mother). In August of 1975, Betty Ford gave an interview to *60 Minutes* in which she proceeded to state that she would not be surprised if her daughter was having an affair and "if she wanted to

---

[95] Ford Research Library, White House Central File, PP 5-5.
[96] Source: Ford Research Library, White House Central Files, PP 5-5.

continue…I would certainly counsel her and advise her on the subject…"[97] Soon followed a lot of criticism of Mrs. Ford's comments. Many of the more conservative members of her husband's party were flabbergasted that she would make such comments. When asked to comment, Susan stated, "she did not have any affair to tell about. Not yet. I'll leave it at that."[98] Although Susan was not directly involved in the comments of her mother, she did become an issue for dinnertime conversion for weeks afterwards.

Even though her mother's interview put a symbolic spotlight on Susan, Susan's primary role in the Ford White House was as surrogate. As has already been mentioned, Susan frequently filled in for her mother as hostess at the White House. Susan also acted as surrogate for her father during the 1976 campaign.

From the beginning, Susan was honest with her father that she was not comfortable with public speaking but wanted to be active in the campaign process. Instead of speaking engagements, Susan filled in for her father at campaign stops (typically in parades). Therefore, "smiling like a homecoming queen, Susan (was) dispatched to march down Main Streets at the first roll of the drum"[99] all over the United States.[100] Beyond parades, Susan often made campaign appearances at opening ceremonies for the Ford-Dole headquarters around the country. Susan would travel state-to-state talking to the campaign staffs and volunteers. She also helped in volunteer

---

[97] "Betty Ford Would Accept 'An Affair' by Daughter," *New York Times*, 11 August 1975, pg. 16.
[98] "Susan Ford Liked Mother's Interview, But Others Criticize View on 'Affair'" *New York Times*, 12 August 1975, pg. 59.
[99] "It's the Clash of the Clans," *Time* 11 October, 1976, pg: 24.
[100] Susan was sent to parades across the country as a fill-in for her father, but always to significant events that mandated a Ford family member be present. For instance, Susan was sent to the New York City based Steuben Parade in September 1976. This annual parade honored Major General Friederich von Steuben, George Washington's inspector general. The parade was a celebration of German-Americans and their heritage. Source: Pranay Gupte, "Miss Ford Likes Steuben Parade, Sees President Doing Well Here," *New York Times*, 19 September 1976, pg: 36.

recruiting efforts and soliciting votes at each stop. According to her mother, "Susan was a terrific asset because she put on no airs and refused to become embroiled in debate she didn't understand."[101]

Susan from time to time was also called upon for damage control as well. For instance, on one primary campaign swing through New Hampshire, the Ford campaign sent Susan out to the ski slopes, "to pacify any New Hampshire voters who might have been offended by Ron Nessen (press secretary) saying the Fords found the state 'too icy' for their favorite sport."[102] While Susan was making amends for comments made by the press secretary, it freed up her father to visit the college campuses of New Hampshire and her mother to work the phone banks soliciting support from the voters of New Hampshire.[103] Therefore, even though Susan performed a symbolic role just by being the only daughter (and only child still living at home) of President and Mrs. Ford, she also voluntarily chose a surrogate role during the 1976 campaign to help solicit votes for her father.

Jack, Chip, and Jeff Carter

Like the Ford children, most of the Carter children performed surrogate roles, except Amy (see "Symbols" chapter) due to her age. When Jimmy Carter first ran for the presidency in 1976, all three of the Carter sons were all grown and living outside their parents' home. Jack, at the age of 29, was a recently graduated law student from the University of Georgia Law School. Chip, at the age of 26, was a businessman. Jeff, the youngest Carter son at 24, was finishing college degree and beginning a career as an

---

[101] Betty Ford, *The Times of My Life*, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1978): 262-263.
[102] Ibid., 258.
[103] Ibid.

entrepreneur. Freshly graduated from George Washington University, he and a college professor were busy jump-starting a computer-consulting firm.

Of the four, Chip was the most politically active. Indeed, Chip actually showed signs early on of his ambitions to run for office himself. Jack and Jeff on the other hand were more reluctant to become politically active because of the loss of anonymity that accompanies it. However, especially in terms of their father's two presidential bids, each one of the Carter sons performed a surrogate role in order to help win support among the electorate for their father.

Jack Carter

As the eldest child of President and Mrs. Carter, Jack felt that "he was able to speak with authority about his father's interests,"[104] but was reluctant to live in the White House or become a public figure. Jack struggled through college at Georgia Tech, where he "essentially flunked out."[105] After transferring to and from several other universities, he finally did receive his degree and then joined the Navy like his father. Jack was released from the Navy in 1970 with a less-than-honorable discharge when he was caught smoking marijuana at the Navy Nuclear Power School in Idaho Falls, Idaho, where he was serving as an electronics technician.[106] Jack was caught just before his father became governor of Georgia, but his ouster from the Navy did not become public knowledge until right before his father was sworn in as President in January 1977. Jack's discharge became a media topic of discussion because of President Carter's "sweeping

---

[104] Sandra L. Quinn-Musgrove and Sandford Kanter, *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995): 221.
[105] Joyce Leviton, "The White House Beckons, but Jack Carter Would Rather Shovel Soybeans in Georgia," *People*, 25 April 1977, pgs: 31-32.
[106] "Navy Ousted Carter Son for Pot Use," Associate Press, 18 January 1977.

review of Vietnam-era discharges."[107] At the time, Jack announced, that he would not apply to have his discharge upgraded under the new policy put in place by his father. He stated: "I'm not proud of my general discharge, but I'm not one of those people who have been adversely affected by it."[108] Moreover, just like Jack Ford, Jack Carter continued to advocate that marijuana use should be decriminalized.

After being released from the Navy, Jack attended law school at the University of Georgia and graduated in June 1975 in the middle of his father's bid for the White House. As soon as Jack graduated, he joined the campaign trail along with his wife Judy, who gave birth to the first Carter grandchild (Jason) in August of the same year. In the spring of 1975, while finishing his studies, Jack traveled Georgia and South Carolina as a surrogate for his father. He also worked at the telephone bank at the Carter headquarters in Atlanta. Upon graduation, Jack and Judy both traveled on separate schedules so that one of them would always be with Jason. Eventually, to provide for more time on the campaign, Rosalynn Carter's mother moved in with Jack and Judy to take care of Jason so they would be free travel more. As Rosalynn Carter recalls:

> They went to Iowa the week before the caucuses in January of '76 and campaigned in New Hampshire the last week before the primary there. After these early elections they went everywhere, spending a lot of time in New Jersey and Illinois. They traveled all over upstate New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and went to California, Washington, and Oregon,

---

[107] Leviton.
[108] Ibid.

among other states.[109]

Indeed, by the time of the election, Jack had spent ten months on the campaign trail and traveled over 150,000 miles on behalf of his father.[110]

After his father was elected, Jack wanted nothing more than to move back to Georgia and leave the political world to his father. Jack also did not look forward to practicing law full-time. Instead, he built a "grain storage complex with a 250,000 bushel capacity on the outskirts of Calhoun (Georgia)" where he "look(ed) forward to making his fortune."[111]

Even though Jack had dreams of disappearing in the Georgia countryside, his wife Judy stepped up her public political activities once President Carter was inaugurated. Judy was the honorary chair of the President's Advisory Committee on Women and as part of this role, traveled the world attending women's conferences as a representative of the president. Jack frequently traveled with Judy on these trips, such as her attendance at the United Nations Mid-Decade Conference on Women in Copenhagen in July 1980 and the International Community Education Conference in Melbourne in May 1970.[112] After her attendance at the International Women's Year Commission's National Women's Conference in Houston in 1977, she was invited with other women in the administration that attended the conference to brief President Carter on her "impressions of the Conference."[113] In this capacity, Judy was serving as an ambassador of sorts for the President.

---

[109] Rosalynn Carter, *First Lady from Plains*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984): 120-121.
[110] Leviton.
[111] Ibid.
[112] "Carter's Briefing Was Brief," Associated Press, 22 May 1979.
[113] White House memorandum from Margaret Costanza. 30 November 1977, Carter Library, PP 5-2.

Jack also made a few political appearances post the 1976 campaign, although he preferred to stay out of the spotlight, before participating in his father's reelection effort in 1980. For instance, Jack represented the First Family at the South Carolina Festival of Flowers in the summer of 1978 and other similar regional events.[114]

In conclusion, Jack Carter was "a college graduate who question(ed) the value of higher education, a lawyer who…turned away from the law and a seasoned campaigner who has sworn off politics."[115] However, when needed, he stepped in to the fray of a presidential campaign to act as his father's surrogate to help further his father's political career.

Chip Carter

Chip Carter, the second son of President and Mrs. Carter, "is often viewed as the most similar to his political father, both in appearance and in ambition."[116] Chip first became politically active during the 1960 presidential race in which he volunteered for John F. Kennedy. Chip also actively worked for his father's campaigns for the Georgia State house and the Georgia governorship.

In the 1976 and 1980 presidential campaigns, Chip "proved to be the most politically active and effective member…of the immediate family."[117] Chip

> often substituted for (his) father…particularly during the period of the 1980 election when Carter chose not to engage directly in the domestic politics—claiming the higher priority was the Iranian hostage crisis. For the

---

[114] Letter from House of Representative Member Butler Derrick to President Carter, 27 July 1978. Carter Presidential Library, PP 5-2.
[115] Leviton.
[116] Quinn-Musgrove and Kanter, 222.
[117] Ibid.

> most part, Jimmy campaigned from the White House rose garden, which eventually led to a political term—a rose garden strategy—that described a candidate's staying at home, on the job. Carter felt secure knowing that Chip, and other family members were making political appearances and delivering speeches during the early stages of the 1980 election..."[118]

Like his brother Jack, Chip also traveled the country during 1975 and 1976 campaigning for his father. Chip was especially good at fundraising and was called on often by the Carter campaign to meet one-on-one with potential donors.[119] Chip was so good at raising money that he was sent from state and state seeking out donors. Chip participated in other ways as well. For instance,

> Late in the summer of 1975 he and Caron (his wife), with twenty-two other young campaign workers moved into a big house in Concord, New Hampshire, which they named Camp Carter, and with that as headquarters, they traveled to other states. From the time they arrived until the primary, we estimated that they worked day in and day out in New Hampshire for a total of six solid months besides campaigning in Florida, spending November and December of 1975 in Iowa, and campaigning in Vermont, Maine, and Massachusetts. After the New Hampshire primary, Chip was in every state that had a primary except Alaska.[120]

After 16 months on the campaign trail, Chip worked on the Inaugural committee and then he and Caron moved into the White House where Chip unofficially[121] worked as

---

[118] Ibid.
[119] Rosalynn Carter, 20.
[120] Ibid.

an errand runner and message carrier for his father.[122] Chip also worked part-time for the Democratic National Committee (DNC) as Director of Special Events. He served at the DNC for seven months before moving back to Plains, Georgia.[123]

Even after leaving Washington, D.C., Chip was called upon by the White House to fill in as a surrogate for his father at certain events. Chip was called on more than any of his siblings, likely because he was the most willing and most adept. Chip saw it his personal responsibility "to be on call whenever Dad needs me to go somewhere for information-gathering."[124] Indeed, President Carter felt comfortable dispatching Chip as his personal representative. President Carter stated in 1977 that "he could send Chip on missions 'with no fear that he will make a mistake and no doubt that he understands the attitudes and the hopes and dreams and aspirations of the American people.'"[125]

Chip represented his father at wide-ranging events. For instance, in 1977 alone Chip was a surrogate for his father on a trip to the People's Republic of China where he traveled with a 10 member Congressional delegation and members of the National Security Council and Department of State. While on this trip, President Carter specifically dispatched Chip to Peking for talks with Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien. In preparation for his meeting, Chip was briefed by White House security advisors before he departed Washington, D.C. Chip was "urged...to press the Chinese to have one of their

---

[121] The President wanted Chip to work in the White House in an official capacity, but nepotism is prohibited by Title 5, Section 3110 of the United States Code. Therefore, Chip could only work in an unofficial capacity.
[122] Ibid, 182.
[123] "1977 Makes Carters Million-Dollar Clan," *New York Times*, 29 December, pg. 26.
[124] Dennis A. Williams and Thomas M. DeFrank, "A Chip Off the Carter Block," *Newsweek Magazine*, 4 April, 1977, pg.: 29.
[125] Charles Mohr, "Carter Pleased With His Family and Presidency," *New York Times*, 7 June 1977, pg.: 19.

most senior leaders visit Washington—and to hint that this could well be a condition for a Jimmy Carter trip to Peking."[126] In the same year, Chip and Caron acted as surrogates for the president at the Queen's Jubilee in Great Britain. Chip also represented his father at the groundbreaking ceremony for the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York. Beyond, affairs of State, Chip also performed a surrogate role during a time of disaster. After massive winter storms struck the New York in the winter of 1977, President Carter dispatched Chip to several counties in the area to "gather information on the economic and social impact of the winter storm."[127] Chip briefed his father on the damage and from this information; President Carter declared nine counties in Western New York disaster areas and provided expanded federal assistance.

In other years, Chip also filled in for his father when needed. Chip attended the funeral of President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed of India on behalf of his father. He also served as a greeting party for the administration when the King of Saudi Arabia arrived in Cleveland, Ohio on his arrival in the United States for surgery. Chip also volunteered in 1979 to serve as a surrogate for his father at the inaugurations of the newly elected Democratic governors around the country. Chip ended up attending Massachusetts and New Hampshire's inauguration (I am presuming that these states were strategically chosen because of their relevance in the upcoming Democratic primaries for president). Chip also was a surrogate for his father in more mundane activities such as attending the renaming ceremony of the Federal Office Building and Courthouse in Nashville, Tennessee (bringing with him a hand-delivered message from President Carter) and

---

[126] John A. Conway, "Diplomat in the Family," *Newsweek Magazine*, 9 May 1977, pg.: 21.
[127] White House memorandum from Margaret Costanza to Frank Moore detailing the results of Chip Carter's trip to New York. 14 March, 1977. Source: Carter Presidential Library, PP 5-3.

attending the luncheon for the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences on behalf of his father.[128]

All of these activities exemplify why Chip Carter is viewed as the most active surrogate of the Carter children.

Jeff Carter

Of the four Carter children, Jeff was the most private. Indeed, with the "heyday of mass media coverage and with a family which by itself attracted the most detailed attention perhaps ever experienced by a first family (up to that point), Jeff Carter managed to remain a mystery to most of the public."[129] Even though Jeff was much more reserved, he and his wife, Annette did help campaign as surrogates in 1976 and in 1980. In the beginning phases of the campaign in 1976, Jeff spent a lot of time working the telephone banks from the headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. There he helped raise money from donors and worked on creating voter lists. As the primaries began to grow closer, Jeff and Annette,

> moved into an apartment…in Manchester, New Hampshire, and worked there for seven and a half weeks before the primary. The two of them campaigned in seventy-three towns in New Hampshire alone—that's a lot of local newspaper headlines and radio talk shows. They left New Hampshire the day after the primary and started to work in Florida. They also campaigned in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, among other states, and were on the road constantly until after the Democratic Convention, when (they) took

[128] Source: Carter Presidential Library, PP 5-3.
[129] Quinn and Kanter, 223.

> a break before starting all over again in the general election.[130]

Beyond their campaign activities, Jeff and Annette did act as surrogates for President Carter on a number of occasions. For instance, they both

> represented the United States at the funeral of President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and the Africans were overwhelmed. In Africa the son of a family is revered, and the fact that the President of the United States would send his own son to the funeral said words that we could not have expressed in any other way.[131]

Jeff and Annette also attended the inauguration of the first elected Governor of Samoa and made friends with Governor Peter Coleman's daughter. Jeff and Annette later hosted a White House dinner in her honor in 1978.[132] In addition, Annette served as the "personal representative on (a) goodwill mission" to Berlin (on an exchange visit for the Friendship Force) with hopes of "contribut(ing) to peace and friendship among nations."[133]

Jeff Carter did not participate as much as his other two brothers outside the campaigns mainly due to his business career. After graduating from George Washington University, Jeff and one of his former professors began a computer consulting company in 1978, which took up most of Jeff's time. Coincidently, even though Jeff was not participating as much in American politics, his company drew some criticism when it was hired by Imelda Marcos to rebuild slums in the Philippines. Soon after, President

---

[130] Rosalynn Carter, 120.
[131] Ibid., 182.
[132] White House memorandum 26 January 1978, Carter Presidential Library, PP 5-4.
[133] Letter from President Jimmy Carter to the Northern Virginia Friendship Force before their trip to Berlin. 1 November 1978, Carter Presidential Library PP 5-4.

Ferdinand Marcos "offered to hire them to set up a computer mapping system for the entire country."[134]

Jeb, Marvin, and Dorothy Bush

President George Herbert Walker Bush and Barbara Bush had five children who were all well over the age of 18 when he made his second run for the presidency in 1988. Because all were well entrenched in their careers and family, their surrogate role on the campaign was limited and their surrogate role outside the campaign was nearly non-existent. The following section discusses three of the five Bush children: Jeb, Marvin and Dorothy. George W. Bush, the most active of the Bush children, is discussed in the "Informal Advisor" chapter and Neil is discussed in the "Skeletons" chapter. Because the Bush children did have a more limited role than many of the other presidential children discussed in this chapter, their political activities are discussed together.

1988

When George Bush made his second run for the presidency in 1988, Jeb Bush was 35 years old and the Secretary of Commerce of Florida where he lived with his wife and three children. Marvin was a 32-year-old businessman living in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife and daughter. Dorothy (Doro), the youngest and only daughter (the Bushes' first daughter, Robin, died of acute leukemia at the age of four in 1949) was 29 years old and was living in Cape Elizabeth, Maine, with her husband and two children. Needless to say, each of these three was settled into their own life and when their father ran for the presidency in 1988, they provided as much time as they were capable. However, each provided as much time as possible to help their father win the White

---

[134] "No Need For Welfare: Jeff Carter's Rising Career," *Time Magazine*, 18 August 1980, pg: 23.

House. Some were better than others were at making speeches (Doro would often break into tears when she would talk about her father) but each provided their own individual talents.

On the day of George Bush's inauguration, television news anchor Tom Brokaw praised the Bush children. "A big part of the success of George Bush is owed to his children who were out there campaigning very hard for him."[135] The Bush children were actually written into the campaign script as early as 1986. The whole Bush family was summoned to Camp David, and they were "sat down...and met the demographics guy and Lee Atwater and...(were)told...how this campaign would be packaged and the strategy, and...had charts and maps."[136] It was obviously a family affair from the start.

"All of the Bush children had put their lives on hold to join the presidential campaign."[137] George W. moved from Midland, Texas, to Washington, D.C., while Jeb resigned his position as Secretary of Commerce, and Neil and Marvin both took leaves of absence from their respective careers. Upon returning home from the campaign trail Doro took a job at the Maine Department of Tourism and by August of 1989, she separated from her husband of seven years. Doro had once been a full-time mother and bookkeeper for her husband's construction company. With her new job, she had finally found her niche, and she and her husband, Bill LeBlond, no longer had the same goals. She and Bill divorced in 1990, and in 1992 she remarried to Democratic lobbyist, Robert Koch. Doro received some bad press during the period that she was going through her

---

[135] "Today" NBC News, 20 January 1989.
[136] Ann Grimes, *Running Mates*, (New York: William Morrow and Co. Inc., 1990): 192.
[137] Ibid., 286.

divorce. President Bush had created a public image of his family as being perfect and one of them getting a divorce perceptively tarnished this image.

The Bush children traveled the country during the primaries, spending most of their time in the states that had the earliest primaries. All of them campaigned quite a bit in Iowa. When Bush was defeated by Bob Dole in the caucuses "the vice-president hightailed to New Hampshire before the caucus results were counted, leaving three grim-faced Bush children to concede his defeat: ...(They) make the obligatory appearances before the media, then headed to a hotel ballroom to thank discouraged supporters."[138] Thus, the Bush children were left to represent their father as surrogates in Iowa while he rushed to New Hampshire to save his campaign. Indeed, the Bush children were left the face his defeat in Iowa for him.

