

OVERALL. Nancy simply could not please the press during her eight years in the White House. Regardless of how she tried to adapt to their expectations, Nancy was consistently faced with criticism about each and every obligation she tried to fulfill. Her courage to continue serving her husband in the face of this criticism is notable and her desire to protect and support her husband's political career is certainly evident in her activities. She adapted many of the traditional roles to suit her individual identity but did not greatly expand the capacity of the first lady or leave a remarkable legacy. Her unique adaption of the first lady role was a general asset to her husband throughout his presidency and her ability to retain her loving commitment to him throughout the most stressful White House times offered him a needed sense of support.

BARBARA BUSH

HUSBAND: GEORGE H. W. BUSH

TERM: 1989 – 1993

WIFE. The oldest of the modern first ladies, Barbara Bush had already defined her life based on her commitment to husband and family by the time her husband was elected president. She actively used her grandmotherly appearance and nature to fulfill the role of first lady, and the public generally accepted her traditional view of the family. She avidly protected her husband during his presidency and “embraced the traditionally separate spheres distinguishing the home and the office, the woman’s domain and the man’s” (Troy 63). This retreat by the First Lady into a quiet and peaceful role that had not been seen in the office since before the feminist movement complemented George’s conservative administration very well. George and Barbara’s traditional understanding of one another’s roles in their personal

relationship and within the White House contributed to Barbara's success as a supportive and well balanced first lady.

PRESS RELATIONS. Much like her son who is currently serving as president, Barbara experienced a sharp learning curve in creating a pleasant rapport with the press. Once Barbara improved her public appearances by "capitalizing on individual personality traits, shaping them artistically for public performance," her usefulness in acting as a surrogate for her husband vastly increased (Wertheimer 212). Once she became more comfortable in her role as first lady, Barbara even became successful at manipulating the media to achieve a grandmotherly reputation that was extraordinarily valuable in her role as social advocate. Accepting her appointment as the oldest of modern first ladies, Barbara became "masterful at the art of self-deprecating humor" (O'Brien 273). By understanding her physical features and maternal nature that many progressives viewed as a detriment to the fulfillment of first lady responsibilities, Barbara was able to turn these very criticisms into the aspect of her office that best exemplified her strengths as George's loyal supporter.

Barbara had also learned many valuable lessons from the trials her predecessors experienced when dealing with the press. Although it became perceptible that Barbara did not share identical political views with her husband, she "rarely spoke out publicly on these topics, and she generally remained outside controversy. Her interviews and other contacts with the press centered on her family and her hostessing duties – subjects unlikely to engender disagreement" (Caroli 311). The relationship she and George had that allowed her to retreat to the social realm helped her to avoid the press' curiosity about the Bush's political and private differences. The candid responses she was willing to give to reporters helped her to relay a confident image that only furthered the successful support of her husband's presidency.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND PERSONALITY. Barbara's pre-feminism values allowed her to easily incorporate social responsibilities into extending her husband's image and popularity. She helped to "visualize the Republican Party's emphasis on 'family values'" through the acceptance of the grandmotherly image the press was so intent on exploiting (O'Brien 271). Because this grandmotherly image precisely matched Barbara's actual character, she found that success in the entertaining functions of the White House came very naturally. She reintroduced the idea that children should dine separately from adults and both groups found this traditional arrangement highly agreeable (Truman 318). Her natural ability to handle personal interaction with a sensitive and caring manner eased many tense situations between warring political factions while her husband was employed as president.

Barbara was able to secure support through her social relationships with a very diverse assortment of individuals. She had always thrived on creating new relationships and no cultural or generational gaps seemed to disrupt her friendly disposition (Truman 316). Her moderate approach to social hostessing rarely alienated any individuals and once again showcased her grandmotherly disposition. Despite her reputation for friendliness, she still strove to be an efficient first lady and ran the East Wing accordingly. Upon entering the White House, Barbara "assembled a staff and told them her priorities" (Wertheimer 204). Because of her forthrightness, the staff happily worked with the First Lady to achieve many of her goals and she did not have to struggle to maintain pleasant relationships with these individuals. Because she did not seek to engage herself in controversial situations, the obligations that Barbara quietly met in the social realm naturally and genuinely aided her husband's reputation.