Each of the Bush children also participated as delegates at the Republican National Convention. Each acted as representatives of their father among the other delegates and was able to cast their votes for their respective states. The convention itself turned into a family affair all the way around. "During the convention's roll call his daughter, four sons, and Columba Bush, his Mexican-born daughter-in-law, who spoke Spanish, nominated him from five separate states. Columba's son led the Pledge of Allegiance."[139]

All of the children traveled the nation making speeches for their father. Doro was always a little reluctant to speak in public. She felt uncomfortable speaking to groups at first but by the end of the campaign began to feel a little more comfortable with her

---

[138] Ibid., 70.
[139] Ibid., 125.

surroundings; "but she does seem to relish talking about her father."[140] This is the fact that seemed to pull her through all of the campaigning in1988 and in 1992. Indeed, even with her initial reluctance, she has been deemed the "secret weapon" of the 1988 and subsequent campaigns of her father and brothers.[141] At the time, President Bush was quoted saying:

> Doro is a "person who loves her privacy, and yet when thrust into the political arena, she grew enormously and talked to all kinds of groups," he said. "One of the events that summed it up best for me was when she got the firefighters of New Jersey to endorse me. She kind of choked up talking about her dad, and they all understood, and they all stood up and clapped for her."[142]

Doro often traveled with her mother campaigning as well as sometimes with her father. She seemed to be a stabilizing factor for the both of them. She knew that no matter how stressful making speeches and traveling the country were, her parents were feeling the stress ten fold more than she was:

> "The campaign was horrendous. It was horrible," Doro said bluntly after the election. "Everybody's nervous around you. You have these people around you who are just like…one false move and we are dead, you know. But Mom and Dad have such great senses of humor, it helps you through.
>
> "I traveled with my dad the last five days of the campaign," she continued. "It had nothing to do with me. I just think it had something to

[140] "My Dad, The President," *Family Circle Magazine*, 27 June 1989, pgs.: 93-95.
[141] Doug Wead, *All the Presidents' Children: Triumph and Tragedy in the Lives of America's First Families*, (New York: Atria Books, 2003): 291.
[142] "My Dad, The President."

> do with someone from his family being with him. Someone told me, Roger Ailes or whoever it was, 'You cannot believe how much more relaxed your dad is when you are around.' And I think he just meant having someone who is around him who is not going, 'Your hair is wrong.' 'You can't say that.' Whatever it is. Dad never listens."[143]

Interestingly from this excerpt it becomes clear that Doro was performing multiple political roles at once. She was performing the primary role of surrogate, but her mere presence with her father was providing him with the calm and stability that he needed during the final stretch of the campaign.

1989-1992

The five Bush children had gone back to their own lives for a few years and then were called upon once again to campaign for their father again in 1992. This time it was not to get their father into the White House but to keep him there. They were present in the 1992 campaign but were not as visibly important as they were in 1988. The reasons for this are debatable, but their lack of visibility may have hurt Bush in the long run. The campaign was family oriented to a degree. For example, Doro along with her mother, her aunt Nancy Ellis, her sister-in-law Margaret Bush and her niece Noelle all went on several bus trips together.

> (They) each would give a short talk and then work the crowd. (Barbara) spoke first, introducing Nan(cy), who spoke as a sister and then introduced Margaret, who spoke as a teacher and daughter-in-law and then introduced Doro, who spoke as a daughter and then introduced Noelle, the cleanup

[143] Grimes, 204-205.

hitter, who spoke as a granddaughter. (They) had crowds every place (they) went in Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, Pennslyvania, and New Jersey.[144]

Even though the main political role of these three Bush children was that of surrogate, it is important to point out that the Bush family as a whole was being used for symbolic purposes as well. The Bush family went far beyond the five children to their spouses as well as their children (there were 10 grandchildren in 1988 and 13 when George Bush left office in 1993). Images of the children and grandchildren were displayed all over the media. They were used in order to provide the image of President Bush as a supporter of family values and such a decent man that when his daughter tries to talk about him she begins to weep. One of the most memorable uses of his grandchildren was one of Bush's campaign advertisements in 1988 in which one of his granddaughters, Ellie LeBlond, runs to Bush and he turns around and picks her up. The commercial had its intended effects, which was to emotionally grab the audience and display that Bush was a loving grandfather. It also affected staunch Dukakis supporters. As George Bush recalls: "One of the Democrats said, 'If I see that little girl one more time, I might vote for the son of bitch.'"[145] There is no doubt that the extended Bush family was used for symbolic purposes, but when it came down to the individual votes the experiences of the Bush children stumping from state to state as surrogates suggests that role was the most dominant.

Something else stands out about the Bushes that has not been mentioned thus far but might be a trend for the future. The Bush children also served as "conduits to the

---

[144] Barbara Bush, *A Memoir*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994): 490.
[145] "George Bush," *People Magazine*, 26 December-2 January 1989, pgs.: 44.

White House from the world beyond the Rose Garden."[146] It is no secret that President and Mrs. Bush relied on varying forms of information and with their children being in so many; different stages of life themselves it is not inconceivable that they were called upon for their opinions as to what they were hearing outside the White House gates.[147] This sounds very similar to what was seen in the case of Lynda and Luci Johnson as well.

However, for Jeb, Marvin, and Doro, their main role was as a surrogate. In summing up it would be fitting to end with the words of Marvin Bush. When asked during the 1988 campaign about the Bush children's involvement in campaign activities, he replied:

> I don't have any aspirations to get involved in politics myself, but you know, I really have been very fortunate, as have all of my siblings, to be able to get out and participate in this campaign. It's rare when you're the son of somebody or the daughter of somebody to be able to really feel like you have an opportunity to give something back to your parents and to say "thank you" in some certain way. For us it's been this opportunity. The greatest thing that you can possibly have is this sense...the ability to say, "Maybe in our own small ways, we've been able to help some." So I've been actively involved in the campaign and have enjoyed it tremendously—traveling around the country as a *surrogate* (emphasis mine) speaker for my father.[148]

---

[146] Grimes, 298.

[147] Although it should be noted that they failed to inform their father about supermarket scanning machines and the prices of common food staples such as milk and bread which the media caught him on during his 1992 reelection campaign.

[148] Cory SerVaas, "Our Healthy VEEP and Family," *Saturday Evening Post*, October 1988, pg. 44.

Conclusion

Surrogates are much needed on the campaign trail, and this is where their impact is felt the most. Again, surrogates help humanize the candidates and presidents, they can reach varying demographics, and they serve as mouthpieces. All of the surrogates mentioned above, performed in the campaign arena while others also spoke around the country outside of the campaign arena or filled in for their father or mother when needed. All of these tasks had political significance because the presidential children were able to carry a political message to a larger audience of people than could the president alone and helped alleviate the burden on candidates and presidents to be at all places at one. Therefore, it serves to reason that those presidents with the most active children have a greater political advantage than those with fewer active children.

CHAPTER VII.

INFORMAL ADVISORS/CONFIDANT(E)S

Some presidential children have unique talents they can bring to a presidential candidate or president. This chapter examines those presidential children that are, like their father, politically versed and have a strong sense of what the right choices may be for a campaign, administration, or for the president personally. These presidential children also feel comfortable listening to the president and offering themselves as a sounding board as he confronts the day-to-day struggles of the office. Obviously, these children are not on staff due to nepotism laws,[1] but rather they offer their advice and support. In essence, they are part of what can be considered a president's "kitchen cabinet."

These "informal advisors'" primary role is to deliver advice to the president, but they may also lend an ear to the president and his opinions, worries, and questions. In essence, they perform the role of "confidant(e)." The following chapter is a discussion of the political role of George W. Bush. As seen in the "Historical Overview" chapter, several presidential children from the distant past have performed the role of "informal advisor/confidant(e)," such as Anna Roosevelt and John Eisenhower. Since, Kennedy, several have performed this role to some extent. For example, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Jack Ford and Maureen Reagan, all performed this role within their greater political

[1] Before nepotism laws were established by Congress, some presidential children did have paying jobs working in the White House. Since the nepotism laws have been executed, presidential children can only hold informal positions although the political party of the president has been known to pay a salary to a presidential child for their services. For instance, Maureen Reagan held a position at the Republican National Committee while helping her father's administration on stemming the "gender gap" problem.

activities. However, George W. Bush is the only presidential child since Kennedy that whose primary role was as "informal advisor/confidant."

George W. Bush

In the previous chapter on surrogates, a glimpse was taken at three of the Bush children (Jeb, Marvin, and Doro) and how they participated in the campaigns of George H.W. Bush as surrogate fill-ins. George W. Bush also performed the role of surrogate on the campaign trail, but his most dominant political role was as an informal advisor for his father, both during the 1988 and 1992 campaigns as well as during his father's four years in office.

When talks of a run for the presidency by George H.W. Bush began to gather steam in 1986, George W. was a 40-year-old struggling businessman from Midland, Texas, where he lived with his wife and young twin daughters. In anticipation of a presidential run, the Bush family was called to Camp David in 1986 to discuss their roles during the campaign. It was there that George W.'s role was formulated. He was actually given a mandate from the rest of the family. The general description of George W.'s role was as a "political operative, bridging the potentially troublesome gap between family and staff...(He) acted as a watchdog in an arena where political consultants 'treat their candidates like red meat,' to quote the youngest of Bush's four sons, Marvin."[2]

It was decided at the Camp David meeting that the Bush family would participate in the campaign as much as their schedules would allow. The family also decided that their involvement was going to be in all aspects of the campaign. Since the

[2] Ann Grimes, *Running Mates*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1990): 15.

Bush children really did not trust campaign manager Lee Atwater, they decided that one of them needed to be present in the everyday process of decision-making so their father would not have advantage taken of him. Therefore, it was decided that George W. would join the campaign to watch out for his father's interests. George W. described the situation:

> The way this came about, I challenged Lee Atwater at the meeting because he was Charles Black's partner and Charles Black was Jack Kemp's campaign manager. So I had real trouble understanding how loyalties would work. Who would he be loyal to? Charles Black, hence Jack Kemp, or George Bush? And I wanted him to explain that to us all. And so he did, you know, in fairly good fashion.
>
> And Jeb chimed in with his famous quote: "If there's a hand grenade rolling around George Bush, we want you diving on it first."
>
> So then we finished our discussion, and Lee Atwater walked up and said, "Are you guys really worried about my loyalty?"
>
> And we said, "Absolutely."
>
> And he said, "Well, if you're so worried about loyalties, then why doesn't one of you come here in the office and watch me, and the first time I'm disloyal, see to it that I get run off."
>
> I happened to be the one who was able to come up here, and I did it...[3]

Therefore, George W. took a leave from his job in Texas to move to Washington, D.C., to work full time on his father's campaign.

---

[3] Ibid., 193.

George H.W. Bush at first was a little worried about having one of his children leave their job to be on the campaign trail full time.

> When I told him I was moving from Midland to Washington, I don't think he was real comfortable with the idea. He did not want his desire to be president of the United States to affect my life and what I was doing in any adverse way. He thought that pulling up stakes and moving my family to Washington was too big a sacrifice to make on his behalf. After I convinced him that this is what I wanted to do and it fit into my life nicely, simply because I had merged my business out of existence basically, then he finally came to terms with it. And then he was helpful in helping me forge a role that enabled me to be very useful to him.[4]

By the end of the campaign, George W. had found his niche not only as an advisor to his father and as a member of the Bush campaign team, but also as the preeminent Lee Atwater watchdog.

That was George W.'s main reason for joining the campaign, and he stuck to his task. Even though by the end of the campaign the younger Bush, whom Atwater nicknamed "Junior,"[5] and Atwater had become friends, the two clashed when the political welfare of George H.W. Bush was involved. One example of several run-ins happened at the beginning of the campaign and is detailed in the book *The Quest for the Presidency 1988:*

> Atwater pacified him(George W.) by making room for him at

---

[4] Ibid., 287.
[5] Barbara Bush, *A Memoir*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994): 334.

> headquarters…it was better, he figured, to have the boss's son inside the tent pissing out than outside pissing in. But the day George J(unior) reported for work, he found himself jaw-to-jaw with Atwater again. *Esquire* had just done a long piece profiling Atwater as a self-seeker untroubled by conscience or scruples—"all grit," the story said, "all blood on the floor and don't look back," George J(unior) had discussed the story with his mother, and they had agreed that, to phrase it gently, Lee came off as something less than a mature political organizer. The story had, in their judgment, reflected badly on Atwater, the campaign and, by extension, the vice president, and there were to be no more like it.
>
> 'You need to earn your spurs through performance, not interviews,' George J(unior) scolded. The stories stopped, and peace was restored.[6]

There was no doubt that George W. was in constant contact with his mother and the rest of the family about what was going on at campaign headquarters. He was most certainly a connection between the family and the campaign. George W. also had a direct connection to the vice president and presidential candidate that the other staff members did not have. He was one of George H.W. Bush's closest confidants during the campaign. This put George W. in a unique position. Indeed, staffers knew George W. was going to be "a human intercom into the Oval Office."[7] This created two different scenarios; the staff felt George W. would be "a perfect medium for the

---

[6] Peter Goldman and Tom Mathews, *The Quest for the Presidency: The 1988 Campaign*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988): 183.
[7] Elizabeth Mitchell, *W: Revenge of the Bush Dynasty*, (New York: Hyperion, 2000): 213.

messages the staff wanted conveyed to the president"[8] or he would be the perfect medium to tell his father the drawbacks and shortcomings of his staff. When trying to explain this part of his role in the campaign George W. stated:

> Access is power in Washington. OK? And I had more access than anybody to George Bush. And whether or not the gunslingers and inner-circle whatever you want to call them, whoever they thought they were—I might be sitting there talking about how well the dog retrieved the ball—they don't know that. They think we are talking about how bad they are. How good somebody else is. So I ultimately became a conduit. Many people tried to take ideas to George Bush through me. Complaints and suggestions. Generally in a campaign, complaints. So I became a filter for a lot of news—most of which I never passed along to the man, because having run for office(House of Representatives from Texas in 1978) myself, I had some kind of an inkling of what he was going through.
>
> I helped referee power struggles. I shielded people from Mother. If she were upset about something I would help vent it. She could vent to me and not therefore adversely affect some of the players. You know, I was the enforcer when I thought things were going wrong. Because of the access I had to George Bush, I had the ability—and I think I used it judiciously—I had the ability to go and lay down some behavioral modification.

---

[8] Ibid. 226.

> So as a result I had the confidence of...most of the top people in the campaign.[9]

This, of course, put George W. in a position of being used by other staffers to get to the candidate. As far as staff meetings were concerned, George W. "rarely spoke in strategy sessions, saving his advice for his father, though he often discussed campaign matters with top aides."[10] However, as has been shown, he was a confidant to not only the candidate but also to the candidate's wife, Barbara Bush. He did not want to see either of his parents hurt by the situation and performed his duties with this motive in mind. Barbara Bush commented at the time that "George junior, he's an enormous watchdog...he is wonderful...George calls a spade a spade."[11] George W. also "evolved into media gatekeeper—to sift through the requests and determine who would gain access to his dad."[12]

In all, George W., spent "18 months...labor(ing) in his father's campaign headquarters, acting as the family enforcer among the hired handlers..."[13] George W. also "roamed the campaign trail as a popular surrogate speaker (and) helped plot strategy."[14] One of George W. Bush's primary goals while working at campaign headquarters was to serve as a conduit between the Bush campaign and the social conservatives of the Republican Party. As a born-again Christian, George W. was able to reach out to the "evangelical movement and the pro-life movement" on behalf of his

---

[9] Grimes, 194.
[10] Carl P. Leubsdorf, "Bush Honed Skills in Father's Campaign," *Dallas Morning News*, 2 June 1999.
[11] Grimes, 191.
[12] Mitchell, 222.
[13] "Junior is His Own Bush Now," *Time Magazine*, 31 July, 1989.
[14] Carl P. Leubsdorf.

father.[15] After the campaign, George W. worked on the transition team and then moved back to Texas but not back to Midland; instead, he and his family moved to Dallas where he bought a share of the Texas Rangers baseball team. It was from here that George W. would often call and talk to his father about what was going on in Washington, D.C., sometimes just listening, at other times giving advice George H.W. Bush liked to seek out information from as many sources as possible, and his children were prime sources. President Bush thought highly of George W.'s opinion and asked often for his advice. One example of George W. advising his father was on the subject of President Bush's cabinet choices.

> According *to U.S. News and World Report*, he warned his father that Texas developers were alarmed at the idea that James Schlesinger might become energy secretary. Young George conceded that he talked to no more than five oilmen about the appointment. "The message wasn't, 'Well, take him or don't take him,' it was: 'There's a rebellion down here. Be careful,'" he told the magazine. Schlesinger was never offered the job.[16]

Further, into his father's administration George W. also gave some advice to the president on Chief of Staff John Sununu. Sununu, "angered many in the White House and the press corps with his abrasive personality, then embarrassed the Presidency by abusing the transportation privileges."[17] George W. had also "soured"[18] on Sununu and along with his mother quietly made their opinions known. "Unlike her predecessor, though, Mrs. Bush did not want her fingerprints on any dramatic personnel changes.

---

[15] Ibid.
[16] Grimes, 289.
[17] Gil Troy, *Affairs of State*, (New York: The Free Press, 1997): 338.
[18] Ibid.

The result was that when Sununu finally resigned…the story had dragged on too long. Washington insiders whispered about the President's inability to discipline his staff."[19] Mrs. Bush may have kept her distance but George W. was dispatched right into the middle of the issue.

The Sununu problem crept into the planning stages of the 1992 campaign as well. The campaign was underway but President Bush was in no hurry to start stumping again and was very slow in his organization of the campaign team. Actually, in August 1991 George W. finally called an initial planning meeting concerning the reelection campaign because his father was so slow to act. In October 1991, President Bush assigned George W. the task of "check(ing) things out"[20] because George W. "added a common touch his father might need come November (1992)."[21] In a letter to his top aides, President Bush asked that they cooperate with George W. and share with him their "innermost thoughts about how to best structure the campaign."[22] It was during this period in which the controversy over John Sununu grew. George W. was tapped to inform Sununu that "he had alienated members of the Cabinet, the White House staff and Republican political community, creating a situation that put(s) his effectiveness in significant doubt…"[23] As campaign staffer Mary Matalin details,

> He (President Bush)…presumed there were enough experienced politicos around so that, when we did open up shop, we could do it overnight—that we were a turnkey operation.

---

[19] Ibid.
[20] Carl Leubsdorf.
[21] Joe Drape, "From Family Black Sheep to National Political Heavy," *Atlanta Journal Constitution* , 5 April 1992, Section M, Page 1.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ann Devroy, "Bush Son Said to Warn Staff Chief," *The Washington Post*, 3 December 1991, pg. A1.

What he didn't take into account was the strident opposition to Sununu. How was the campaign going to interface with the White House?...

In 1992, everybody in the Republican interplanetary system knew that was a model doomed to failure were Sununu to remain as chief of staff. So the issue that had been festering below the surface was forced to the top... But his(Sununu's) fate was foreshadowed by the ongoing bullying of his colleagues, and his own trials and tribulations—taking government planes to go buy stamps and go to the dentist, which had garnered endless press attacks.

Outside of the finance people, no one was directly confronting George Bush and saying, "We must start the campaign now," because that really meant, "You've got to figure out the Sununu problem." The President is above all a loyal man, and we all knew it would take a lot for him to remove a trusted friend and ally. But finally the anti-Sununu drumbeat was deafening. Out of fairness the President dispatched his eldest son, George Bush, Jr., to quietly canvass the thoughts of the reelection campaign. There was nothing generic or unequivocal about their responses: Sununu had to go. Junior then went to Sununu and said, very diplomatically, no doubt, "Sorry, old bean, thanks for everything you've done but this isn't going to work." Or words to that effect; no one ever knew for sure. All we knew was that Sununu submitted his handwritten resignation.

Once that was resolved, the rest of the pieces fell into place.[24]

---

[24] Mary Matalin and James Carville, *All's Fair: Love, War, and Running for President*, (New York: Random House, 1994): 82.

At this juncture, George W. had taken on a role not seen before. His father had brought him to the position of being chosen to ask a close staff member to resign. There is no doubt that George W. had advised his father on the situation and felt that Sununu's resignation was best. George W. was heavily involved in a political decision that was very tough on his father, thus displaying the trust and confidence the President had in his son.

Barbara Bush said that in 1992 George W. was "devoted almost full time to...(his) dad."[25] Indeed, as Mary Matalin recalls, "he (was) a multifaceted confidant to the staff. And no doubt the president trust(ed) his political advice more than anybody else."[26] Although President Bush denied it,[27] it was reported in April 1992 that George W.'s role in the 1992 campaign expanded to include "reviewing White House speechwriting, domestic policy, and scheduling."[28] George W. also worked with the Republican National Committee planners to coordinate events and appearances to make sure that the family was well represented during the campaign, especially at the Republican Convention held in Houston, Texas.[29] George W. was modifying his initial role as informal advisor. He performed this duty well. As has been displayed, he was an advisor on the campaign trail in 1988 and once again in 1992. He also advised on cabinet appointments and on staff problems. However, in this latter example he took his advice to the next level and was actually dispatched to ask for the resignation of the

---

[25] Barbara Bush, 497.
[26] Joe Drape.
[27] Transcript, Presidential News Conference, 10 April 1992, Source: George H.W. Bush Presidential Library, http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu.
[28] Andrew Rosenthal, "The 1992 Campaign: White House; Bush's Son Rides Into Town to Review the Campaign," *The New York Times*, 10 April 1992, Section A, pg. 27.
[29] Bill Minutaglio, *First Son: George W. Bush and the Bush Family Dynasty*, (New York: Times Books, 1999): 261.

President's chief of staff. This attests to the closeness of George W. to the President's staff and how his conduit duties for the President were extensive.

CHAPTER VIII.

SKELETONS

The three previous political roles of presidential children all have positive consequences for presidents. Therefore, in the long run, it was better for the president to have children acting in these roles. For example, it was politically advantageous for President Kennedy to use his two young children as symbols of his administration's vibrancy and to bolster his image as a family man. It was also a political plus for President Lyndon Johnson to have his daughters Lynda and Luci on the campaign trail, acting as his surrogates, to gain more votes. However, not all actions of presidential children are positive. Indeed, there are a handful of presidential children labeled "skeletons" because they have tended to embarrass or shine an unwanted negative light on their fathers' administrations. The following is an examination of three of the Reagan children as well as Neil Bush. Emphasis should be placed on the fact that their placement in this political role is not meant to imply that they never performed another role or no other presidential child embarrassed their father. Already discussed, for example, was Luci Johnson's controversial conversion to Catholicism and as is discussed in the "Hybrids" chapter, Jack Ford's controversial stance on marijuana. Each of these were embarrassments to their father's administrations, but they did not overshadow their greater political roles. For those discussed in this chapter the "scandals" they were involved in overshadowed other roles they performed.

Michael Reagan

The Reagan family is an interesting study because of the internal conflict, which eventually became public gossip. President Reagan was the first divorced president.

Maureen and Michael are his children from his first marriage to actress Jane Wyman and Patti and Ron are his two children from his marriage to Nancy Reagan. The fractured nature of this family manifested itself in jealousy between the two sets of siblings because of the need to compete for their father's attention, as well as jealousy between Maureen and Michael and their stepmother Nancy Reagan.

Even with all of this private turmoil, the Reagan campaign in 1980 was determined to portray the family as close in order to paint a picture of Reagan as a man of family values. In the 1976 presidential campaign Michael and Maureen (for a discussion on Maureen see "Hybrids" chapter) were encouraged not to help on the campaign or make public appearances with the candidate, including the typical family night at the convention, because they were reminders of his previous marriage and would theoretically undermine the "All-American Family" theme of the campaign. The campaign even went as far as putting out campaign literature that, "'Ronald Reagan and his wife Nancy have two children, Patti and Ronnie.' Nothing followed to add that Reagan also had a son and a daughter with Jane Wyman."[1] In 1980, Michael and Maureen were allowed to participate in the campaign. Ironically, Maureen and Michael were the only two that shared their father's political ideology or volunteered to help their father win the presidency.

Born on March 18, 1945, Michael is the adoptive son of Ronald Reagan and Jane Wyman. Although Michael did have intermittent difficulties with his half siblings, father, and stepmother, Michael was eager to participate in all of his father's campaigns. In the 1980 campaign, Michael was "drafted early...to appear at rallies that Reagan could

---

[1] Anne Edwards, *The Reagans: Portrait of a Marriage*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003): 86.

not attend and where it was thought someone carrying the Reagan name could be helpful."[2] The first call came over Christmas 1979 after his father announced his candidacy. Michael filled in as a surrogate for his father in 25 counties in Iowa over five days.[3] Michael's campaign activities grew to become so numerous that he quit his job as a boat salesman in order to work on the campaign full time. Michael eventually visited 35 states as a surrogate for his father during the primaries.[4]

Michael and Maureen were the only Reagan children involved in the campaign in 1980. Patti and Ron did not participate. Because Michael and Maureen were the only Reagan children helping on the campaign, the campaign managers did request that they not mention their mother, Jane Wyman because as Michael points out, "that would remind the electorate that Dad had been divorced, and no man elected president had ever been divorced."[5] Even with the admonition from the campaign, Michael spent the whole month of October during the general election on the campaign trail traveling to 19 states.[6]

Michael actually takes credit for the firing of Reagan campaign managers John Sears and Charlie Black. As Michael traveled around Iowa he realized that the voters were unhappy that Ronald Reagan was not appearing as frequently in the state as other candidates. According to Michael, John Sears and Charlie Black were turning down events for his father. "(T)hey were running the campaign as if he were already the president..."[7] Michael called his father and warned him his campaign managers were

---

[2] Ibid., 150.
[3] Michael Reagan, *On the Outside Looking In*, (New York: Zebra Books, 1988): 212.
[4] Ibid., 213-214.
[5] Ibid., 214.
[6] Ibid., 221.
[7] Deborah Hart Strober and Gerald S. Strober, *Reagan: The Man and His Presidency*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998): 17.

leading him astray and would lose Iowa if he did not make changes. According to Michael, Reagan told him he trusted his campaign managers, but once he lost Iowa, Reagan felt he had no choice but to fire Sears and Black and hire a new team. The new team went on to a landslide victory in New Hampshire and eventually the nomination. Michael exclaimed that, "I will take credit for it, 100 percent credit," because he alerted his father to the problems in the campaign.[8]

Although Michael's activities were politically advantageous to his father in 1980, shortly after Reagan took office, Michael found himself in legal trouble. In February 1981 an investigation ensued by the Los Angeles Police Department of Michael. Michael was accused of "soliciting investors in a fraudulent stock scheme and of receiving a commission for the sale of stock when he was not registered as a securities salesman, as required by law."[9] Michael's home and office were searched and the media covered both because they "scented a scandal brewing."[10] Indeed, one of Reagan's staunchest political supporters called Michael and told him that he was "an embarrassment to the Reagan family and the Republican Party."[11] Later in the year, Michael was cleared of the stock fraud charges as well as a related investigation dealing with Michael allegedly "improperly spending money he had raised in an abortive business venture to promote gasohol."[12]

---

[8] Ibid.
[9] "Reagan's Elder Son Being Investigated," *The New York Times*, 11 February 1981, pg. A 13.
[10] Michael Reagan, 250.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Robert Lindsey, "Michael Reagan Cleared of Stock Fraud Charge," *The New York Times*, 21 November 1981, pg. 10.

Michael was learning the hard way that "whatever he did would be belittled and ascribed to his father."[13] Indeed, shortly after being cleared of the stock fraud charges, Michael became immersed in a second scandal. Michael was working as a vice-president for sales for Dana Ingalls Profile, Inc., which manufactured aircraft and missile parts. One of Michael's jobs "was to contact purchasing officers at military airbases who might be interested in parts to (be) manufactured."[14] As part of his outreach, he sent five letters to purchasing officers at military airbases seeking government contracts. In the letters, Michael invoked his father's name. For instance, in the letter to the Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma City, Michael wrote:

> I know that with my father's leadership at the White House this countries (sic) armed services are going to be rebuilt and strengthened. We at Dana Ingalls Profile want to be involved in that process.[15]

According to Michael, "(t)he national press had a field day with the story and came down hard on me."[16] Indeed, Michael's actions did cause quite a scandal. At one point, the *New York Times* drew a correlation between Michael's actions and Billy Carter, President Carter's brother.[17] Billy became an embarrassment to his brother when he befriended the Libyan government and admitted to receiving monetary support for facilitating oil sales for Libya using his brother's name. The concern after the activities of Billy Carter was that "favoritism or its appearance" would be given to members of the

---

[13] Doug Wead, *All the President's Children: Triumph and Tragedy in the Lives of America's First Families*, (New York: Atria Books, 2003): 284.
[14] Michael Reagan, 252.
[15] "Reagan Son Refers to the President In 5 Letters Seeking U.S. Contracts," *The New York Times*, 14 May 1981, pg. A 24.
[16] Michael Reagan, 252.
[17] "Michael Reagan's Father's Problem," *The New York Times*, 21 May 1981, pg. A 26.

President's family if strict restrictions were not put in place.[18] When Michael finally talked to his father about the matter, President Reagan told him: "Don't write any more letters,"[19] and then requested that his White House counsel give "informal guidance" to Michael and other family members about the boundaries of legalities now that they were members of the First Family.[20]

Michael was able to avoid any more scandal's of this nature for awhile, but his name would soon appear in print again soon. Michael admits that he frequently granted interviews with the media while his father was in office.[21] Michael's openness and candor with the press is what precipitated another embarrassing scandal for the White House. By 1983, Michael was estranged from the rest of his family over a Secret Service report that claimed he was a thief, allegations that were proven false, but his father believed the Secret Service over Michael. This resulted in a period of limited contact between Michael and the rest of his family. Michael did not help in his father's reelection campaign in 1984 as a result, except to attend the Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas. As Michael recounts: "We didn't intend to go, but we were aware that at such public events, the press always counted heads and makes an issue of it if all family members are not present and accounted for. So we went if only for the sake of public image."[22] That was the only contact Michael had with the campaign.

Shortly after the election, Nancy Reagan was quoted in the media as saying Michael was estranged from the family. Michael felt that his stepmother was jealous of

---

[18] Ibid.
[19] Michael Reagan, 252.
[20] "Michael Reagan's Father's Problem."
[21] Michael Reagan, 255.
[22] Ibid., 289.

his relationship with his father and she should apologize.[23] Michael's estranged sister Maureen granted an interview to defend her stepmother declaring that Michael "was conducting a 'vendetta' against Nancy Reagan that had left the President and his wife 'just agonized.'"[24] This very public family feud transpired in the press over the Thanksgiving week of 1984. Michael admits that he "wanted to hurt (his) family as they had hurt (him)."[25] Michael even went as far as talking with publishers about writing a tell-all book, but Michael decided against it and in December 1984 with the help of Donn Moomaw, President Reagan's minister at Bel Air Presbyterian Church, Michael and his father and stepmother were reunited.[26] Michael met his parents at a Bel Air hotel over New Year's 1984 for three hours. It was the first time the President and First Lady had met their 20-month-old granddaughter Ashley.[27] Once the family was privately reunited, Mike Deaver, the President's White House counselor, wanted to make sure that the family was also publicly reunited. Deaver determined this would take place during the week of the Inauguration in January 1985. During this reunion,

> …Reagan and his grandson, Cameron,[28] wearing layers of clothes beneath their outer garments, braved freezing weather to pose briefly for photographers on the White House lawn building a snowman, while in the family quarters there was a gathering of the Reagan clan. This

---

[23] "President's Son Sees 'Jealousy' in the Family," *The New York Times*, 23 November 1984, pg. A 25.
[24] "Maureen Reagan Enters Fray," *The New York Times*, 29 November 1984, pg. A 27.
[25] Michael Reagan, 294.
[26] Ibid., 295.
[27] Gerald M. Boyd, "Reagan Meets Son and His Family in 3-Hour Reunion in Los Angeles," *The New York Times*, 29 December 1984, pg. 5.
[28] Michael's six year old son, the oldest child of Michael and his wife Colleen.

> was a reconciliatory visit with Michael and Colleen, the first time[29] that the Reagans had seen Cameron's entrancing toddler sister, Ashley. Michael Deaver and the press staff had encouraged a détente believing—rightly, perhaps—that the nation wanted to embrace Reagan as a father figure. Michael and Colleen were only too happy to oblige.[30]

Michael did eventually write a book in 1988 about his life in general and his life with his father. It was not a tell-all book, but described how he had reconciled with his father and stepmother. President Reagan even wrote the forward of the book. Although Michael started out helping his father politically in the 1980 campaign, the deep-seated family turmoil got the best of Michael and from his need to air these problems publicly created embarrassment for his father.

Ron Reagan

Ron Reagan, the youngest son of Ronald and Nancy Reagan, was born on May 20, 1958. Ron was always very supportive of his father's public service, but he never wanted to be a part of it. To begin with, as Ronald Reagan's political career was burgeoning, Ron was a teenager seeking to find himself apart from his famous parents. Therefore, Ron avoided all political campaigning. Another reason Ron shied away from campaigning for his father was that Ron disagreed politically with his father. Ron did not feel comfortable acting as a surrogate on the campaign trail when he disagreed with his father's message and policy agenda. When there was a need for a unified public family image, Ron was always available. In this way, he acted in a symbolic fashion. Ron was

---

[29] It was actually the second time the Reagans had seen Ashley.
[30] Anne Edwards, 298.

on hand at his father's candidacy announcement and at the Republican National Conventions clapping and smiling at just the right moments to give public support to his father. However, Ron would return to his job as a ballet dancer for the Joffrey Ballet Company and later as a writer for various publications.

Of all the Reagan children, Ron kept the lowest profile. However, this does not mean he never provided fodder for the media or embarrassed his father. The first embarrassment for the Reagans was when Ron married his longtime girlfriend Doria Palmieri in a private ceremony in which his parents were not invited. Actually, his parents did not even know their son got married until after the fact. The Reagans found out about the wedding from the media.[31] Although the marriage of a presidential child is newsworthy, Ron's wedding made headlines because rumors had persisted since he joined the ballet that was gay. The media had also circulated rumors that the Reagans were embarrassed by Ron's choice in career. Michael Reagan stated in his autobiography that the Reagans were 99% certain that Ron was not gay, but the 1% chance troubled them. Moreover, Michael argues that the Reagan's were concerned about Ron's ballet career because of the effect it had on their image as good parents.[32] Ron rejected the idea that his parents were upset with his choice of career, but the media was quick to point out that the Reagans had never seen him perform.[33]

Ron also served as an embarrassment to his parents when he took "unemployment when his ballet company went on hiatus, then taking employment from *Playboy* and

---

[31] Patti Davis, *The Way I See It*, (New York: Jove Books, 1992): 220.
[32] Michael Reagan, 196.
[33] Leslie Bennetts, "The Reagan Family: Husband and Wife Inseparable, 4 Children Go Own Way," *New York Times*, 15 July 1980, pg. B6.

'Saturday Night Live.' These squabbles, however, paled in comparison to Patti's antics."[34]

Patti Davis

Patti Davis[35] is characterized by one author as "the most fractious Reagan of all, and, assuredly, was the most rebellious."[36] Within the turmoil of the Reagan family, the relationship between Patti and her parents was the most fractured. As Reagan's political success continued, Patti increasingly resisted her father politically and personally. All involved have recounted that when Ronald Reagan called his teenage daughter at Orme School in Arizona with the news that he had been elected governor of California in 1966, Patti reacted with total resentment. As Ronald Reagan recalls,

> Patti...cried over the telephone when Nancy and I called her at school to tell her I'd been elected governor. "Oh no," she said, "how could you do this to me?" She was only fourteen, but she was a child of the sixties who didn't want a member of the establishment in the family.[37]

Patti's disapproval of her father's political career started this early in her life and continued throughout his eight years as president. Unlike her brother Ron, who although he disagreed with his father politically, remained relatively quiet about their disagreements, Patti felt compelled voice her differences publicly with her father and mother.

---

[34] Gil Troy, 299.
[35] In order to gain more work in Hollywood, Patti changed her last name from Reagan to Davis (her mother's maiden name) in hopes that no one would connect her to the California governor and then president.
[36] Doug Wead, 285.
[37] Ronald Reagan, *An American Life*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990): 565-566.

Patti took every opportunity available during her father's administration to let it be known that she had differences with her father. Some of the time, she also publicly aired her personal problems with her father and mother that went well beyond politics. "[T]he family rebel...[d]uring Reagan's two terms in the White House, Patti herself made headlines, periodically expressing disdain for her parents and for the social standard normally expected from children of presidents..."[38] Patti was shining a negative light on her father by vocalizing all of her differences with him.

Patti kept a low profile in the 1980 campaign staying off the campaign trail. Patti did make a few public appearances with her family such as at the Republican National Convention, but she gave no illusions that she was happy about it. Patti wrote in her autobiography that, "I disagreed with my father's politics across the board, I did *not* want him to be president, for every reason imaginable, and I knew that this image of family unity...would fracture sooner of later."[39] Before 1980, Patti and her parents had had a parting of ways. "Patti expressed opposition to the Vietnam War and became part of the counterculture of the early 1970s..." Indeed, Patti "took drugs, experienced severe bouts of anorexia, and subjected herself to a series of relationships that ultimately failed."[40] Patti dropped out of college, grew marijuana in her own backyard, and protested the Vietnam War. As Ronald Reagan has put it: "...Patti came under the influence of people with similar views and , philosophically at least, I guess I lost her."[41] Thus, Patti

---

[38] Sandra Quinn-Musgrove and Sandford Kanter, *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995): 229-230.
[39] Patti Davis, 205.
[40] Doug Wead, 286.
[41] Ronald Reagan, 566.

reentered the family fold for her father's 1980 campaign and his inauguration in January 1981. However, "...the reunion was often heated and eventually dissolved, much to the glee of the press with the resultant headlines"[42] Patti argues in her contentious autobiography that she tried to perpetuate the family unity image as much as she could. Patti argues that in interviews after her father's 1980-election win, she "deliberately gave the impression that we were just a normal family in which differing philosophies and opinions were tolerated..."[43]

Larry Speakes, Ronald Reagan's press secretary, called Patti Davis a "problem child."[44] The difficulties between the Reagans and their youngest daughter were not just over political views. "There were long periods of estrangement between Patti and her parents, stretches of no contact at all."[45] There is no doubt that the whole Reagan family struggled over this situation. Both President and Mrs. Reagan wanted to keep the situation private and just within the family, but Patti could not help but vocalize the problems.

Indeed, Patti had been "discreetly involved"[46] for awhile in anti-nuclear activities with the group known as Alliance for Survival, participating in such high profile events as Survival Sunday at which she made public speeches denouncing her father's administrative policies toward the Soviet Union. Patti became very outspoken in defense of the Freeze Movement, which advocated Congress passing a resolution to force the

---

[42] Quinn-Musgrove and Kanter, 230.
[43] Patti Davis, 212.
[44] Larry Speakes, *Speaking Out*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988): 100.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Patti Davis, 214.

Reagan administration to "freeze" the number of nuclear weapons. Later, Patti regretted her outspokenness on this issue:

> My motives were the same as everybody else's...I was out there with the intention of speaking...for world peace. But I wasn't like everybody else. My father was sitting in the White House...The best thing I could have done for world peace...was to stay home. Because really all I was communicating was that I was at war with my father.[47]

Patti also had the illusion that because of her connection to the White House she could facilitate "ongoing discussions between (her) father and people in his administration, and key people in the anti-nuclear movement."[48] At one point Patti arranged a meeting with her father and Dr. Helen Caldicott, a prominent member of the Freeze Movement, in hopes that she could convert President Reagan. After an hour long meeting both Patti and Dr. Caldicott deemed it a failure and Patti felt she was a disgrace to the movement.[49]

Nancy Reagan felt that through Patti's involvement in the antinuclear movement that she was being "used by people with their own political agenda."[50] This is highly probable, but Patti did nothing to stop it. President Reagan felt that he was reaching out to Patti to show he cared about her opinions by allowing the meeting with Dr. Caldicott, but in the end, Reagan also felt like he had been used. As Ronald Reagan recalls: "Patti had told me Dr. Caldicott had promised that if I spoke to her she would say nothing

---

[47] Adrian Bosch, *Reagan: An American Story*, (New York: TV Books, 1998); 207.
[48] Patti Davis, 246.
[49] Adrian Bosch, 207.
[50] Nancy Reagan, *My Turn*, (New York: Random House, 1989): 165.

publicly about the conversation. But almost immediately she went public with the details of our meeting."[51] To Reagan, it seemed as if his daughter had just stabbed him in the back. This situation might confirm Nancy Reagan's suspicion that Patti was being used.

Beyond her public advocacy, Patti also began talking to the media about her troubles with her parents, to the embarrassment of her family. As a struggling actress and author, Patti finally published her first novel in 1986. The novel, *Home Front*, was "biting fiction that thinly disguised her anger at her parents."[52] The novel depicted a daughter of a prominent politician growing up in the 1960s and her dysfunctional family. "When asked in a press conference about the book, Reagan said simply, 'It's fiction.' But *Home Front* contains too many personal details and descriptions of the Reagans to be accepted as pure fiction."[53] The media enjoyed pointing out the similarities between the fictional family in the novel and Patti's own family. As Patti puts it, "I put myself in the line of fire, and the media gunned me down."[54] The book "caused such as stir that the Reagans felt compelled to submit to a Barbara Walters special on the eve of the Academy Awards. 'You'll meet the Reagans as perhaps you haven't before,' the interviewer promised her fans."[55]

When Patti's novel was published in 1986 she also went on a book tour across the nation. Nancy Reagan recalls:

> The book was bad enough, but then came the author's tour. On March 4, 1986, I began my day by watching Patti on *Good Morning*

---

[51] Ronald Reagan, 566.
[52] Evan Thomas and Eleanor Clift, "As the Shadows Fell," *Newsweek Magazine* 21 June 2004, pgs. 30-37.
[53] Anne Edwards, 300.
[54] Patti Davis, "Chelsea and Me," *Bazaar Magazine*, September 1997, pg. 112-114.
[55] Troy, 299.

America, followed by Patti on *Donahue*...

> Ronnie and I said very little publicly about it, and Ron was always careful when he was asked about it. "It's always difficult to talk to about someone in your family," he said on *Good Morning America*, "but I think Patti's book was wrong, and in bad taste." In another interview, he said, "I think someday she'll regret it."[56]

Ronald Reagan survived the negative press he received due to Patti's airing the family's problems. He ran and won a second term in office. It seemed as if the situation was only politically embarrassing for a short period. The political consequences were overcome but the personal consequences were not. Patti and her parents grew even further apart and deep resentments set in. Patti now regrets actions and the manner in which she chose to air her disagreements with her parents. She knows that her vocalization during her father's presidency "will always be my history. But after a while, the sequence doesn't matter; the scar tissue does."[57]

Indeed, years later, looking back on the situation, Patti stated that:

> I voiced my political disagreements, mostly in press interviews or at huge antinuclear rallies before thousands of people, naively thinking that the public could separate the man holding office from the man who was my father. I don't regret the opinions; I ache over the way I expressed them. I wrote about the tumultuous aspects of my family life, first in a novel about the daughter of a governor who has presidential ambitions, and years later in an autobiography

---

[56] Nancy Reagan, 167.
[57] Patti Davis, "Chelsea and Me."