SOCIAL ADVOCATE. Barbara chose to focus on an advocacy issue that was both uncontroversial and personally important to her role as a mother. She had always embraced literacy projects, especially while her husband served as vice president, and she enthusiastically

increased her support of literacy once she arrived in the White House. This project was especially important to Barbara because “her sons had been dyslexic and she had seen firsthand the problems that a reading difficulty can cause” (Truman 317). Because of her personal interest in this issue, parents across the nation perceived her efforts to be genuine and her direct approach to the issue certainly helped her to be more successful in her campaign. She tried to get more people involved in her campaign by encouraging “adults to read aloud to their children, and pushed the president to sign the National Literacy Act in 1991” (O’Brien 271). Although it is impossible to measure exactly how many children and adults her literacy campaign helped, it was recognized throughout the country and readily associated with her husband’s presidency. She supplemented the traditional public appearances on literacy by authoring *Millie’s Book*, a book narrated by the family’s dog, and she then used the royalties to fund additional literacy projects (O’Brien 271). Her comprehensive and well planned approach to her campaign in this area helped to generate more support for herself and her husband. She easily worked her literacy campaign into her husband’s political agenda and continued to diligently balance her many White House roles.

Barbara was also a success at fulfilling other advocacy needs as they arose. One cause in particular, dispelling myths about AIDS, increased the substance of her agenda. Although this was a slightly more risky theme, “she went a long way towards dispelling the myth that casual contact could spread the virus” (O’Brien 272). Helping to do what Betty Ford and Nancy Reagan had done with breast cancer, Barbara took a courageous stance with the publicity of her AIDS outreach events. Her gregarious personality also allowed her to easily advance “the national dialogue on the challenges facing people of color” (O’Brien 272). Her visibility in these two situations only increased her reputation and more widely represented her husband’s

conservative administration. Her feminine touch in reaching out to these groups helped average Americans to once again feel a connection to the White House.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS. Barbara had learned a great deal about the public's expectations for a first lady's political involvement from her predecessors. For these reasons, she took a very minimal role in any political endeavors for her husband. Recognizing that her natural talents and abilities lay in the social realm, her "profile as a political partner remained so low, it was practically invisible" (Truman 319). Barbara may have been responsible for pressuring the conservative administration to appear more caring, but she did little to involve herself in George's work. When seeking reelection, however, Barbara did openly campaign for her husband and other republicans (Wertheimer 209). In these situations she campaigned about noncontroversial issues and concealed any personal political differences she had from her husband. For these reasons, she was able to balance her personal influence on her husband with some degree of political activity. By keeping to mostly social and universal issues, however, Barbara was unable to gain the same popularity for her husband that she had gained for herself.

OVERALL. Barbara's moderate and balanced approach to the office and roles of the first lady helped her to complete a very successful tenure in the White House. Although she wasn't able to transfer her popularity to her husband, the support she won in the White House was not sought for her personal benefit. She had a clearly defined role in her marriage and the Bush's understanding of one another's ambitions helped them to complement each other's careers. Barbara created little controversy in any of her activities because she had wisely learned from the mistakes of her predecessors. Even though she did not substantially expand or improve the role of first lady, her activities while in the White House only served to support her husband's administration. By taking the objectives of the first ladyship back to a more traditional and gentle feminine influence, Barbara naturally and easily presided over the nation in this capacity.

HILLARY CLINTON

HUSBAND: BILL CLINTON

TERM: 1993 - 2001

WIFE. Even in the least controversial role of the office, Hillary Clinton managed to polarize the nation with her spousal commitment to Bill. The situation with Monica Lewinski, greatly dramatized by the press, turned the nation's focus to the presidential marriage for the first time in many years. Despite the entertaining Hillary was facilitating or the political success she was experiencing, the nation focused on the most personal aspect of her life. Her ultimate decision to stay with Bill should have been expected after her historical ability to "overlook her husband's transgressions and welcom[e] him back in the marriage after he strayed" (O'Brien 279). Her poise in this situation was critical as the public looked to her to decide how to temper their reactions. The loyalty and support she showed her husband during this time helped the couple to "present themselves to the American people as a couple who have survived an adulterous episode in their marriage" (Truman 330). Unfortunately, the idealized standards for the first family prohibited the press from accepting this image. Hillary's behavior throughout this time was instrumental in attracting the least amount of attention possible in the media frenzy. It is unfortunate that many people would define Hillary and her term as first lady by this one decision to remain married to Bill when she was simply trying to prove her dedication to her spouse, her family, and the country.