> that exposed private areas of our lives. I came off as strident and harsh, because I was. I didn't recognize that as part of a public family, I should have maintained a strict code of privacy. Even people who agreed with my politics were uncomfortable with how publicly I voiced my convictions.[58]

The overall result of Patti's candidness was that it "undermined the Reagans' masquerade as the all-American family…"[59] The media devoured this new message. The Reagans were imperfect and their daughter had a shaky relationship with them. The media ran with the message that the image that Ronald Reagan had created for himself had flaws. The media, then, was creating a new image of Ronald Reagan, that of a bad father, because of Patti's candor.

Neil Bush

After George H.W. Bush was elected president in 1988, a report was compiled by his transition team. The report was "titled, 'All the President's Children,' and (was) a compendium of the private and not-so-private problems of presidential offspring through the years…"[60] This was a guide book for the Bush children on how they should act and what situations they should avoid so that they would not embarrass the President. One passage was of particular relevance for Neil Bush. It stated: "The presidential child in business faces the pressure of enormous scrutiny…Two things the media and the public won't allow? Success and failure. Keep the business mediocre, maintaining a personal low profile, and you will be left alone"[61] The problem for Neil was that he was already

---

[58] Ibid.
[59] Troy, 299.
[60] "A Crisis in the Family," *Newsweek,* 23 July, 1990, pgs. 17-18.
[61] Ibid.

involved in a potential scandal with the savings and loan fiasco, even before his father was elected (or even nominated as the Republican candidate).

Neil Bush, the third child of George and Barbara Bush, like his other brothers and sister had served as a surrogate during the 1988 campaign. He traveled as much as he could, sweeping the nation speaking in the name of his father. When Bush was elected president, the whole family celebrated and then moved back into their respective lives. At this time, all of the children received the same report from the transition team. Neil took these admonitions, which warned the Bush children to avoid any conflict-of-interest and be aware that they were being watched by both the public and the media, back to Denver, where he lived with his wife and children. Neil slipped back into his life as a businessman. However, slipping back into obscurity was not an option for Neil. The warning in the transition team report might have come too late because by the time George Bush was elected president, Neil was already under investigation in the Silverado Savings and Loan failure and its involvement in the greater savings and loan government bailout which cost taxpayers an estimted $1 billion.[62]

After his Denver-based oil firm failed, Neil joined the Apex Energy Company and "became an outside director of the Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan" in 1985.[63] By 1988 there was no doubt that Silverado was in trouble and on August 5, 1988, "the Colorado savings and loan commissioner issued a capital call, the first step in a government takeover"[64] It was at this stage, when government takeover was inevitable, that Neil resigned from the board at Silverado. "'The nomination process had reached a

---

[62] Michael Isikoff, "As Race Heats Up, So Does Scrutiny of Bush's Family," *The Washington Post*, 4 July 1992, pg. A1.
[63] Doug Wead, 290.
[64] Steven K. Wilmsen, Silverado, (Washington, D.C.: National Press Books, 1991): 181.

peak,' he later told government investigators. 'Dad was to become the nominee for the GOP, and that obviously raised the profile of Neil Bush"[65] In essence, Neil knew that this was a conflict of interest and would look bad for his father if the public were to find out that he, the son of the soon-to-be president, was involved in the costly savings and loan bailout and in potential illegalities.

> By the time Neil resigned he was already under investigation for a violat(ion) of conflict-of-interest rules while serving as a Silverado director...Neil was accused of failing to tell the Silverado board of his relationship with two Colorado developers, Bill Walters and Kenneth Good. The men had invested in Neil's unsuccessful oil company, JNB, and later received approval for loans or lines of credit from Silverado. Neil abstained from voting on the loans.[66]

Neil resigned from the board at Silverado in order to keep his involvement as low key as possible.

> At the time of Neil's resignation, his father was riding a crest of popularity in the 1988 presidential race, partly by painting Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis as a man whose inept policies encouraged crime. If the press—or the Dukakis campaign—had gotten hold of the fact that the Republican's candidate's son was in the thick of the greatest financial scandal in the nation's history, the Bush camp surely would have been dealt a crippling blow.[67]

---

[65] Ibid.
[66] Pamela Kilian, *Barbara Bush*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992): 75.
[67] Steven K. Wilmsen, 182.

With Neil's resignation, the Bush campaign was spared the potential consequences of the media and the public finding out Neil's involvement. The Bush presidency was not to be as lucky.

The problems for Neil came to a head in early 1990 when, after a long congressional and federal investigation, federal regulators offered Neil a deal. "They would reduce the charges stemming from his involvement in Silverado…All Bush had to do was sign an agreement pledging never again to violate S&L rules."[68] Neil believed that he had done nothing wrong, and so he fought the allegations. Although President Bush's political advisers told Neil to try and stay out of the spotlight, Neil did not listen and began a campaign to clear his name by doing media interviews. At this point the media began to pay greater attention to the scandal. There was now a face to attach to the savings and loan problems and the bailout by the federal government and that face just happened to be the son of the president of the United States.

"Suddenly, through the lens of one man's life, the larger saga of an industry gone corrupt snapped into sharp resolution. The grief that crossed the fresh, Boy Scout face of Neil Bush struck a human chord of sympathy. But it also created a moment of clarity, defining the situation."[69] This clarity was that the directors of the savings and loans boards who were abusing the savings and loan system were not the stereotypical criminals but could be a neighbor down the street or the child of the leader of the nation.

In a fight over who was to blame for the savings and loan problems, "Neil Bush (was) the Velcro that Democrats…needed to attach blame…to the President."[70] While

---

[68] "The S&L Firestorm," *Newsweek Magazine*, 23 July 1990, pgs. 14-16.
[69] "It's a Family Affair," *Time Magazine*, 23 July 1990, pgs. 20-24.
[70] Ibid.

Democrats were trying to pin blame, "GOP operatives (were) worrying about the potential damage to Bush and to the party..."[71] A poll that was taken at the time found that a majority (51%) of those surveyed thought that Neil's involvement in the Silverado case was damaging to President Bush, while 82% thought that the scandal would be an important issue in the 1992 campaign.[72] Therefore, it seemed as if at the time that the incident had some negative impact on the image of George Bush. Indeed, according to historian Carl Sfeezzaro Anthony, "it was a controversy that might never have seen such attention had George Bush not been in the White House."[73]

The Bushes, though, did not want to stand by and watch their son be attacked publicly. "The Bushes were outraged that their son was scapegoated from among thousands of directors of S&Ls. 'To feel as a father that you're letting down your son—and I will always feel that way—I hate it.'"[74] George Bush felt that Neil was being attacked in the press and being investigated only because he was the son of the President (consistent with the warning in the transition team report), and he blamed himself for Neil's trouble. First Lady Barbara Bush said at the time that: "I think he(Neil) feels this is hurting his father...One might think his father is hurting him...one of the prices children have to pay."[75] This is especially true for children of presidents.

Even though President and Mrs. Bush tried to place the blame elsewhere and pretend that it was not hurting George Bush politically, the topic would come back to haunt him repeatedly. As Barbara Bush recounts in her memoir:

---

[71] "A Crisis in the Family"
[72] "The S&L Firestorm"
[73] Quote in Doug Wead, 290.
[74] Gil Troy, *Affairs of State*, (New York: The Free Press, 1997): 338.
[75] Kilian, 76.

> Neil became the poster boy of the S&L scandal, despite the fact he was just one of literally hundreds of outside directors of failed savings and loans. He was investigated by the government and the press, who decided Neil was guilty before he even had his say. We particularly felt that NBC's "Dateline," hosted by Jane Pauley and Stone Phillips, took an unfair shot when they aired a piece on Neil in September 1992—long after Neil's case was settled but right in the middle of George's reelection bid.[76]

In the end, Neil had to pay a $50,000 fine, and as Barbara Bush has stated: "he lost all his savings, his business, his house, and most important, for awhile, his reputation."[77] In addition, his involvement caused political embarrassment for his father well beyond the time that his being investigated was over. Indeed, Neil's investigation haunted his father all the way through the 1992 presidential campaign. The Democratic National Committee (DNC) used their own private investigators and outside research firms to gather "opposition research" about Neil and other members of the Bush family. Not only were the Democrats looking for "dirt" on the family, but they were also looking to make sure President Bush had not inappropriately helped Neil. "No evidence...surfaced that Bush...ever intervened on behalf of his relatives," but the DNC did release a memorandum to party officials titled "Hall of Shame" in which Neil was the primary "inductee." The memorandum accuses Neil of "receiving a 'sweet deal' from federal regulators for his involvement in the collapse of the Denver-based Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan Association."[78] Presidential candidate Ross Perot also joined

---

[76] Barbara Bush, *A Memoir*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994): 325.
[77] Ibid., 326.
[78] Michael Isikoff.

in voicing his concern over Neil, telling the press that he had warned then Vice President Bush in 1986 that Neil was being investigated for improper activities. President Bush, steeped in the middle of his effort to keep his job had to take time away from his campaigning to focus on these allegations coming out of both sides. Therefore, Neil was not only an embarrassment while his father was president, but diverted his father's attention during a reelection campaign and forced him to get off message in order to defend his son and himself against allegations.

Conclusion

As historian Gil Troy proclaims, "The Reagan children, especially the troubled Patti were not inspiring role models."[79] Indeed, during the Reagan administration, Michael and Patti in particular, served as "skeletons" to their father by becoming involved in scandals and airing their family's dirty laundry for all the American public to see. Neil Bush's actions in the savings and loan scandal also made him an embarrassment for his father's administration. What these case studies elucidate is that even though most of the political activities of presidential children have positive political impacts, some of those children, have negative impacts. It is interesting to note that of the 24 presidential children discussed, only a few served as "skeletons" for their father. It is also interesting to note that all but one came from the same family.

---

[79] Troy, 280.

CHAPTER IX.

HYBRIDS

The preceding chapters have elucidated four different political roles that presidential children have performed from Kennedy through Clinton, by providing case studies of each presidential child's individual political activities. Although none of the roles is mutually exclusive, the presidential children discussed thus far, were more dominant in one of the four roles. The following is an examination of three presidential children who embody several of the roles equally. This chapter discusses the multiple political roles of Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Jack Ford and Maureen Reagan.

Julie Nixon Eisenhower[1]

William Safire has described Julie Nixon Eisenhower as "...like her father without a dark side--that is, she is loyal, alert, considerate, virtuous, intelligent, and sensibly impulsive."[2] Safire continues "...if part of judging a man's life is to examine the sum of his human relationships, young Mrs. Eisenhower is one who speaks eloquently in Richard Nixon's favor."[3] These words of acclaim would be hard for anyone to live up to, especially in the spotlight of the presidency. But Julie Nixon Eisenhower earned her wings in the tumultuous political arena in which she chose to participate. This case study attempts to put in perspective Julie Nixon Eisenhower's experience as "first daughter." It seeks to elucidate Julie's behavior as a surrogate, symbol, advisor, and confidante for her father, Richard Nixon. The study will attempt to display the multiple levels of influence

---

[1] Some of the following material and evidence has been cited before in a Conference paper delivered by the author at the 1998 Southern Political Science Association Conference.
[2] William Safire. *Before the Fall* (Garden City, NY: Double Day and Co. Inc., 1975), 626.
[3] Ibid.

that Julie Nixon Eisenhower had, not only in the Nixon White House, but on the campaign trail as well. As will be seen, their influence on the presidency was profound and exemplifies the argument that presidential children can, and do, wield powers that may not be constitutionally granted but profound nonetheless.

1968 Election

The world came to know Julie Nixon Eisenhower best during the Watergate debacle. But her influence on, and work for, her father began much earlier. When her father decided to give the presidency another shot in 1968, Julie was a sophomore at Smith College in Massachusetts. Julie and her fiancé David Eisenhower both dove head first into a campaign schedule that became so demanding that in the fall of 1968 she, from Smith, and David, from Amherst, took the semester off in order to be available for the full onslaught of political campaigning around the country. At the age of nineteen she proceeded to campaign in 33 different states for her father. Richard Nixon himself knew how valuable Julie, David and her sister, Tricia, were to the campaign:

> In the 1968 campaign he(RN) told Bob Haldeman at length how Pat and the girls should be scheduled, where they should appear, how they should be introduced. Special aides and advance men were recruited for them. With Julie's fiancé, David Eisenhower, the family was a potent factor in the election campaign, and Nixon didn't miss a single opportunity to employ them to advantage.[4]

Julie's work stumping on the campaign trail as a surrogate for her father was invaluable. She traveled across the country, stopping in as many small town squares as

---

[4] John Ehrlichman. *Witness to Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 55.

possible to communicate the name of her father to the American voters. Although her surrogate work was tireless and undeniably beneficial, one action in particular was set to boost her father's campaign. Unbeknownst to her when Julie and David Eisenhower, the only grandson of former president Dwight D. Eisenhower, decided to marry, a political coup had taken place. Julie and David presented the "image…of a wholesome, all-American couple, recalling the traditional values in a time when these were being bitterly contested, that was considered so valuable to the Nixon ticket."[5] Nixon himself even referred to Julie and David as "front-line troops in the battle to re-establish the traditional virtues."[6] Thus, these two individuals were counted on to carry out a symbolic role as well as being surrogates on the campaign trail.

David Eisenhower's presence in the family was also crucial for Nixon in a second way. When Julie and David decided to marry, there was a joining of two of the most powerful political families in the nation. The engagement and marriage in December of 1968 was not only symbolically important for Nixon but it was also instrumental in garnering a very important endorsement that was essential for his success in 1968. Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower wanted to wait until the convention to give his endorsement to Nixon but "David Eisenhower was assuming a role of liaison between his grandfather and his father-in-law-to-be. David very much wanted a clear pre-convention endorsement of Nixon."[7] David and Nixon both got their wish.

Up to this stage, both Julie and David seem to have performed two different political roles. First, Julie and David became symbols of the younger generation of

---

[5] Barbara Kellerman. *All the President's Kin* (New York: The Free Press, 1981), 155.

[6] Stephen Ambrose. *Nixon: Volume II 1962-1972*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 317.

[7] Ibid., 152.

Americans during the 1968 campaign. They also served the purpose of helping to show that Richard Nixon was a good family man who had a daughter and son-in-law who were politically aware and active. They also performed the role of surrogates. The need for extra members of the candidate's family to travel and make speeches on the candidate's behalf is imperative to success. Julie describes her activities for her father as "second string," traveling to areas her father did not have time to go.[8]

The White House Years: 1968-1972

In the years directly after the election, Julie continued making speeches across the nation and granted interviews to the press. During this time Julie and David became symbols of the new administration.

> ...Julie performed as the perfect team player. On the one hand, she was a typical young married: finishing college, keeping a house in a cheap apartment just off campus, and having her parents to dinner on Daddy's birthday. On the other, she was the energetic and outspoken defender of the traditional virtues that her father's administration was presumably elected to defend, but that were nonetheless under constant attack by the nation's young.[9]

Julie's outspoken nature set her apart from her sister Tricia. Tricia preferred to stay out of the limelight and speak publicly only when she and her father deemed it necessary

---

[8] Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Interview with the author, February 3, 2002.

[9] Kellerman, 156.

(particularly on the campaign trail). Julie, on the other hand, took to the bully pulpit and "bore the brunt of the dissidents' anger. And it was Julie who fought back."[10]

Julie did not speak on issues that could be labeled as "fluff." Instead she tackled the more substantive issues of the day. Julie became "a semi-official defender of and spokesman for Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policy."[11] She made speeches all across the nation for causes such as health care, the environment, and educational programs for the young and elderly. Julie also became a champion of placing a woman on the Supreme Court as well as of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and pressed her father on both of these issues. After one meeting with her father on the issue, Nixon's secretary alerted John Ehrlichman to the results of the discussion:

> Last night the President asked that I again send you a note saying "we absolutely must push this Women's Rights Amendment." This was after a discussion with Mrs. Nixon and Julie.[12]

This example not only displays Julie's verve to undertake and discuss policy issues but also her father's deep respect for her opinions as well as her role as an informal advisor. Nixon liked to engage Julie in dialogue and used these discussions as a "spring board" for ideas.[13]

> Julie's appeal to her father on the ERA reflected the Nixon daughters' intense involvement in their father's administration…The Nixon children were particularly important in an administration with a shy President and a reserved

---

[10] Kellerman, 157.
[11] Kellerman, 156.

[12] Gil Troy. *Affairs of State* (New York: The Free Press, 1997), 192.
[13] Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Interview with author, February 3, 2002.

First Lady. By proving that they had not been reduced to 'appendages to his career,' they rehabilitated the President.[14]

Julie has admitted that from time to time she would have rather been as far away from the political world as possible, but she remained a resolute defender of the president.[15] For Julie, her defense can be categorized as a blind faith, one that is constant and could not and cannot even now be swayed. UPI reporter Helen Thomas simply called her at the time, " a believer."[16]

Julie not only acted as a surrogate for the President but whenever possible would help fill in for her mother. Plenty of opportunities developed when Julie lived in the White House during the summer of 1969 when she was asked to represent the First Lady at luncheons and teas as well as to show visitors around Washington, D.C.[17] The fall of 1970 brought Julie to the White House to live temporarily. David had begun Officers Candidate School (OCS) in Rhode Island where he was training for his three year navy duty. During this time Julie moved into the White House while she began work on her master's degree in elementary education at Catholic University of America. Julie had to quickly become accustomed to the ever present White House press corps. Julie found herself being barraged with requests for interviews. Julie, unlike her sister and mother, often relented and granted interviews. Pat Nixon did not care about publicity, but Julie had a good public-relations sense and understood the necessity to make herself available

---

[14] Ibid.
[15] Eisenhower, 227.
[16] Helen Thomas. *Dateline: White House* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1975), 185.
[17] Carl S. Anthony. *First Ladies Volume II* (New York: William Morrow and Co. Inc., 1991), 175-176.

to the media.[18] H. R. Haldeman wrote: "Julie had an exceptionally good sense of the value of her public activities and the need to get maximum benefit from them."[19]

Julie herself may be the reason that she was sought out by reporters. Helen Thomas stated: "I enjoyed interviewing Julie immensely…because she was honest, and like a mirror, reflected her own feelings of her family. She called them as she saw them, fearlessly."[20] It seems that Julie was a breath of fresh air for reporters covering the White House. It was not business as usual with Julie. She did not tote the "party line" but rather spoke her heart and that seemed appealing to the press. "When Julie took up the cudgels and became her father's Number One Public Defender, she did it on her own initiative."[21]

Knowing that they were political assets, the Nixon White House had a strong need to publicly use the Nixon daughters.

> In addition to mobilizing White House resources to advance the daughters when they traveled, Nixon had his best men trying to figure out what kinds of jobs his daughters should take. Such official concern illustrated a new level of politicization of the presidential family. In the White House and in the press, the daughters were treated as extensions of the President himself.[22]

President Nixon weighed everything that was done with one question: "Does this help us politically?"[23] In most cases where Julie was concerned, the answer was a resounding "yes."

---

[18] Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Interview with author, February 3, 2002.
[19] H.R. Haldeman, *The Haldeman Diaries* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1994), 71.
[20] Thomas, 185.
[21] Ibid.

[22] Troy, 193.

Even though Julie was in school, she continued her touring schedule, making speeches across the nation. Because the touring was on a limited schedule, she and the White House had to take full advantage of every outing. The White House's concern over this issue can be seen in an excerpt from H.R. Haldeman's diary on November 13, 1971:

> We got into quite a thing late in the afternoon because he (RN) discovered that Julie didn't have adequate preparation material for her trip. He wants me now to put(speechwriter John) Andrews on it, and get some really good Q&A things worked out for her and some talking points on Administration programs and achievements, the kind of points that we want her to get across such as we would give a Cabinet officer.[24]

Nixon also was counting on his family to make him appear warm and loving, "calculating that his family's love made him lovable."[25] The key here was to make sure that the family's close-knit loving environment be shown to the rest of the world. Thus, Nixon was counting on his family to be symbols. He was looking for his daughters and wife to portray him as a family man. Part of the plan culminated in Julie doing what the White House called "The Julie Show," which CBS entitled "Christmas at the White House with Julie Nixon Eisenhower." The show was aired on Christmas eve 1971. Julie took viewers to the living quarters of the White House where Nixon was "sporting a

---

[23] Haldeman, 298.
[24] Haldeman, 373.

[25] Troy, 194.

colorful smoking jacket he only wore 'at Christmas'...the President was jocular,... Here was Nixon as the head of a cozy, devoted family..."[26]

Nixon wanted to carry this family-centered atmosphere through the next year so as to make it beneficial in the upcoming election. "Special Counsel to the President Charles Colson told the President that 'image of the First Family as it has recently emerged—warm and appealing—may be one of the most important political developments of your Presidency'"[27] As Nixon would soon find out, his family was going to be extremely important in the 1972 election and during the difficult times surrounding the Watergate scandal.

1972 Election

Part of the Nixon campaign strategy in 1972 was to minimize Nixon's campaign appearances. Therefore, pressure was placed upon his family members. Pat and Tricia did what they needed to do in order to support their husband and father but tended to shy away from doing anymore than was necessary; that was left up to Julie. "In the ensuing months, Julie threw herself into her father's reelection campaign and was much in demand as a speaker at rallies and Republican fund raising. She worked closely with the Committee to Reelect the President and was on the road more than her father."[28] By her own account, Julie did the most in 1972 visiting 77 cities in 37 states during the general election. [29]

---

[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

[28] Troy, 190.
[29] Richard M. Nixon. *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (Norwalk, Conn: Easton Press, 1978), 686-687.

Nixon took it upon himself to make sure that he was getting as much mileage out of his daughter's campaign activities as he possibly could. Nixon did not trust the speech material that Ray Price was providing for Julie and Tricia. So on occasion he would send memos to Julie and Tricia, giving them talking points and suggesting particular anecdotes he felt were more appealing than those provided by Price. Once again, as he did in 1968, Nixon made up the campaigning schedule for his children himself.

Watergate

The Nixon family's elation over the landslide victory of 1972 began to fade rapidly as the weight of Watergate began to bear down on the White House. Each member had to deal with the rapidly changing circumstances as best they could. Pat and Tricia tended to retreat from the public in order to avoid the pressures of what was happening around them. Julie took another route. Julie never relented to the pressures surrounding her or her father. If Julie Nixon Eisenhower is going to be remembered for one thing that she has done in her life, it will probably be how stolidly she stood beside her father during such difficult times.

By the end of 1972, it was obvious to those in the White House that Julie was an asset that they did not want to lose. She had finished her graduate work and the White House decided that the best place for her was to stay in the White House. Around Christmas of that year discussions began on how Julie could be utilized most appropriately and the idea of her taking an East Wing staff job was overwhelmingly supported. H.R. Haldeman dictated in his diary on Tuesday, December 12, 1972:

> The P(resident) had me over to talk about the Julie job… he wanted to consider what she could do over here(the West Wing). She's good for the P,

> well organized…It's good to have her around, so he wants to see what she can do at the White House[30]

It is unclear from this discussion what the primary reason for having Julie in the White House really was. It might have been her ability to handle one person in particular that made her presence in the White House mandatory. Nixon was always a private person who fought with his decisions within himself and often closed himself off to others. But Julie was one person who could break through the barriers. Julie, thus, began to perform a new role of protector as well as informal advisor/confidante. Nixon's need to rely on Julie's advice and companionship was paramount for not only his political survival but also his own personal and psychological survival.

As 1973 progressed most of Julie's activities became increasingly intertwined with Watergate. During this time Julie continued her speaking engagements making over 150 trips, but as Julie notes:

> When the questions in May 1973 started to be more on Watergate than on the purpose of my visits, I did not dodge them. I believed the programs I was involved with…and was not going to stop my activities because of Watergate. Although I never gave a speech on Watergate or embarked on any kind of "campaign," the news I now
>
> generated was almost all Watergate-related.
>
> …Consequently, in contrast to Tricia's infrequent appearances and Mother's reluctance at hers to get entangled in Watergate questions, my

[30] Haldeman, 554.

> activities took on added significance in the eyes of the media, and I found myself in the unwanted and unsought role of the one "unafraid to speak out on Watergate."[31]

Julie felt that she was the only one who could tell the world who her father really was. Admittedly, Julie has denied that the White House put her on the front lines during Watergate. Julie noted in her mother's biography: "...my father never asked me to be out front."[32] But it is also interesting to note that he also never asked her to stop.[33] According to John Anthony Maltese, Julie was indeed pinpointed to act as surrogate during Watergate. Maltese highlights in his book, *Spin Control*, that the Office of Communications decided during the Watergate period to break themselves into two divisions; the "Government as Usual" division and the "Watergate" division. The latter was designed to defend Nixon. One part of the Watergate division was a PR counteroffensive that included surrogate speakers traveling the country in defense of Nixon.[34] Julie was on the top of the list of speakers used by the Office of Communications.

With Julie taking such an open position and talking to the public and the press about Watergate, she was essentially acting as a surrogate for her father. Julie's role as surrogate in this situation is much different from the surrogate role that she performed in the past. Julie was no longer acting as a surrogate during a campaign. Instead, Julie was

---

[31] Eisenhower, 408.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Madeleine Edmonson and Alden Cohen, *Women of Watergate* (New York: Stein and Day, 1975), 120.

[34] John Anthony Maltese. *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 105.

answering for the White House on a matter that involved possible constitutional violations that Nixon himself should have been answering.

There is some question whether or not it is true that the President did not specifically send Julie to speak on his behalf. When Pat Nixon biographer Lester David interviewed Helen Smith for his book, Smith, Pat Nixon's press secretary, confirmed the speculation that Julie was chosen by the family to be the one to take the brunt of the media heat.[35] Many saw Julie defending her father and felt that "Richard Nixon could not be as bad a man as they say if he inspires so much love from his daughter."[36] This is one view, but as time elapsed it became obvious that Julie was not being told the truth by her father and was still being sent out to answer the press. Julie was defenseless because she was not being told the whole truth, thus eliciting thoughts from the public such as "What sort of man would hide things from his daughters and let them go out and defend him?"[37] Whether Julie was strategically sent out to talk to the press or whether she did it on her own accord, there is no doubt that she gained a vast amount of respect from the American public as well as the White House press corps who called her "the only credible Nixon."[38]

A friend at the time was watching all of this play out with the rest of the world and remarked: "It was as if they were one person, Nixon and Julie, and she was defending

---

[35] Lester David, *The Lonely Lady of San Clemente* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Pub., 1978), 175.
[36] "Julie: Her Father's Daughter," *Newsweek,* 14 October 1974, 39.
[37] *Time* 19 August 1974, 36.

[38] "Julie: Her Father's Daughter," 39.

herself."[39] Others noted that it seemed as if during this period that Julie had "become her father's...First Lady in practice if not in fact."[40]

Just days after the transcripts proving Nixon's involvement in the Watergate cover-up were released on April 29, 1974, the White House was bombarded with requests for interviews, and it was left up to Julie to take the brunt of their insistence. On May 11, 1974, Julie and David met the press in the East Garden of the White House in an unprecedented press conference to address questions about the Watergate investigation.

As the months progressed the press became accustomed to Julie being the go-between between the press and the Nixon family, especially Richard Nixon. She became the official surrogate for Nixon himself. Julie was in constant contact with her father, listening and offering advice as well as keeping up to date on the movements of the investigations, or at least Richard Nixon's interpretations of these events. Thus, Julie had the double advantage of being both the most accessible and the most knowledgeable Nixon insider. Julie also had the invaluable asset of being the most appealing member of the Nixon family. She and David were so earnest and energetic in their support of the president that even diehard Nixon haters found it hard to extend their distaste to his most ardent ally.[41]

Even when there was no doubt from the transcripts that Nixon was indeed deeply involved; Julie intensified her resolve against resignation. Up until the last minute Julie hung on. On August 6, 1974, the night that Nixon wrote his resignation speech, Julie

---

[39] Thomas, 204.
[40] David, 172.

[41] Ibid.

entered the White House late in the evening and slipped a note on her father's pillow trying to convince him to wait another week or so.[42]

Barbara Kellerman in her book *All the President's Kin* asks how useful to Nixon Julie's exaggerated will to win really was. One Nixon aide suggested that it had a disadvantage: "Julie was the fighter. She was so much like her father—a real, tough, little battler—that at times that week I think she lost touch with reality. And that just fed her father's illusions."[43]

It also can be said that the opposite was true: that Nixon's illusions fed on Julie's. But whatever the case, Julie fought until the very last minute for her father. She placed herself in front of a ruthless White House press corps time and time again as a surrogate for her father. After Nixon left office, Julie continued to stand firm in her support of her father and still does to this day.

Julie was not just a surrogate; she was also a symbol of the youth of America, a confidante to the President and provided him informal advice. In the end she was perhaps the most valuable asset that Richard Nixon had. William Safire in his book *Before the Fall* includes a discussion on Julie. He concludes:

> Julie's significance in the Nixon story,...,is this: here is a young woman whose good sense, grace, and goodness were not acquired in a vacuum. She was, at least in part, the product of an environment dominated by Richard Nixon. Julie is evidence that the Nixon's ideas of family life help to develop good children and fine young adults. She is a glimpse of what her father could have been to others if

[42] Eisenhower, 422-423.
[43] Kellerman, 165.

> he did not indulge himself in narrowing his own circle to the trusted, distrusting few.
>
> Julie Eisenhower herself is everything a man could want in a daughter: not just a girl to be produced and strengthened against partisan blasts, but one to become a source of strength when an inner circle crumbles…[44]

Julie performed multiple roles that did have an affect on the institution of the president. She was a physical surrogate, a symbolic personification, a mouthpiece for Administrative policies, protector of the president, Ambassador overseas for the president, public defender, and an extension of the president himself. Julie's presence in the White House was profoundly felt. She was a useful tool to be used during the campaigns and was sent out to garner public and Congressional support for Administrative policies. As the White House days began to wane she was one of Nixon's closest advisors and was the only one at times who could communicate with the president.

Jack Ford

At first glance, it appears that Jack Ford performed similar surrogate roles as his brothers and sister performed. However, after further examination, Jack Ford's role on the campaign trail and within the White House was much more copious. His varied political activities make him stand out in the hybrid role rather than just a surrogate like his siblings.

---

[44] Safire, 626.

When Gerald Ford became president in 1974, Jack Ford was a student attending Utah State University majoring in forestry. Within the year between his father taking office and the beginning of the 1976 campaign, Jack graduated from college and moved to Washington, D.C., to live with his parents. Jack was unable to find a job in his chosen profession because any job he received working for the United States Forest Service would be seen as nepotism. Therefore, Jack moved back to Washington, D.C., and into the White House as the beginning of the campaign season loomed near. Temporarily he worked at a travel agency in the District helping plan world tours for college students.

It was during this time in D.C., before the campaign was in full swing, that Jack garnered some media attention that he admittedly suggests painted him a skeleton within the White House and within certain Republican Party circles. As Jack points out, the Ford family entered the White House unconsciously trying to make a break from the more formal Nixon White House.[45] Essentially, the Fords decided that they were just going to be themselves and hopefully, the American people would be relieved by the more informal nature of their family as compared to the previous occupants of the White House. To this end, Jack decided he would just be himself. Being himself meant partying with Bianca Jagger and Andy Warhol (Jack also granted an interview for Warhol's *Interview* magazine) and inviting them and other celebrity guests such as George Harrison (the first Beatle to visit the White House) to visit the White House. After making the rounds in such celebrity circles Jack was asked to pose for the cover of *Rolling Stone* magazine during the campaign in May 1976.

---

[45] Jack Ford interview with author, 16 February 2004.

As symbols, Jack's actions did not go over well within the Republican Party, but it was an admission he made a year before the election that made him the "enemy" of the Republicans.[46] In October 1975, Jack told the *Oregonian* newspaper "...he had smoked marijuana and believed the law should treat the substance as it does beer and wine."[47] Jack told the paper "he wanted to talk of his experiences because he feared that they could become known later and damage his father's campaign."[48] Jack later admitted that the conservatives in the Republican Party thought that his admission was "the worst thing that ever happened."[49] Jack became the instant skeleton of the family and the Ford Campaign. Interestingly enough, Jack had been sent to Oregon to represent his father at the Republican Western Region Conference in Portland, Oregon. "The White House sent Jack with everyone's blessing. He is the Ford most closely attuned to the West, a Ford capable of giving a youthful viewpoint of what is happening in the administration and the Ford who is about to become actively involved in his father's campaign."[50]

Even though Jack thought that his admission that he had smoked marijuana made him look more "real" and trustworthy to the American public, the President Ford Committee disagreed and curbed all of Jack's campaign activities. Even though President Ford applauded his son for being truthful, the campaign felt that he was a skeleton and that Jack's admission would make the American public view President Ford as a lax parent who would allow his son to take illegal drugs.[51] To this end, Jack was temporarily taken off the campaign trail. Jack was essentially told that he was not

---

[46] Ibid.
[47] "Ford's Son, 23, Says He Smoked Marijuana," *New York Times*, 5 October 1975, pg. 59.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Jack Ford interview with author, 16 February 2004.
[50] Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, *First Lady's Lady*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1979): 196.
[51] "Ford's Son..."

welcome in the state of New Hampshire during the important primary season in which President Ford was fighting for the Republican nomination against former governor of California, Ronald Reagan.[52] Even though the historical record (and Jack's own recollection) shows that the Ford campaign was upset over his admission, some sources suggest that White House advisers encouraged Jack to make the announcement. At the time,

> (h)e…told friends that he…felt "a lot better" since he spoke up about his pot smoking. He brought it out in the open because he, along with some White House advisers, worried that his father's political opponents might try to make use of rumors about his freewheeling bachelor life, which have been swirling through Washington like smoke at a rock concert.[53]

Even though White House advisers may have been involved in the decision about his admission, "(h)e nearly did remain closeted, until the President Ford Committee needed someone to generate attention…in Illinois while the President was concentrating on the Florida primary."[54] This trip to the college campuses of Illinois was so successful that the campaign began calling on Jack more often. "'I can send Jack anywhere in the country,' said Richard Mastrangelo, the campaign scheduling director. 'He's very popular.'"[55] Jack relished this opportunity to help his father. Jack stated at the time: "Since the character of the candidate is so important in this campaign, those of us in the family have some important impressions to convey about him."[56] Jack further highlights,

---

[52] Ibid.
[53] Bonnie Angelo, "Jack Ford: 'My Turn to Sacrifice,'" *Time Magazine* 20 October 1975, pg. 20.
[54] James M. Naughton, "A Hidden Asset for Ford: His Son Jack," *New York Times*, 29 April 1976, A15.
[55] Ibid.
[56] "It's a Clash of the Clans," *Time Magazine*, 11 October 1976, pg. 24.

> ...the family is more reflective of the character of the man, because it has had his impact reflective of Dad, it has had his impact for 20-some years, whereas the government and the Administration, particularly the White House has only felt the product of his influence for two years, or two and a half years.[57]

Therefore, Jack believed his surrogate work on the campaign trail was an opportunity for him to elucidate to the American public his father's character as he saw it on a day-to-day basis.

As campaign schedules reveal,[58] Jack became an avid campaigner going from college campus-to college campus touting his father's message. Jack quickly became "the most fervent and perhaps most articulate of the surrogates who ply the primary trail advocating four more years it the White House for President Ford."[59] Jack performed multiple tasks for the campaign. Jack, more time on the campaign trail than any other family member. The campaign sent Jack primarily to college campuses where he was given almost free reign. Essentially, he would meet with large groups of students, delivering a short stump speech and then open the floor for questions from the audience. Jack characterizes these campus visits as "experimental"[60] because there was no strict structure. Instead, he allowed each event to develop on its own making sure that at each stop there was a two-way dialogue between him and those who had questions about his father they wanted answered. Essentially, Jack was meant to be a "conservative challenge"[61] on college campuses. At each stop he inevitably discussed a variety of

---

[57] Sound Roll transcript from footage taken by the Ford Campaign Committee. Source: Ford Library.
[58] Source: Ford Library.
[59] Naughton.
[60] Jack Ford, interview with author.
[61] Ibid.

issues such as issues on the economy, the Nixon pardon, African nationalism, natural gas pricing, environmental issues, gun control, defense spending, and of course marijuana legalization.

Indeed, no issue seemed out of the realm of discussion. Jack was always frank and forthright with his answers. For instance, when asked about former President Richard Nixon, Jack commented to one college crowd: "The guy's a creep…I worked for one year to get him elected and he let me down on Watergate…I'll say it to anyone who's willing to listen—the guy's a creep."[62]

As a symbol of the youth of America, Jack also took it as his responsibility to acknowledge a change among his age group in the mid-1970s than in the 1960s. Jack declared on college campuses that:

> the age of decadence for young people is over…They're looking for value and substance now…We've had our cultural revolution of the 60s. Massive group reinforcement—getting a lot of people together—is over. Rock concerts are a diminishing product. We're going into this country's Golden age, an exciting period. We'll have steady economic growth, and emphasis on individual performance, like in sports. Young people will bring the energy for this.[63]

In extension to his tour of college campuses, Jack also traveled the country attending Young Republican parties trying to rally the younger troops of the party to support his father. It is also apparent from correspondence within the White House Office that Jack was the "go-to-guy" when President Ford could not attend an event.

---

[62] Nick Thimmesch, "Fords for Ford," *New York Times*, 7 March 1976, pg. SM4.
[63] Ibid.

Jack traveled across the country representing his father at a number of events including the Colorado State Republican Convention, the festival for the American West at Utah State University, and the Independent Insurance Agents of American convention.[64] At one point during the campaign, after a week of following Jack around the campaign trail, the *New York Times* published a front-page story that characterized Jack as the Ford campaign's "hidden asset."[65] Later, *60 Minutes* also spent a week on the campaign trail with Jack. The resulting spot on the Sunday evening television news program discussed a number of issues ranging from his admission of using marijuana to amnesty for draft dodgers from the Vietnam War. Jack was also chosen as the representative of his father on *Meet the Press* the Sunday morning before the election. It is tradition on *Meet the Press* for each candidate to choose one surrogate to appear on the political program to make one last plea for the support of the American people. Jack had so impressed the President Ford Committee that he was chosen by the campaign to represent his father. Throughout the campaign, Jack also appeared on such news programs such as *Good Morning America* and the *Today* program and was interviewed countless times by local media outlets. In July 1976, Jack wrote, under his byline, five personal reports for the Republican convention in Kansas City for the *New York Daily News*.[66] Therefore, even though the President Ford Committee was reluctant to use Jack in the beginning of the campaign, he became a valuable component of the campaign apparatus. He also performed his duties on the campaign without complaint, because as he noted at the time:

---

[64] Source: Ford Library.
[65] Naughton.
[66] Betty Ford, *The Times of My Life*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1978): 343.

"He's (President Ford) done things for me so long. Now it's my turn to sacrifice a little for him."[67]

Along with his campaign work as a surrogate for his father, Jack also served as an informal adviser as well. In a telephone interview, Jack Ford suggested that this was actually his more formal role in the Ford White House. His advisory role began the minute his father walked into the Oval Office. In an informal capacity, Jack was allowed to sit in on Cabinet meetings[68] (although he was not allowed to speak) and on transition team meetings.[69] Jack acknowledges that his father encouraged him to participate in these White House events and also encouraged him to voice his opinion on a range of matters. For instance, "(d)uring the primaries...Jack told his dad that his speeches were 'boring,' the president made changes in his speech writing...Jack...takes part in campaign strategy meetings, is kept updated on major political developments and as his dad put it, 'keeps me posted on what his generation is thinking...'"[70] Even before the campaign began Jack actually advised his father not to run for the presidency, although "President Ford did not take the advice seriously."[71]

Jack himself admitted that he "play(ed) the devil's advocate with my father when we talk issues...(w)e discuss them a lot..."[72] There were several issues that were close to Jack's heart that he advocated for profusely with his father. First, was the state of the environment. Due to his degree in forestry, Jack was familiar with environmental issues

---

[67] Angelo.
[68] Jack Ford, telephone interview with author.
[69] White House memorandum to Terry O'Donnell from Jerry H. Jones. 25 June, 1975. Ford Library PP 5-3.
[70] Trude B. Feldman, "Our Private Life in the White House," *Ladies Home Journal*, October 1976, pg. 84.
[71] "Ford Urged Not to Run By His 23-Year-Old Son," *New York Times*, 12 August 1975, pg. 15.
[72] Thimmesch.

and actually labeled himself an environmental advocate.[73] The second issue Jack was adamant about was the unconditional amnesty for draft dodgers from the Vietnam War. In one of his campaign Q & A's the question of amnesty was broached and Jack answered that he was working on convincing his father that it was the best option. Jack stated: "He can pardon Richard Nixon, but he's not going to grant unconditional amnesty for the draft dodgers?...Quite frankly, because there's a question of the people involved who not only lost sons to Canada and Sweden and England, but people who lost sons for a lifetime."[74]

As White House correspondence highlights, Jack quite frequently suggested to his father and the presidential staff causes his father should be involved with and correspondence he believed his father should send out. For instance, on August 18, 1974 (shortly after his father taking office) Jack sent a six-page memorandum to his father detailing at length his advice on staffing for the White House. This memorandum had five keys points: 1) that youth should be placed in positions of responsibility; 2) ways and means to broaden the party by reaching out to the youth of America; 3) to advocate for volunteerism in America; 4) to use the Bicentennial celebration as a unifying event; and 5) the need to restructure public education through a national commitment to career education.[75] Jack felt comfortable enough to send this memorandum to his father and the presidential staff because President Ford made it clear to his son that Jack's opinions and advice were valuable to him.