Bill and Hillary had a particularly important family dynamic while in the White House because of their teenage daughter, Chelsea. Especially during the highly emotional time after Bill's personal behavior had been exploited to the country, the Clintons were aware of how the White House life was affecting their daughter. Hillary had been the "first First Lady to combine marriage and motherhood with a career before she reached the White House" and therefore

had to deal with many emotional challenges that previous first ladies had not encountered (Truman 327). Hillary's struggle to balance her personal ambitions with the protection of her family, especially her daughter, resulted in a constant struggle to appropriately schedule her eight years in the White House. She chose to assume several of the most traditional roles of first lady in trying to protect her husband. She urged the President to take personal time off and defined her understanding of the first lady's office as "'someone who's trying to support the President in a personal way that's not available to him elsewhere'" (Truman 332). Defining her office in this way helped to temper some of the criticism Hillary received for being a mother with a career. Although she was not able to convince the public that it was possible for her to adequately care for her family while maintaining an ambitious career of her own, her rhetoric in this area was very appealing to nontraditional constituents.

Hillary's struggle to balance personal ambition and family life was not always as successful as the nation hoped. By the end of Bill's term, Hillary's own political career was in full force. During the final two years in the White House, "the Senate run dominated Mrs. Clinton's schedule" and she was forced to abandon many of her other responsibilities as first lady (Caroli 322). Her political prowess, equal to Bill's in most areas, alarmed the nation in many ways even though Bill encouraged and supported his wife's professional endeavors. Only because of her husband's support was Hillary able to navigate between "gender feminism and tradition to celebrate what she called 'family feminism'" (Troy, 141). Her attempts to fulfill the wife role as the nation expected while retaining her personal ambitions contributed to Hillary's polarizing effect while in the White House. Although she may not have reacted to the events in her personal life as most people expected, she was able to continue actively serving in the office of first lady for much of Bill's presidency, offering him a consistent sense of political and personal support.

TRADITION AND INNOVATION. One of the few projects Hillary worked on without polarizing the nation was her traditional redecoration of the second floor rooms. To avoid arriving on grounds for criticism, Hillary “read every book on the history of the mansion she could find before embarking on the project” (O’Brien 332). Knowing that the wrong approach to redecoration could create undesired controversy, Hillary attempted to endorse her project with a great deal of respect for the tradition and history of the White House. By keeping her redecoration to the private family portion of the mansion, Hillary minimized any connection between her political influence and this project which she undertook as the first lady. Hillary was not the first president’s wife to embark on a thorough study of her predecessors, but it was a symbolic gesture that legitimized her active agenda.

PRESS RELATIONS. Hillary had a very tough experience compelling the press to moderate its image of her political activism and to focus instead on the positive contributions she was making in the country. To dispel the myth that Hillary was running the presidency, “Bill Clinton kept a certain public distance from his wife, even as they spent more time together in the private quarters” (Troy 150). This separation helped Hillary to pursue her individual agenda but it did not help her public appearances to better represent Bill’s administration. She and her husband also had to actively fight the press to protect their daughter’s privacy. Bill and Hillary would invite the public to witness their happiest family moments, but “the Clintons also flamboyantly demonstrated how protective they were of their daughter” (Troy 179). This protection was the only viable option to approach the press while a teenager was residing in the White House. Unfortunately, their good intentions were often misinterpreted as a cold and disinterested attitude toward maintaining a relationship with the media.

As a general rule, Hillary was able to sustain an image with the press that valued her intellect and ambition even though it was often perceived as an inappropriate use of her power.