---

[73] Jack Ford, interview with author.
[74] Transcript of *60 Minutes Interview*. Ford Library, PP 5-3.
[75] White House memorandum to President Ford from Jack Ford, 18 August 1974, Ford Library, PP 5-3.

In conclusion, Jack Ford's activities within the White House and on the campaign trail highlight that Jack's political activities went further than the surrogate activities of his siblings. Indeed, Jack was an asset as a surrogate during the campaign. However, Jack went further with his political activities. He was the most active Ford child on the campaign trail. He was also an informal adviser to his father and President Ford openly sought out his advice by allowing him to participate in such sensitive White House activities such as Cabinet meetings. Jack performed a symbolic role as well. Jack traveled the country making campaign visits to college campuses symbolizing the youth of America and the "conservative challenge" to the college youth of the 1960s. Through all of his campaign activities, Jack also was symbolic of the family values of his father. Finally, Jack also performed the skeleton role with his frequent acquaintance with the Hollywood and celebrity and his admission of using the illegal drugs marijuana.

Maureen Reagan

Maureen Reagan was born on January 4, 1941, to Ronald Reagan and actress Jane Wyman. Maureen was Ronald Reagan's oldest child.[76] Very early in her life Maureen garnered a personal interest in American politics. Indeed, she marks the 1952 election, when she was 11 years old, as her first real experience with politics. It was in this year that the Democratic and Republican conventions were first televised and her choice in 1952 was Dwight D. Eisenhower. It was not until 1960, when Ronald Reagan headed the Democrats for Nixon, that Maureen learned her father was a Democrat. It was during

[76] Ronald Reagan had two children from his first marriage to Jane Wyman; Maureen, born on January 4, 1941 and Michael born March 8, 1945. Reagan had two children with his second wife Nancy Reagan; Patti born October 22, 1952 and Ron born May 20, 1958.

this campaign that Reagan changed his registration and became a Republican.[77] Maureen was dismayed that she was a Republican and her father a Democrat. Years later, the two would joke that Maureen was a Republican long before her father.

Due to her vast interest in American politics, Maureen was anxious to work on her father's campaign for California's governor in 1966. Maureen had worked on Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign in 1964 and felt she had a lot to offer to a Reagan '66 campaign. However, Reagan's campaign managers did not allow Maureen or her younger brother Michael to participate in the campaign because she would be "a reminder of Reagan's divorced status."[78] Indeed, Bill Roberts and Stu Spencer, Reagan's campaign managers, told Maureen directly "that they wanted no mention of 'Reagan's other family' and it would be best if she and Michael kept the lowest possible profile."[79] Maureen was convinced that the "new Republican Party didn't care about previous marriages or extended families," but she was "rubbed out" anyway.[80] When Maureen appealed to her father, Reagan replied: "If you pay someone to manage a campaign, then you've got to give them authority to do as they see fit."[81] Although ostracized from her father's campaign, Maureen was not stopped from participating in her own way. She worked for the California Federation of Republican Women helping her father's campaign indirectly as well as other local and state candidates running in California.

---

[77] Doug Wead, *All the President's Children: Triumph and Tragedy in the Lives of America's First Families*, (New York: Atria Books, 2003): 153.
[78] Doug Wead, 155.
[79] Anne Edwards, *The Reagans: Portrait of a Marriage*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003): 86.
[80] Maureen Reagan, *First Father, First Daughter: A Memoir*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989): 146-147.
[81] Ibid., 147.

When her father ran again for the presidency in 1980, Maureen was sure there would be an extended role of the family in the 1980 campaign. Michael had already been asked to go to Iowa and be a surrogate campaigner for their father and Maureen was convinced her call was soon to come. However, it never did. As it turned out, Reagan's campaign managers in 1980 were also reluctant to utilize Maureen in the campaign. They were not as concerned this time over who her mother was, but Maureen's stance on some hot-button political issues. In particular, they were concerned that her position on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) might harm her father's campaign.

The official position of the Republican Party was against the ERA, but Maureen was staunchly in favor of it. The spousal abuse in her first marriage, and the difficulty she endured getting the police to respond to the abuse, "colored her ideas about ERA"[82] and Maureen became an outspoken advocate for the constitutional addition. Therefore, because of her outspokenness, Maureen was kept off the campaign trail initially. Finally, Maureen was allowed onto the campaign trail in Iowa when Nancy Reagan was unable to attend a series of scheduled events due to a bout with the flu. Her father needed someone to fill in for Nancy Reagan and personally extended the invitation to Maureen. Maureen spent three days traveling through 17 counties in Iowa as a surrogate for her father.[83] While still helping women candidates in California, Maureen began traveling over the weekends, campaigning for her father before returning to her job during the weekdays.[84]

In Detroit, Michigan at the Republican National Convention, Maureen attended as a delegate from California and delivered the votes for California on the night of her

---

[82] Doug Wead, 155.
[83] Maureen Reagan, 242.
[84] Maureen worked at Sell Overseas America, a company that sought to promote American exports overseas. She was an editor of the magazine they published entitled *Showcase America*.

father's nomination.[85] There she was asked by her father to participate in a meeting between himself and several prominent women in the Republican Party "in an effort to heal the wounds of the platform fight"[86] that had ensued at the convention in which the Party removed the ERA from the platform. In the meeting, Reagan "did recognize the need to change discriminating laws and was committed to legislative reform at the local, state, and federal level. He also indicated—for the first time publicly—his desire to appoint a woman to the United States Supreme Court."[87] When Reagan delivered his acceptance speech to the Convention, he mentioned each of these issues declaring: "As President, I will establish a liaison with the fifty governors to encourage them to eliminate, wherever it exists, discrimination against women…"[88] Maureen's brother Michael turned to Maureen at that moment and stated: "Now that, my dear sister, is clout."[89] Michael was highlighting how her advocacy for women's issues had finally gotten through to her father. Maureen continued her work on the campaign during the general election, traveling non-stop for two months. In the last week before the election, she campaigned as a surrogate in 25 cities in six days.[90]

Once her father was in the White House, Maureen returned to her life in California. She continued her work for Sell Overseas America, continued to speak out as

---

[85] Incidentally, at the Republican National Convention in 1976,when her father first ran for the presidency, Maureen was not allowed to be a delegate by the Reagan campaign because the campaign staff felt she would be reminder of her father's divorced status. Source: Michael Reagan, *On the Outside Looking In*, (New York: Zebra Books, 1988): 188.
[86] Maureen Reagan, 251.
[87] Ibid., 252.
[88] Ibid., 259.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Maureen Reagan, 263.

an advocate for women's issues, and continued her work in state politics. During this period, she also made an unsuccessful run for the United States Senate in 1982.[91]

In the spring of 1983 at a family dinner at the White House, President Reagan raised the ERA and other women's political issues with Maureen. Reagan displayed his frustration over the fact that his administration was not getting the recognition for having three women in the Cabinet and for placing the first woman on the Supreme Court. Reagan inquired if Maureen would interject these facts into her advocacy speeches she was delivering around the country. Maureen advised her father that the women of the Republican Party felt cut off from the decision-making process and "were no longer willing to give blind support to a political structure that completely ignored them."[92] Maureen suggested to her father that the "gender gap" he had suffered from since taking office was a result of his not paying enough attention to such issues as child care, equal pay, anti-discrimination laws etc.[93]

For the rest of the family dinner, Maureen and the President worked out a strategy for reaching out to women. Reagan asked Maureen to have a conversation with Mike Deaver, the White House point man on the "gender gap" problem.[94] Although her suggestions to Deaver were ignored, she presented a plan to Frank Fahrenkopf, the chair

---

[91] Maureen's run for the Senate placed her father in an awkward position. Maureen expected her father to endorse her, but as the leader of the Republican Party, Reagan was reluctant to endorse any of the candidates during the primary. Maureen's run became more difficult when her uncle, Ronald Reagan's brother Neill, endorsed Pete Wilson over Maureen and actually served as one of the co-chairs of the Pete Wilson campaign.

[92] Ibid., 295.

[93] Maureen Reagan, 297.

[94] In 1983 57% of men approved of President Reagan's performance in office, but only 39% of women did and the administration was worried about how Reagan would fair with women in the 1984 election. Source: Maureen Reagan, 295. Indeed, in successive polls taken, the approval ratings given to President Reagan by women were always 8 to 20 points lower than the approval ratings given by men. Source: Barbara Basler, "G.O.P. Starting Campaign to Show 'Reagan is Terrific on Women's Issues,'" *The New York Times*, 6 April 1984, pg. A 24.

of the Republican National Committee (RNC), declaring that the best way to deal with the "gender gap" was to promote Republican women for office and use these "women office holders as the first line of defense."[95] Maureen argued that the women in office could hold a "two-way communication on the local levels"[96] across the country and thus, better articulate the President's policies and agenda. Fahrenkopf liked Maureen's ideas and brought Maureen on staff as a part-time consultant on women's issues. Thus, although she was paid by the Republican Party, Maureen was working for her father in an official capacity.[97] Although Maureen was elated to be working with her father, not all were impressed by the move. Indeed, as the *New York Times* reporter, Francis X. Clines stated:

> At first it sounded like a sitcom premise more appropriate to the Reagan family's Hollywood roots: Let's have the President's daughter become his paid strategist on the subject of women to help him overcome the charges of political misogyny that dog the genial patriarch's re-election chances.[98]

One of Maureen's first actions was to organize a series of "highly visible women's conferences,"[99] highlighted by the Susan B. Anthony Celebration held in February 1984. This fundraiser for Republican women candidates was organized by Maureen and the RNC. The President spoke at the event, giving a "major address" at the

---

[95] Ibid., 298.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Maureen Reagan, 299.
[98] Francis X. Clines, "Helping Father on Issues Daughter Knows Best, *The New York Times*, 29 June 1984 pg. A 16.
[99] Ibid.

insistence of Maureen[100] and it was broadcast via satellite to local events around the country. For Maureen the event was a success and she continued her special consulting role to the RNC for the next couple of years until her position was elevated to co-chair in 1986.

In the meantime, Maureen began her surrogate work on her father's reelection campaign in 1984. In fact, Maureen was the only Reagan child on the campaign trail in 1984.[101] In all, Maureen spent 12 months on the campaign trail, logging over 250,000 miles. Maureen traveled to all 50 states at least once and visited 16 of them multiple times.[102] Beyond her surrogate work on the campaign trail, Maureen was called upon by her father's campaign when Geraldine Ferraro was chosen by Walter Mondale as his vice presidential running mate. Ed Rollins, a member of the Reagan campaign team, approached Maureen about appearing on the three network's morning shows to deliver the Reagan campaign response. Although she was happy to help out, Maureen was confused over why Vice President George Bush was not chosen for the task considering he was the one who would meet Ferraro in the vice presidential debate.[103] However, Maureen did encourage the Vice President to meet with women office holders and candidates in order to hear their needs and concerns and, more importantly, hear "that the

---

[100] Before the event Maureen was informed, President Reagan would only speak for about five minutes. Maureen was unhappy with this and pushed for a much longer speech to mark the importance of the event. According to Maureen, "My stock around town rose dramatically as soon as it became known we'd gone from five minutes of fluff to a large-scale TelePrompter address." Maureen Reagan, 304.

[101] Maureen's advocacy of the ERA followed her in 1984 as well and upset many in the Republican Party. At one point in the campaign John T. Dolan, the chair of the National Conservative Political Action Committee declared that, "we muzzle Maureen Reagan," because of her advocacy of the ERA. Source: "White House Press Aide Defends Miss Reagan," *The New York Times*, 6 March 1984, pg. A 14.

[102] Maureen Reagan, 309.

[103] Ibid., 313.

Reagan-Bush ticket would not be deserted by the women of (the) party"[104] even though the Democrats had chosen as part of the presidential ticket.

Maureen helped the campaign in 1984 in other ways as well. For instance, after a lackluster performance in the first presidential debate between Reagan and Mondale, Maureen was concerned about her father's preparation for the second debate. She called Bud McFarlene, the national security advisor, and voiced her concerns. McFarlene suggested that too many people were involved in the process and the President was being bogged down with too much information. So Maureen convinced her father to review some material a researcher at the RNC had presenter her. The material included a series of one-liners designed as responses to potential Mondale material. Maureen presented the material to her father and he loved it. Although most of the material did not make it into the debate, some of the one-liners did and the second debate was a deemed a success for the President by all involved.[105]

After a successful Reagan reelection campaign, Maureen continued her special consulting role at the RNC and in July 1985, the United States representative to the United Nation's Commission on the Status of Women, Nancy Clark Reynolds, approached Maureen. Reynolds asked Maureen to chair the United States' delegation to the United Nation's World Conference in Nairobi as part of the United Nation's Decade of Women. The list of other delegates included Jeane Kirkpatrick, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations; Margaret Heckler, the Secretary of Health and Human Services and Senator Nancy Kassenbaum of Kansas among various members of

---

[104] Ibid., 314.
[105] Ibid., 319.

the House.[106] The conference "address(ed) the growing needs of women in developing countries."[107] Maureen's performance in Nairobi led to her being offered by the Secretary of State George Schultz, the position of United States representative to the United Nation's Commission on the Status of Women in 1985 when Nancy Reynolds resigned.

While in Nairobi and through her work for the United Nations, Maureen garnered awareness for the interests of Africa. Due to this, Maureen became the "unofficial ambassador-at-large to anyplace in Africa"[108] for the Reagan administration. For any event held in African that required United States' representation, Maureen was called upon to attend. For example, Maureen attended the coronation of the King of Swaziland, at which she delivered a letter from President Reagan to King Mswati. During this trip, Maureen also met with P.W. Botha, the president of South Africa. This meeting was designed "to engage the president on any level on the possibility of further reform in apartheid..."[109] Maureen next met with President Samora Machel of Mozambique and returned in 1986 to tour Mozambique as a side trip while in Botswana as the United States' representative to the celebration of its independence. Later, after the death of the president of Mozambique, Maureen was the United States' representative at his funeral.[110]

While continuing her part-time work for the United Nations, Maureen was still consulting for the RNC. Maureen was "traveling our own back roads and getting out the

---

[106] "U.S. Picks Delegation for Parley on Women," *The New York Times*, 8 March 1985, pg. B 8.
[107] Ibid., 337.
[108] Ibid., 353.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Maureen Reagan, 357.

word for our female Republican candidates."[111] Ronald Reagan was pleased with Maureen's work at the RNC and in late 1986 chose her to replace Betty Heitman as co-chair. Not all members of the Party were pleased with his choice. Indeed, according to Maureen,

> There were some people who maintained that my father had given me the job simply because I was his daughter; now I was his daughter, there was no disputing that, but what my nay-sayers failed to acknowledge was that a sitting President always chooses the chairman and cochairman of his party, and that I had been active in party politics for many years.[112]

Maureen's role at the RNC was low-key until 1987 when she made front-page news over some comments made at a press conference about the Iran-Contra controversy. After a meeting with President Reagan and various Republican leaders to discuss the effects of Iran-Contra on the Party, the participants of the meeting held an audience with the media to discuss the results of the meeting. The press briefing included a handful of the participants in the meeting, but Maureen was not invited to participate. However, she was spotted in the hall by a group of reporters and entreated to join the news conference. During the news conference, Maureen "suggested that Vice Adm. John Poindexter, the formal national security advisor, and his former aide Lieut.-Col. Oliver North, should be court-martialed for their actions."[113] The problem with her response was that it "overwhelmed the message party leaders were trying to present" and Maureen was

---

[111] Ibid., 358.
[112] Ibid.
[113] "Party Chief Is Said to Rebuke Maureen Reagan," *The New York Times*, 12 March 1987, pg. B12.

privately "harshly rebuked" for her comments.[114] The official line from the RNC was that her comments were her personal views alone and not the position of the RNC even though she was co-chair.

Maureen carried out her tenure as RNC co-chair until the end of her father's term in office. She then returned to California where she continued to work in American politics, especially in helping to get women elected into public office. Maureen created and chaired the G.O.P. Women's Political Action League,[115] a political action committee which supported over 100 women candidates and she was the founder of the International Women's Leadership Exchange, "a nonprofit, educational organization formed to 'further understanding among women in leadership positions around the world.'"[116] Indeed, "(f)ormer Republican State Representative Colleen House of Michigan once said that Maureen 'did more to encourage Republican women seeking office than anyone in the 1980s.'"[117] Over the years, Maureen also continued to deliver speeches around the country. After her father was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease, she was "her father's spokesperson, appearing at various venues where he was to be honored in some way."[118] Maureen also became heavily involved in two very personal crusades. The first was to raise awareness of Alzheimer's disease from which her father was afflicted. She eventually raised over $60 million dollars for research to find a cure for the disease.[119] Her second crusade was to raise awareness of melanoma from which she suffered and died from in August 2001. Author Doug Wead suggests that through all of her political

---

[114] Ibid.
[115] "High Party Post Due For Maureen Reagan," *The New York Times*, 14 September 1986, pg. 30.
[116] Doug Wead, 155.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Anne Edwards, 358.
[119] Doug Wead, 156.

activities during her lifetime, Maureen "set new standards on how women could and should be involved in the political arena."[120]

[120] Ibid., 151.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION

Findings

As the preceding case studies elucidate, all presidential children from Kennedy through Clinton performed political activities, which affected the presidency. The political activities of each presidential child were examined and the roles they performed delineated in these case studies (see Table I). The following section discusses some of the findings from these case studies.

To begin with, the study delivers preliminary evidence that the presidential children before Kennedy also performed politically relevant activities. The reason for beginning this study with the Kennedy presidency is that 1960 is often cited as the beginning of the media age in which the presidency truly became public for the first

TABLE I: Presidential Roles of Presidential Children

Symbol	Caroline Kennedy; John Kennedy; Amy Carter; Chelsea Clinton
Surrogates	Lynda Johnson Robb; Luci Johnson: Tricia Nixon Cox; Michael Ford; Steve Ford; Susan Ford; Jack Carter; Chip Carter; Jeff Carter; Jeb Bush; Marvin Bush; Dorothy Bush
Informal Advisor/Confidant(e)s	George W. Bush
Skeletons	Michael Reagan; Patti Davis; Neil Bush
Hybrids	Julie Nixon Eisenhower; Jack Ford; Maureen Reagan

time.[1] The first time presidential debates were televised was 1960 and President Kennedy was the first president to conduct a televised press conference. Thus began the "filming of the presidency." Therefore, as is argued in this study, the use of presidential children as symbols has escalated because of the need to use them as "props" in this intricate "filming."

This does not mean that presidential children before Kennedy performed no symbolic role. Indeed, Margaret Truman did execute a symbolic role. Part of Margaret's role in the Truman White House was to be a symbol of the youth of America. She also helped display the closeness of the Truman family. Margaret exemplified this role primarily on the campaign trail while accompanying her father aboard the whistle-stop tour around the country. Again, her presence on the campaign trail with her father left the American public with a better sense of who Truman was as a man. Even though television cameras were not following around Margaret, the print media followed her every move waiting for a story. Therefore, even though Margaret lived in the White House prior to 1960, she did perform a symbolic role, and the media was concerned with her day-to-day activities.

Surrogates also seem to have increased in importance since 1960. As John Eisenhower stated: "The habit of employing the whole family as a political phalanx was not yet in vogue (in 1952 when his father first ran for president)."[2] As mentioned earlier, the Kennedy family began the proliferation of family members traveling the campaign trail in the name of the candidate. However, it was necessary for each successive

---

[1] Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960*, (New York: Pocket Books, 1961).
[2] John Eisenhower, *Strictly Personal*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1974): 187.

presidential campaign to replicate the family "political phalanx" of the Kennedy campaign. Many factors have perpetuated the need to expand the role of surrogates on the campaign trail. There has been a decline in party strength among the electorate. With the increase in independent voters and ticket-splitting, the two major political parties can no longer be confident about who they can consider "safe" voters for their party. Therefore, candidates and their surrogates need to reach out to populations that in the past they could have been taken for granted. Another reason for the increase in the use of surrogates is the increase in the importance of primaries. With the increase in primaries, surrogates are needed to canvass each state earlier in the campaign season. Again, the personalization of the presidency also expands the need for surrogates as does the growth in new forms of media, including television and electronic media. Surrogates are now called upon to appear on television talk shows to tout the message of the candidate. Presidential children are especially beneficial in these types of appearances. Not only do they deliver a political message for their father, they also deliver a personal message about who the candidate is as a father.

Even though there has been an increased need for presidential children as surrogates since 1960, many presidential children before 1960 also performed this task. Jimmy Roosevelt was used as a campaign manager in the primaries of 1932. Robert Johnson and Webb Hayes also represented their father at the Party conventions. However, even though these individuals did perform surrogate roles, they are only a handful and their surrogate roles were relegated to the campaign trail. Presidential children since 1960 are also called on in the campaign, but many have also performed surrogate duties post-election as well. Because the modern presidency is in perpetual

campaign mode, there is a need to utilize surrogates (including presidential children) even outside of the campaign season.