The press was able to question Hillary about substantive issues knowing that she would reply with “informed and careful responses to questions about a projected surplus and the proper role of the federal government” (Troy 325). Her ability to embrace the type of press coverage that the previous first ladies had avoided was a unique contribution to the role of first lady. Although she differed with her husband on several issues, she was usually able to downplay their political differences.

During Bill’s reelection campaign, Hillary’s rapport with the press increased in importance. Because people understood her political power and influence, it was important that she temper her opinions in order to better represent Bill. In this situation, Bill’s advisors appreciated that “she muted her voice in the presidential campaign that year and avoided speaking out on controversial issues,” as she was accustomed to doing (Caroli 321). In this way, Hillary became instrumental in attracting campaign donors instead of alienating the more conservative democrats. It is during this reelection campaign that Hillary became known for her talent to “wrap a controversial institution...in benign and socially visionary rhetoric” (Troy 148). Her tendency towards political deflection helped her to maintain an un-contentious reputation that would not deter potential voters from supporting her husband. The necessity to combat the power-hungry reputation she earned during her first years in the White House was easily achieved by her moderated public presence. Her willingness to temporarily lessen the focus on her own political career was a wise and helpful strategy for the Clintons to pursue during this campaign.

During and after the scandal with Monica Lewinski, the way in which the Clintons handled the press attention became especially important. Unfortunately, the personal stress they were experiencing could not help but strain their relationship with the press. Hillary ran in to particular trouble when “instead of making all the relevant documents available immediately,

and issuing a comprehensive statement on the whole affair, she or her press office... repeatedly changed – ‘clarified’ – previous statements and dribbled out documents in a way that gave the impression they were being released under duress” (Truman 325). This strategy devalued her opinion and made her sincerity about the situation suspect. Both Bill and Hillary were hostile towards the increase of public attention on their private life and their reactions to the press served as evidence of their strained lives. Instead of answering inquiries with the same charisma that the press had come to expect during Bill’s first term, “the president became more sheepish and the first lady more withdrawn” (Troy 116). In addition to these reactions, the Clintons became particularly hostile, insisting that the personal situation did not have an effect on their ability to pursue individual political careers. The press, in return, only increased the speculation, rumors, and prying about the first couple. This combination of attitudes had a profound effect on Hillary’s future approach to the office and continues to have a lasting impact on her life after her husband’s presidency.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND PERSONALITY. It is Hillary’s personality which most heavily contributed to her polarizing effect as first lady. The press contributed by greatly exaggerating her determination and ambition during the eight years she lived in the White House. Perhaps as a result of following in the grandmotherly and completely uncontroversial footsteps of Barbara Bush, Hillary became characterized as “a cool, calculating lawyer with a hidden political agenda; as a crude opportunist with shallow ethics when it comes to making money; as a bossy, lamp-throwing termagant who really runs the White House; and as a clotheshorse who has fallen in love with high style” (Truman 320). These drastic and unflattering images only hindered Hillary’s ability to endear the press to her naturally hard-working and persistent personality. To those who found her political approach to the White House threatening, she seemed to disregard any attempt to create a balanced and universal constituency.

For each person who found Hillary excessively ambitious there was another person who thoroughly supported her defined use of the role. The modernity that Hillary restored to the office was celebrated by “the Democratic base, most especially with career women who, like her, spent their lives juggling professional aspirations, family concerns, individual desires, their husband’s demands, the expectations of tradition, and the ambitions of feminism” (Troy 53). The support she received from this group was valuable but could not erase the poor reputation she received from more conservative voters. Although her personality certainly catered to the type of hard-working first ladyship she created, it did not have the feminine charm that made so many previous first ladies extraordinarily popular.

Despite her far-reaching activities in the political realm, Hillary did not abandon the important and traditional duties of social hostess. In contrast, her enjoyment in fulfilling the social commitments only grew stronger after her first year in the White House. Realizing that she could retreat to this uniquely feminine position to avoid the controversy that her political involvement had previously created, Hillary eventually achieved a successful reputation in social hostessing. Her unique approach, the “melding of glamorous, traditional hostess and thinking, issue-oriented spokesperson had never been so successfully accomplished” (Caroli 326). By employing her individual strengths, Hillary was eventually able to use the social hostessing role in a way that was less dramatically polarizing. Once Hillary began to take an interest in the social area of the office, her performance of these duties became a great asset to her husband.