Another major finding was that the political roles presidential children performed varied by age. For instance, all of the children who performed symbolic roles were under the age of 18. The Kennedy children executed a symbolic role because that was the only role they could perform. Of course, in their case, their father chose for them to perform this role by creating artificial environments for them to be photographed with President Kennedy. This begs the question: At what point do presidential children give consent to participate in their political activities? Theoretically, Chelsea Clinton was old enough to say no to her use as a symbol while the Kennedy children were not.

Another example of the use of young children as symbols is seen in the current 2004 race for president. The moment John Edwards was announced as the vice presidential running mate of Democratic nominee, John Kerry, and exited his home hand-in-hand with his young son and daughter, the comparisons with the Kennedy children began in the media. This was the first time in many years that young children appeared on the campaign trail and the media immediately took notice. The Kerry campaign was counting on this reaction. One of the reasons John Edwards was chosen was because of his relative youth compared to John Kerry and Edwards' children exemplified this youthful image. Although the older children of Kerry and Edwards performed as surrogates on the campaign trail during the primaries and continue to do so, they do not have the same symbolic or image-making potential as the younger Edwards' children.

Because symbols tend to be young, as they grow older, their role can change. None of the roles in this study is mutually exclusive. Therefore, even though a

presidential child is primarily a surrogate does not mean s/he cannot also be an informal advisor or symbol at times as well. For example, Michael Ford was a surrogate on the campaign trail when his schedule permitted, but his religion was also used symbolically by the Ford campaign in order to create a connection with the "Christian right" sector of the Republican Party.

Presidential children can also move from one primary role to another. However, this will probably only happen with younger children who exemplify a symbolic role. As these children age, they will be able to expand their roles to include surrogate or informal advising activities. For instance, as Chelsea Clinton aged and moved away to attend college, she took on the role of surrogate for both her father and mother while still maintaining a symbolic role when her family was going through the personal turmoil of a public scandal.

Surrogates also tended to be age dependent. Most were over the age of eighteen, except for Luci Johnson and Susan Ford. Obviously, the eighteen-year-old dividing line is flexible. As seen with Chelsea Clinton, as she approached eighteen she began to modify her role from a symbol to surrogate. In the case of Luci Johnson and Susan Ford, they were in their late teens during their fathers' campaigns and were old enough to perform surrogate duties. The age in which a presidential child can move from symbol to surrogate will vary from child to child depending upon their own maturity and confidence in their abilities as a surrogate. As seen with Susan Ford, she was uncomfortable speaking with the press or making formal speeches, but she felt confident enough to perform other surrogate duties such as opening campaign headquarters and making appearances at campaign events around the country in the name of her father.

Due to the fact that informal advisors/confidant(e)s dispense political advice to their fathers, it stands to reason that they would be older. George W. Bush was much older than many of the surrogates and symbols discussed in this study. He had a Masters in Business Administration from Harvard University and already had an established career in the oil industry. Hypothetically, then, George W. Bush was in a better position to give advise to his father because of his education and career experience. However, Julie Nixon Eisenhower was also an informal advisor for her father. When her father entered the White House she was still attending Smith College, but she felt confident giving advice to her father on a list of topics. Therefore, even though it stands to reason that an informal advisor/confidant(e) must be much older and established in their careers, Julie Nixon proves that false. Because Julie was reared around the world of presidential politics, she might have felt more comfortable giving advice than other presidential children might.

The last major finding of this study is the break down of political roles based on the sex of the presidential child. Looking at the children labeled symbols, all but one, is female. The reason for this is that there were only two male presidential children under the age of eighteen from Kennedy through Clinton. The first was John Kennedy, Jr. and he did exemplify a symbolic role. Steve Ford on the other hand performed the role of surrogate. However, Steve Ford was seventeen-years-old when his father became president. Therefore, considering there were only two males under the age of eighteen and only one was a symbol, it is understandable whey more females performed the role of symbol.

Examining the role of surrogates shows little variation in sex, except for outside the campaign. Those surrogates who filled in for the president and first lady at events in the White House were primarily females. As was mentioned earlier, one reason for this was that more females lived with their parents in the White House than male presidential children. In most of these cases, the presidents' daughters were still living in the White House because they were still in school, or in the case of Lynda and Luci Johnson, waiting for their husbands to return from Vietnam. Therefore, by circumstance only, they were living in the White House and called upon to fill in at White House events. However, as elucidated in the historical overview of presidential children before 1960, female presidential children were always called upon to take on a caretaker role. In the cases of Martha Jefferson Randolph and Martha Johnson Patterson the female descendants of presidents were expected to help keep the White House in order and entertain for the president. In comparison, the male descendants were utilized as speechwriters, congressional liaisons, or personal secretaries.

Another form of caretaker was Anna Roosevelt. She took on the role of watching over her father's health and monitoring his daily activities so that he would not become too stressed. Therefore, even for current female presidential children, society has the expectation that they are more suitable to a caretaker role than are males.

It is interesting to note that of the presidential children that performed the more involved role of "hybrid," two of the three were female. Even though society has begun to accept women in roles of authority, this has not always been the case. Theoretically, those in the "hybrid" role should be male because they are the most politically active and closest to the president. However, Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Maureen Reagan

exemplify all of the different possible political activities presidential children can perform. They both went beyond just surrogate work and informal advising. For instance, in the case of Maureen Reagan, she became a formal advisor at the RNC and United Nations.

Who Chooses the Roles?

Another concern that arises from this study is who perpetuates the rise of the children in their designated roles. Do the children volunteer to perform these political activities? If not the children, then is it the president or the campaign and White House staffers that push them to participate in a predetermined manner? From the findings of the case studies delivered in this study, the answer is actually quite complicated.

Of the 24 presidential children discussed in this study, none performed a role in which they did not have campaign or White House input. They would not have had a role if they did not have authorization from their father and his staff to perform these political activities. Several presidential children did volunteer to be utilized by the campaigns and the White House. For instance, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, from the beginning of the 1968 campaign made it clear to the Nixon campaign team that she was available to fill any role that was needed. She took a semester off from Smith College in order to exemplify her dedication to the campaign. After relinquishing her time to the campaign, staffers collaborated on how best to use her on the campaign trail. As was highlighted, President Nixon knew how beneficial Julie because of her youth and confidence on the stump, that he micromanaged her campaign schedule, speeches, and talking points to gain more "mileage." Post-campaign, President Nixon worked closely with the White House staff to use Julie's willingness to speak out in support of her father.

By her own admission, she felt strongly about a series of issues, such as the ERA, eldercare, and her father's Vietnam policies. Her father and his staffers worked hard to design speaking engagements to use her talents, even going as far as having her conduct an East Garden press conference on Watergate. Therefore, a combination of the child, president, and staff were involved in devising Julie's political activities.

Other presidential children, such as Maureen Reagan and George W. Bush, repeated this pattern. Both were already politically involved and brought these skills to their father's campaigns. As Maureen Reagan's case study elucidated, she fought hard to be included in the 1980 campaign. The campaign staff did not want Maureen to be a visible reminded of her father's divorced status. Therefore, she had to push her way into a role in the campaign. Later, President Reagan brought Maureen into the fold as an advisor on women's issues. He recognized her strong suits and sought her ought to utilized them. In the same manner, George W. Bush also volunteered to serve in his father's campaign and his father welcomed his service. The campaign staff in 1988 and 1992 also decided to utilize George W. Bush as a bridge to the religious right. So again, we see a combination of forces at work fashioning the political activities of these children.

Others presidential children were also willing to help, but were passive voices in choosing their campaign schedule, speeches, and talking points. For example, the Johnson campaign knew that Lynda and Luci would be useful in garnering the youth vote. The campaign staff designed the Johnson barbeques across the country as a mechanism for Lynda and Luci to carry their father's message to the youth of America. Lynda and Luci, however, were not involved in the decision-making over their campaign

schedule. They knew they were needed and went where told. There is also no doubt that the Johnson White House staff worked hard to get as much political capital out of the symbolism of the Johnson daughters' weddings. I am sure that both Johnson daughters would have preferred a private celebration with family and friends. However, their wedding became public affairs because of the potential political payoffs.

Susan Ford was another child who made it clear she was willing to help, as long as she did not have to speak. The Ford campaign designed a series of campaign appearances to use her as a surrogate and symbol. For instance, she was sent around the country to "cut the ribbon" on Ford campaign headquarters around the country or sent to the ski slopes in New Hampshire. The campaign staff planned all of these events.

For those children designated as symbols, they had little input into which role they would perform. All of these children were too young to voice their own opinion on the matter and because of their youth, they had no other choice but to be used as symbols. These children could not make speeches on behalf of their father or give advice. It is clear, however, through the case study of Caroline and John Kennedy that President Kennedy and his staff actively worked to perpetuate the image of Kennedy as a good family man using images of his children. In the same manner, the Clinton staff utilized Chelsea Clinton in the 1992 and 1996 campaigns to humanize her father with the consent of President Clinton. Therefore, in the case of symbols, it is the staff and the president who are involved in the role development of these children.

Finally, it stands to reason that neither presidents nor their staffs would be involved in designated the roles for those children designated as skeletons. For these children, they alone were responsible for their actions. Michael Reagan alone used his

father's name to garner military contracts for the company for which he was employed by using his father's name. Patti Davis alone aired her family's dirty laundry in order to sell books. Neil Bush alone became involved in questionable business dealings. Therefore, in the case of skeletons, the child alone decides if this is the role s/he will perform.

Significance

The role analysis and case studies of the presidential children from Kennedy through Clinton is politically significant for several reasons. To begin with, it seems as if the presidential strategy of "going public" might have been conceptualized too narrowly. Again, "going public" is the modern style of presidential leadership in which presidents seek out the public to promote themselves and their policies.[3] Going public includes bypassing the media if possible, and talking directly to the public. Beyond presidents making personal appeals to the American people, "going public" may also include activities such as sending surrogates out to interact with the public. Several of the presidential children discussed in this study performed this role. For instance, Julie Nixon Eisenhower acted in this manner on many occasions when she filled in for President Nixon. At times, she was actually the sole representative of the White House, especially on the campaign trail in 1972 and during the final months and days of Watergate. As was shown, the White House staff and the president himself recognized how beneficial Julie's public activities were to the White House and took measures to increase her role and make her as public as possible. Other presidential children were

[3] See Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 3rd. ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1997).

also called upon by their father's to fill in for them on the campaign trail and at political events across the country and the world.

Second, presidential children are extensions of the presidents himself. This is extremely significant because it means that presidents with children, or more specifically, active children, may in fact have an advantage over presidents without children. If presidential power is personal, then having active children may increase the total sum of personal power. It is like being in two or more places at once, which all presidents would love to be able to do. President Johnson recognized this when he commissioned Lynda to travel the West to promote his See America First program. President Carter also used Chip in a similar manner when he sent him to New York as his representative to access the damage done by a blizzard. President Nixon also recognized the advantage that he had in Julie and used it at every opportunity.

Third, as mentioned earlier, symbolic politics is extremely important to presidential power. Having children can increase a president's ability to manipulate or mold public perception of himself. "Symbols can be used politically to shape attitudes, build support, persuade to action, or in one widely accepted definition of political power to help A get B to do what A wants done."[4] Symbols are important to the presidency and "have power because people would like to believe in the possibility of the good and the honesty of American presidents."[5] Political symbols can take many different forms and presidential children play a large role in the symbolic image a president portrays to the nation.

---

[4] Barbara Hinckley, *The Symbolic Presidency: How Presidents Portray Themselves*, (New York: Routledge, 1990): 1.
[5] Ibid., 5.

As discussed in the study, the Kennedy children were used primarily by President Kennedy specifically for the symbolic purpose of portraying him as a good family man. Julie and Tricia Nixon also executed this role throughout her father's tenure in office. Julie and Tricia were used as symbols of the "real" American youth as those involved in contrast to those in the anti-war movement. More specifically in Julie's case, she symbolically performed the task of humanizing President Nixon and displaying him as a good family man. Although meant to be positive reinforcements for presidents, symbols can also have negative consequences. For instance, the actions of Michael Reagan and Patti Davis symbolically sent the message to the American public that President Reagan was not the family man that he had be portrayed during his campaigns.

The final political significance of presidential children is the impact they can have on decision-making and job performance. Just as formal staff and advisors influence the decisions presidents make, so too do presidential children. "If we understand what politicians believe and give no special attention to the arena in which they make their policy choices, you will wildly overestimate how easy it is for them to reach conclusions on issues."[6] This is true in the case of President Reagan. Reagan sought out Maureen's help on how to change his policies and positions on women's issues and eventually appointed Maureen as co-chair of the Republican National Committee as a special consultant on women's issues. George W. Bush also had influence over the staffing decisions of his father especially during the transition position.

Therefore, presidential children can perform multiple roles that do have an affect on the institution of the presidency. They can be physical surrogates, symbolic

---

[6] Charles Stewart III. *Analyzing Congress*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001): 45.

personifications, mouthpieces for Administrative policies, protectors of the president, ambassadors overseas for the president, public defenders, or extensions of the president himself. In many presidential administrations, the presence of presidential children is profoundly felt. They are useful tools to used during the campaigns and sent out to garner public and Congressional support for Administrative policies. Therefore, this study elucidates that although presidential children may not be formal players in the institution of the presidency, through their personal influence they impact the institution nonetheless.

Future Research

Because this study only examines the "public presidency," there are future research possibilities to expand the study. Although there is an historical overview of a few select presidential children before the Kennedy administration, it would still be beneficial to perform a more in-depth examination of the presidential children before the dawn of the media age. The benefit to performing this type of research is to determine if presidential children performed the same type of roles before the expansion of television and electronic media. It will be beneficial also to execute a study to see whether or not there were other roles performed by presidential children before 1960 that were not performed post-1960. It will also be interesting to find out if the "Symbol" role holds as much weight and power before 1960. With the evolution of television it has become apparent that there has been a conscious use of children as symbols to suit the political purposes at the moment. During the times before television, did presidents have the same conscious choice to use their children as symbols? A preliminary study of the presidential children from FDR through Clinton, suggests that the presidential children

before Kennedy did perform the same roles as those after.[7] And the symbolic uses of Margaret Truman suggests that the "Symbol" role was also important pre-1960. However, further study is still needed.

Future research can also examine the political roles of presidential children post-White House. This study only examines that political activities of presidential children during the campaigns and while their fathers were in office. However, did they continue their political activities after their father left the White House? In particular, "legacy building" activities need to be examined furthered. For instance, in order to protect his father's legacy, Webb Hayes created the first presidential library. Many presidential children have also written biographies of their parents in order to protect their legacy. In particular, Margaret Truman wrote biographies of both of her parents and Julie Nixon Eisenhower wrote a biography of her mother. In addition, Julie Nixon Eisenhower delivers speeches across the country defending her father, continuing the role she began over 30 years ago. More recently, after their father's death, the Reagan children have all written articles and conducted interviews in order to talk about their father and correct the image of their fractured family, which is now together again.

Another avenue for further research is a continued study of future presidential children. For instance, this study ends with Chelsea Clinton because the Bush administration was too new when this research began, and it was too early to determine the impact of Barbara and Jenna Bush. In actuality, Barbara and Jenna Bush had refused to work on the campaign with their father and rarely participated in political events while

---

[7] See Tabitha Alissa Warters, *Political Roles of Presidential Children: FDR through Clinton*, Masters Thesis, Virginia Tech, 1998.

their father was president. Even though they shied away from public political events, they did make national news for underage drinking incidents while in college. Now that they have both graduated from college, they have announced that they will be actively involved in their father's reelection campaign. Therefore, even if an examination of the Bush children had been executed, it would have been incomplete because they have changed their political role over the past four years. Therefore, studying future presidential children will be needed. Furthermore, as the presidency changes over time, the roles of presidential children might have to modify as well.

Finally, the current study's point of view is from the inside looking out. It examines the political activities of presidential children from the point of view of the children. Future research could be executed taking another frame of reference and examining the role of presidential children from the outside looking in. The best way to accomplish this goal is by carrying out an in-depth examination of how the media frames presidential children. The current study examines how presidents use presidential children as symbols to frame their image as good family men. An interesting twist on the study would be to look at how the media treats these children. Do the media view presidential children as politically relevant? Do they treat them only as entertainment value? Do the national media treat presidential children differently than local media? Do different media outlets (television v. print) treat presidential children differently? Answering these questions will lead this study into a new direction that the current study does not.

LIST OF REFERNCES

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I.
INTRODUCTION

A & E Biography: Presidential Children. Arts and Entertainment Network.

Bagehot, Walter. *The English Constitution.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1867.

Garvey, Megan. "Carefully Crafted Cloak of Privacy Surrounds Children of Candidates," *Los Angeles Times,* 4 August 2000, pg. E1.

Shogan, Robert. *The Double-Edged Sword: How Character Makes and Ruins Presidents, From Washington to Clinton.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999.

Truman, Margaret. *Bess Truman*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1986.

Watson, Robert P. *The President's Wives: Reassessing the Office of First Lady.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.

Watson, Robert P. "Source Material: Toward the Study of the First Lady: The State of Scholarship," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, June 2003: 423-441.

CHAPTER II.
THE CASE FOR THE STUDY OF PRESIDENTIAL CHILDREN

Barber, James David. The *Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1985.

Edwards, George C. *The Public Presidency: The Pursuit of Popular Support.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.

Edwards, George C., John H. Kessel, and Bert A. Rockman eds. Researching the Presidency. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993.

Glad, Betty and Michael W. Link, "President Nixon's Inner Circle of Advisers," *Presidential Studies Quarterly,* Volume 26, (1996): 16.

Graber, Doris A. "Personalized Qualities in Presidential Images: The Contribution of the Press," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (February 1972): 46.

Hager, Gregory L. and Terry Sullivan, "President-centered and Presidency-centered Explanations of Presidential Public Activity," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 38, No. 4, November 1994: 1079-1103.

Han, Lori Cox. *Governing From Center Stage: White House Communication Strategies During the Television Age of Politics.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, Inc., 2001.

Heith, Diane J. "Presidential Polling and the Potential for Leadership," in *Presidential Powers: Forging the Presidency for the Twenty-first Century*, eds., Shapiro, Kumar, and Jacobs. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Hinckley, Barbara. The *Symbolic Presidency: How Presidents Portray Themselves*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Kernell, Samuel. Going *Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1997.

Miroff, Bruce. "The Presidency and the Public: Leadership as Spectacle," in *The Presidency and the Political System*, 4th edition, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995.

Moe, Terry M., "Presidents, Institutions, and Theory," *Researching the Presidency*, eds. George C. Edwards, John H. Kessel, and Bert A. Rockman. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993: 338-339.

Neustadt, Richard E. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*. New York: The Free Press, 1990.

O'Connor, Karen, Bernadette Nye, and Laura Van Assendelft, "Wives in the White House: The Political Influence of First Ladies," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (1996): 836.

Tulis, Jeffrey. "The Two Constitutional Presidencies," in *The Presidency and the Political System*, 4th edition, ed. Michael Nelson (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1995): 91-123.

Warters, Tabitha Alissa and Mandi Bates. "New Perspectives on the Public Relations Presidency: The News Media and the Influence of First Families," originally presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, April 25-28, 2002. Chicago, Illinois.

Watson, Robert P. *The President's Wives: Reassessing the Office of the First Lady*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.

Watson, Robert P. "Toward the Study of the First Lady: The State of Scholarship," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (June 2003) : 434-435.

Zwaluwenburg, Pamela J. "First Partner: First Ladies and Their Roles," in *Presidential Frontiers: Unexplored Issues in White House Politics*, ed. Ryan J. Barilleaux (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998): 196.

CHAPTER III.
DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Biddle, Bruce. *Role Theory: Expectations, Identities, and Behavior.* New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Edwards, George C. III. *The Public Presidency: The Pursuit of Popular Support.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.

Edwards, George C. III, John H. Kessel, and Bert A. Rockman, eds. *Researching the Presidency.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993.

Gutin, Myra G. The President's Partner: The First Lady in the Twentieth Century. Greenwood Press, 1989.

Kellerman, Barbara. *All the President's Kin.* New York: The Free Press, 1981.

Kellerman, Barbara. "Campaigning Since Kennedy: The Family as 'Surrogate,'" *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 10, pgs. 244-253.

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Ragsdale, Lyn. "Presidential Power and Presidents," in *Presidential Powers: Forging the Presidency for the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Shapiro, Kumar and Jacobs. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000: 33-46.

Warters, Tabitha Alissa. *The Political Roles of Presidential Children: FDR through Clinton.* Thesis: Virginia Tech, 1998.

CHAPTER IV.
HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Asbell, Bernard editor, *Mother and Daughter: The Letters of Eleanor and Anna Roosevelt.* New York: Coward, McCann, and Goerghegan, 1982.

Boettiger, John R. *A Love in Shadow*. New York: W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978.

"Capt. Roosevelt Visits Chungking," *New York Times*, 30 April, 1941: 6.

Collier, Peter. *The Roosevelts*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Eisenhower, John. *Strictly Personal*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1974.

Ferguson, Katherine. "A Curse on Woodrow Wilson," *The New York Times*, 13 March 1988: Sec. 7, page 29.

Geer, Emily Apt. *First Lady: The Life of Lucy Webb Hayes*. The Kent State University Press/The Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, 1984.

Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *No Ordinary Time*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Medved, Michael. *The Shadow Presidents: The Secret History of the Chief Executives and Their Top Aides*. New York: New York Times Books, 1979.

Quinn, Sally. "The Canny Candor of Alice Longworth," *The Washington Post*, 21 February 1980, D1.

Quinn, Sandra L. and Sanford Kanter. *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983.

Quinn-Musgrove, Sandra and Sanford Kanter. *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995.

Perling, Joseph J. *President's Sons: The Prestige of Name in a Democracy*. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1947.

Robbins, Jhan. *Bess and Harry*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1980.

Roosevelt, Elliot and James Brough. *A Rendezvous With Destiny*. New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1975.

Roosevelt, James. *Affectionately F.D.R*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1959.

Roosevelt, James. *My Parents*. Chicago, Illinois: Playboy Press Book, 1976.

Rovere, Richard H. "Letter From a Campaign Train," *The New Yorker* 9 October 1948: 63-71.

Troy, Gil. *Affairs of State*. New York: The Free Press, 1997.

Truman, Margaret. *Souvenir*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956.

Walcott, Charles E. and Karen M. Hult. *Governing the White House*. University Press of Kansas, 1995.

Wead, Doug. *All the President's Children: Triumph and Tragedy in the Lives of America's First Families*. New York: Atria Books, 2003.

Whitcomb, John and Claire Whitcomb. *Real Life at the White House: Two Hundred Years of Daily Life at America's Most Famous Residence*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

CHAPTER V.
SYMBOLS

A & E Biography: Presidential Children, Arts and Entertainment Network. Aired: September 14, 2003.

Anderson, Christopher. *Sweet Caroline: Last Child of Camelot*. New York: William Morrow, 2003.

Bennet, James. "As the Clintons Speak, Chelsea Plays a Silent and Powerful Political Role," *The New York Times*, 29 August 1996, pg.: B10.

Berke, Richard L. "More Angst for First Family: Convention Roles," *New York Times*, 15 July 1996, pg.: A1.

"Biography" (Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis), Arts & Entertainment. # AAE-14118.

"Childhood in a Fishbowl," *Time*, 22 July 1996, pg.: 51.

Davis, Patti. "Chelsea and Me," *Bazaar*, September 1997, pgs.: 112-114.

"Dutiful Daughter, Out of the Limelight," *The New York Times*, 22 March 2000, pg.: A18.

Edwards, George C. III and Stephen J. Wayne, Presidential Leadership: Politics and Policy Making, 6th edition. New York: Thomson Wadsworth, 2003.

Fitzgerald, Nora. "The Feminine Mystique," *AD Week*, 9 September 1996.

Kellerman, Barbara. *All the President's Kin*. New York: The Free Press, 1981.

Lincoln, Evelyn. *My Twelve Years with John F. Kennedy*. New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1965.

Lubin, David M. *Shooting Kennedy: JFK and the Culture of Images*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Morris, Morris. *Behind the Oval Office: Winning the Presidency in the Nineties*. New York: Random House, 1997.

Norton, Howard. *Rosalynn: A Portrait*. Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1977.

O'Brian, Robert L."The Quiet Kennedy," *Biography Magazine*, November 1997, pg. 44.

Parry-Giles, Shawn J. and Trevor Parry-Giles. *Constructing Clinton: Hyperreality and Presidential Image-Making in Postmodern Politics*.New York: Peter Lang, 2002.

"Passage to India," *People Magazine*, 10 April 2000, pg. 198.

"Public School Near White House Hopes to Enroll Carter's Daughter," *New York Times*, 9 November 1976, pg.: 18.

Quinn-Musgrove, Sandra L. and Sandford Kanter, *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995.

Schindehette, Susan. "That Ties That Bind," *People*, 15 February 1999, 78-88.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr. *A Thousand Days*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965.

Shaw, Maud. *White House Nannie*. New York: The New American Library, 1965.

Shogan, Robert. *The Double-Edged Sword: How Character Makes and Ruins Presidents, From Washington to Clinton*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999.

Stroud, Kandy. *How Jimmy Won*. New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1977.

"The Making of a First Family: A Blueprint, *The New York Times*, 14 Novemeber 1992, L1.

Thomas, Helen. *Dateline: White House*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co, Inc., 1975.

Truman, Margaret. *New York Times Magazine*, 21 March 1993, pg. 10.

Waterman, Richard W., Robert Wright, and Gilbert St. Clair, *The Image-Is-Everything Presidency: Dilemmas in American Leadership*. New York: Westview Press, 1999.

CHAPTER VI.
SURROGATES

"1977 Makes Carters Million-Dollar Clan," *New York Times*, 29 December, pg. 26.

A&E *Biography*: Presidential Children. Arts and Entertainment Network.

Anthony, Carl S. *First Ladies: Volume II*. New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1991.

Benoit, William L., John P. McHale, Glenn J. Hansen, P.M. Pier, and John P. McGuire, *Campaign 2000: A Functional Analysis of Presidential Campaign Discourse*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003.

Bush, Barbara. *A Memoir*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994.

"Betty Ford Would Accept 'An Affair' by Daughter," *New York Times*, 11 August 1975, pg. 16.

Carter, Rosalynn. *First Lady from Plains*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984.

"Carter's Briefing Was Brief," Associated Press, 22 May 1979.

Carpenter, Liz. Personal interview with author, 12 March 2004.

"Children of the White House," *Ladies Home Journal*, August 1976, Volume XCIII, No. 8, pgs:103-107.

Conway, John A. "Diplomat in the Family," *Newsweek*, 9 May 1977, pg.: 21.

Edmonson, Madeline and Alden Cohen, *Women of Watergate*. New York: Stein and Day, 1975.

Ehrlichman, John. *Witness to Power*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Eisenhower, Julie Nixon. *Pat Nixon: The Untold Story*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986.

Ford, Betty. *The Times of My Life*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1978.

Ford,Gerald. *A Time to Heal*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers and the Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1979.

Ford, Jack. Interview with author, February 16, 2004.

Ford Research Library, PP 5-2; PL 1.

Ford Research Library, White House Central File, PP 5-5.

"George Bush," *People*, 26 December-2 January 1989, pgs.: 44.

Grimes, Ann. *Running Mates*. New York: William Morrow and Co. Inc., 1990.

Gupte,Pranay. "Miss Ford Likes Steuben Parade, Sees President Doing Well Here," *New York Times*, 19 September 1976, pg: 36.

Haldeman , H.R. *The Haldeman Diaries: Inside the Nixon White House*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1993.

Hall, Gordon Langley. *Lady Bird and Her Daughters*. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Co., 1967.

Henry, Diane. "Ford's Son Tardy in Draft Registry," *New York Times*, 21 September 1974, pg.: 18

"It's the Clash of the Clans," *Time* 11 October, 1976, pg: 24.

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. *Packaging the President*, 3rd edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Johnson, Lady Bird. *A White House Diary*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970.

Kellerman, Barbara. *All the President's Kin*. New York: The Free Press, 1981.

Larry King Live, CNN, 28 December 2001 Transcript #122800CN.V22.

Lelyveld, Joseph. "President's Latest TV Commercials Portray Him As Father Figure Who Inspires Quiet Confidence," *New York Times*, 29 September 1976, pg: 22.

Letter from House of Representative Member Butler Derrick to President Carter, 27 July 1978. Carter Presidential Library, PP 5-2.

Letter from President Jimmy Carter to the Northern Virginia Friendship Force before their trip to Berlin. 1 November 1978, Carter Presidential Library PP 5-4.

Leviton, Joyce. "The White House Beckons, but Jack Carter Would Rather Shovel Soybeans in Georgia," *People*, 25 April 1977, pgs: 31-32.

Lindow, Helen. Transcript of Oral History 28 May 1970, Joe B. Frantz, LBJ Library.

McCardle, Dorothy. "China Trip for Nixon Daughters," *Washington Post*, 2 March 1972, B1.

MacDougall Malcolm D. *We Almost Made It*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1977.

Mohr, Charles. "Carter Pleased With His Family and Presidency," *New York Times*, 7 June 1977, pg.: 19.

"My Dad, The President," *Family Circle*, 27 June 1989, pgs.: 93-95.

"Navy Ousted Carter Son for Pot Use," Associate Press, 18 January 1977.

"Nixon Depicts His Wife As Strong and Sensitive," *New York Times*, 14 March 1971, A1.

Nixon, Richard. *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*. Norwalk, Connecticut: Easton Press, 1978.

"No Need For Welfare: Jeff Carter's Rising Career," *Time*, 18 August 1980, pg: 23.

"Opinions in the Capital," Mark Evans, Metropolitan Broadcasting's WTTG-TV (Channel 5), Washington, D.C. 25 October 1964. Transcript Source: White House Social Files—Liz Carpenter's Files—Box 13, LBJ Library.

"People for Ford" memorandum from Pat Bailey to Elly Peterson. Ford Research Library.

Quinn-Musgrove, Sandra L. and Sandford Kanter. *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995.

Radcliffe, Donnie. "The Political Heirs of Richard Nixon: His Daughters and the Clintons Were All Shaped by His Era," *Washington Post*, 27 April 1994, B1.

Robb, Lynda Johnson. Personal interview with author, 28 January 1998.

Robertson, Nan. "Patricia Nixon," *New York Times*, 17 March 1971, pg.: 39.

Rutherford, Marjory. "Day with Luci Like a Marathon," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* 18 October 1964.

Sound Roll Transcripts—1976: Ford Research Library.

Sound Roll Transcript. President Ford Committee. Ford Research Library.

SerVaas, Cory. "Our Healthy VEEP and Family," *Saturday Evening Post*, October 1988, pg. 44.

Spagnoli, Gene. "A Ford's Secret Weapon? Son Steve Has All the Moves," *Daily News*, 20 August 1976, pg.: 4.

"Susan Ford: Dressing For an Active Life," *Ladies Home Journal*, 1975 January, pg. 72.

"Susan Ford Liked Mother's Interview, But Others Criticize View on 'Affair'" *New York Times*, 12 August 1975, pg. 59.

"The Family Next Door in the Big White House," *New York Times Magazine*, 31 July 1966, pgs:6-7.

"The White House: Three-Ring Wedding," *Time*, 5 August, 1966, pg. 19.

Thomas, Helen. *Dateline: White House*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company Inc., 1975.

"Today" NBC News, 20 January 1989.

Transcript, Bess Abell Oral History, Interview II, 13 June 1969, by T.H. Baker, Internet Copy, LBJ Library.

Transcript, Liz Carpenter Oral History Interview, September 17, 1979, Joe B. Frantz, LBJ Library.

"Tricia, Cox Speak Out for Nixon," *Washington Post*, 1 February 1974, pg.: A 15.

Troy, Gil. *Affairs of State*. New York: The Free Press, 1997.

Warner, Edwin. "A New Idea: Leave the Family at Home," *Time Magazine* 11 October 1976, pg:26.

Wead, Doug. *All the Presidents' Children: Triumph and Tragedy in the Lives of America's First Families*. New York: Atria Books, 2003.

White House memorandum 26 January 1978, Carter Presidential Library, PP 5-4.

White House Memorandum from Lucy Winchester to President Ford, Subject: "Susan Ford's Participation in Upcoming Social Events", 1 October 1974.

White House Memorandum from Margaret Costanza. 30 November 1977. Carter Library, PP 5-2.

White House memorandum from Margaret Costanza to Frank Moore detailing the results of Chip Carter's trip to New York. 14 March, 1977. Source: Carter Presidential Library, PP 5-3.

White House Social Files—Box 10—Liz Carpenter Files—Lynda's Trip to Greece. Source: LBJ Library.

White House Social Files—Liz Carpenter's Files—Box 80, LBJ Library.

Williams, Dennis A. and Thomas M. DeFrank, "A Chip Off the Carter Block," *Newsweek*, 4 April, 1977, pg.: 29.

Woodward, Bob and Carl Bernstein. *The Final Days*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976.

Wooten, James T. "Nixon Campaign, Minus Nixon, Spends a Day Here," *New York Times*, 8 September 1972, pg.: 20.

CHAPTER VII.
INFORMAL ADVISOR/CONFIDANT(E)S

Bush, Barbara. *A Memoir*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994.

Devroy, Ann. "Bush Son Said to Warn Staff Chief," *The Washington Post*, 3 December 1991, pg. A1.

Drape, Joe. "From Family Black Sheep to National Political Heavy," *Atlanta Journal Constitution* , 5 April 1992, Section M, Page 1.

Goldman, Peter and Tom Mathews. *The Quest for the Presidency: The 1988 Campaign*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988.

Grimes, Ann. *Running Mates*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1990.

"Junior is His Own Bush Now," *Time*, 31 July, 1989.

Leubsdorf, Carl P. "Bush Honed Skills in Father's Campaign," *Dallas Morning News*, 2 June 1999.

Matalin, Mary and James Carville. *All's Fair: Love, War, and Running for President.* New York: Random House, 1994.

Minutaglio, Bill. *First Son: George W. Bush and the Bush Family Dynasty.* New York: Times Books, 1999.

Mitchell, Elizabeth. *W: Revenge of the Bush Dynasty.* New York: Hyperion, 2000.

Rosenthal, Andrew. "The 1992 Campaign: White House; Bush's Son Rides Into Town to Review the Campaign," *The New York Times*, 10 April 1992, Section A, pg. 27.

Transcript, Presidential News Conference, 10 April 1992, Source: George H.W. Bush Presidential Library, http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu.

Troy, Gil. *Affairs of State.* New York: The Free Press, 1997.

CHAPTER VIII.
SKELETONS

"A Crisis in the Family," *Newsweek*, 23 July, 1990, pgs. 17-18.

Bennetts, Leslie. "The Reagan Family: Husband and Wife Inseparable, 4 Children Go Own Way," *New York Times*, 15 July 1980, B6.

Bosch, Adrian. *Reagan: An American Story.* New York: TV Books, 1998.

Boyd, Gerald M. "Reagan Meets Son and His Family in 3-Hour Reunion in Los Angeles," *The New York Times*, 29 December 1984, pg. 5.

Bush, Barbara. *A Memoir.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994.

Davis, Patti. *The Way I See It.* New York: Jove Books, 1992.

Davis, Patti. "Chelsea and Me," *Bazaar*, September 1997, pg. 112-114.

Edwards, Anne. *The Reagans: Portrait of a Marriage.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003.

Isikoff, Michael. "As Race Heats Up, So Does Scrutiny of Bush's Family," *The Washington Post*, 4 July 1992, pg. A1.

"It's a Family Affair," *Time,* 23 July 1990, pgs. 20-24.

Kilian, Pamela. *Barbara Bush*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Lindsey, Robert. "Michael Reagan Cleared of Stock Fraud Charge," *The New York Times*, 21 November 1981, pg. 10.

"Maureen Reagan Enters Fray," *The New York Times*, 29 November 1984, pg. A 27.

"Michael Reagan's Father's Problem," *The New York Times*, 21 May 1981, pg. A 26.

"President's Son Sees 'Jealousy' in the Family," *The New York Times*, 23 November 1984, pg. A 25.

Quinn-Musgrove, Sandra and Sandford Kanter. *America's Royalty: All the President's Children*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995.

Reagan, Michael. *On the Outside Looking In*. New York: Zebra Books, 1988.

Reagan, Nancy. *My Turn*. New York: Random House, 1989.

Reagan, Ronald. *An American Life*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.

"Reagan's Elder Son Being Investigated," *The New York Times*, 11 February 1981, pg. A 13.

"Reagan Son Refers to the President In 5 Letters Seeking U.S. Contracts," *The New York Times*, 14 May 1981, pg. A 24.

Speakes, Larry. *Speaking Out*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988.

Strober, Deborah Hart and Gerald S. Strober. *Reagan: The Man and His Presidency*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.

"The S&L Firestorm," *Newsweek*, 23 July 1990, pgs. 14-16.

Thomas, Evan and Eleanor Clift, "As the Shadows Fell," *Newsweek,* 21 June 2004, pgs. 30-37.

Troy, Gil. *Affairs of State*. New York: Free Press, 1997.

Wead, Doug. *All the President's Children: Triumph and Tragedy in the Lives of America's First Families*. New York: Atria Books, 2003.

Wilmsen, Steven K. *Silverado*. Washington, D.C.: National Press Books, 1991.

CHAPTER IX.
HYBRIDS

Ambrose, Stephen. *Nixon: Volume II 1962-1972*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.

Angelo, Bonnie. "Jack Ford: 'My Turn to Sacrifice,'" *Time,* 20 October 1975, pg. 20.

Anthony, Carl S. *First Ladies Volume II*. New York: William Morrow and Co. Inc., 1991.

Basler, Barbara. "G.O.P. Starting Campaign to Show 'Reagan is Terrific on Women's Issues,'" *The New York Times*, 6 April 1984, pg. A 24.

Clines, Francis X. "Helping Father on Issues Daughter Knows Best, *The New York Times*, 29 June 1984 pg. A 16.

David, Lester. *The Lonely Lady of San Clemente*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Pub., 1978.

Edmonson, Madeleine and Alden Cohen. *Women of Watergate*. New York: Stein and Day, 1975.

Edwards, Anne. *The Reagans: Portrait of a Marriage*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003.

Ehrlichman, John. *Witness to Power*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Eisenhower, Julie Nixon. Interview with the author, February 3, 2002.

Feldman,Trude B. "Our Private Life in the White House," *Ladies Home Journal*, October 1976, pg. 84.

Ford, Betty. *The Times of My Life*. New York: Harper and Row: 1978.

Ford, Jack, telephone interview with author, 16 February 2004.

"Ford's Son, 23, Says He Smoked Marijuana," *New York Times*, 5 October 1975, pg. 59.

"Ford Urged Not to Run By His 23-Year-Old Son," *New York Times*, 12 August 1975, pg. 15.

Haldeman, H.R. *The Haldeman Diaries*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1994.

"High Party Post Due For Maureen Reagan," *The New York Times*, 14 September 1986, pg. 30.

"It's a Clash of the Clans," *Time*, 11 October 1976, pg. 24.

"Julie: Her Father's Daughter," *Newsweek,* 14 October 1974: 39.

Kellerman, Barbara. *All the President's Kin*. New York: The Free Press, 1981.

Maltese, John Anthony. *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News*, 2nd ed. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Naughton, James M. "A Hidden Asset for Ford: His Son Jack," *New York Times*, 29 April 1976, A15.

Nixon, Richard M. *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*. Norwalk, Conn: Easton Press, 1978.

"Party Chief Is Said to Rebuke Maureen Reagan," *The New York Times*, 12 March 1987, pg. B12.

Reagan, Maureen. *First Father, First Daughter: A Memoir*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989.

Reagan, Michael. *On the Outside Looking In*. New York: Zebra Books, 1988.

Safire, William. *Before the Fall.* Garden City, NY: Double Day and Co. Inc., 1975.

Sound Roll transcript from footage taken by the Ford Campaign Committee. Source: Ford Library.

Thimmesch, Nick. "Fords for Ford," *New York Times*, 7 March 1976, pg. SM4.

Thomas, Helen. *Dateline: White House.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1975.

Time 19 August 1974: 36.

Transcript of *60 Minutes Interview*. Ford Library, PP 5-3.

Troy, Gil. *Affairs of State*. New York: The Free Press, 1997.

"U.S. Picks Delegation for Parley on Women," *The New York Times*, 8 March 1985, pg. B 8.

Wead, Doug. *All the President's Children: Triumph and Tragedy in the Lives of America's First Families*. New York: Atria Books, 2003.

Wedenfeld, Sheila Rabb. *First Lady's Lady*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons: 1979.

White House memorandum to Terry O'Donnell from Jerry H. Jones. 25 June, 1975. Ford Library, PP 5-3.

White House memorandum to President Ford from Jack Ford, 18 August 1974, Ford Library, PP 5-3.

"White House Press Aide Defends Miss Reagan," *The New York Times*, 6 March 1984, pg. A 14.

CHAPTER X.
CONCLUSION

Eisenhower, John. *Strictly Personal*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1974.

Hinckley, Barbara. *The Symbolic Presidency: How Presidents Portray Themselves*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Kernell, Samuel. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 3rd. ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1997.

Stewart, Charles III. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001.

Warters, Tabitha Alissa. *Political Roles of Presidential Children: FDR through Clinton*, Masters Thesis, Virginia Tech, 1998.

White, Theodore H. *The Making of the President 1960*. New York: Pocket Books, 1961

VITA

Tabitha Alissa Warters was born in Rockhill, South Carolina on April 30, 1974. She was raised in Georgia and Virginia. She attended grade school in Dublin, Georgia and Middle School and High School in Newport News, Virginia where she graduated from Menchville High School in 1992. She earned her B.A. in 1996 and M.A. in 1998 in Political Science from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (VA Tech) in Blacksburg, Virginia. Her Ph.D. in Political Science was earned at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 2004.

Alissa is currently an assistant professor of Political Science at Francis Marion University in Florence, South Carolina.

5897 7108 13
04/06/05 MAB