The social tone that Hillary set after the Lewinski scandal was of crucial importance to how the conservative portion of the American population would continue perceiving the Clinton administration. Realizing that this event could potentially divide not only her own marriage but the entire country, Hillary “noted that her choice might not have been right for others and their families but it was for her and hers” (Caroli 324). This nonjudgmental approach to tackling the

situation helped Hillary refrain from offending many people with her personal decision. It was also noticed, however, that by continuing to support her husband, whose actions had “undermined the moral values, traditional structures, and character-oriented rhetoric she revered and championed must have been all the more humiliating – and devastating” (Troy 168). In this rare instance, the President’s actions reflected poorly on the First Lady’s image, and Hillary was unable to regain universal popularity even after this event had subsided. By revealing some degree of information to the public without fully exploiting her emotions, Hillary was able to gather small amounts of sympathy for herself. Unfortunately, Hillary was not able to transfer any of the incidental understanding these events created to her husband, and her role in the social sphere was therefore weakened.

After the events of the impeachment trial, it appeared that Hillary had become too hardened to show any outward signs of her feminine personality. With her East Wing staff, however, she was able to improve the atmosphere within the White House. She was known to relax in this capacity and “Hillaryland” became “a calm island in a tempestuous White House” (Troy 74). It is unfortunate that the genuine concern Hillary showed for her employees could not be better shown to the greater public. The friendships that she so adeptly formed with those with whom she worked closely could have vastly improved her public image and popularity if displayed more widely in the social realm.

By the end of the Clinton administration, Hillary had once again almost completely abandoned the social obligations, along with several other duties, of the first lady’s position. Wrapped up in her own political campaign for a Senate seat, Hillary was forced to “shadowbox her way out of the elusive roles she had struggled so hard to define” (Troy 209). This lack of a full social hostess for the final years of the administration undoubtedly put Bill at a disadvantage

in fostering public support. Likewise, without Hillary's presence in the White House, the emotional component of Bill's presidency was altered.

SOCIAL ADVOCATE. As a result of her expansive political role, Hillary failed to adopt any particular cause in the office of social advocate. Instead, she chose to campaign as the representative for several of the most humanitarian aspects of Bill's presidency and to also champion the traditional women's causes that had been pursued by previous White House wives. Using her well-known status, Hillary "spoke widely both in America and abroad on feminist issues and the need for children's legal protection," but failed to apply herself in any substantive or active efforts (O'Brien 278). Issues favoring women and children proved to be the most convenient for Hillary to advocate and they also complemented Bill's political support for public education. By remaining in a symbolic capacity in this area, Hillary remained relatively free of criticism but also failed to generate a loyal group of supporters or to improve the lives of suffering Americans.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS. Even though Bill publicly endorsed and encouraged Hillary's ambitious political agenda, she could not escape suspicion that she held an inappropriate influence on White House policy. At the beginning of the administration, "the president appointed his wife chair of a task force to oversee health-care reform" (O'Brien 278). Hillary certainly had the background and experience necessary to qualify her for the position, but Americans were still skeptical about her appropriate role in politics. By gaining her husband's endorsement, Hillary took the political role of first lady to a new level that became even more controversial than Abigail Adams' status as "minister without portfolio." Hillary's policy, however, was defeated in Congress, furthering the point that Americans thought it inappropriate for her to have such an important, nonelected position in the federal government (O'Brien 278). As a result of how she approached her task force and its subsequent legislative

failure, Hillary experienced the lowest public ratings of any modern first lady. Hillary and Bill learned from this failed attempt at an equal political partnership and did not continue to engage Hillary as substantively throughout the next six years.

Once Hillary began to redefine her political role as first lady, she was able to recover some of her popularity. She began to change her agenda as first lady by adopting “a number of safer, first lady-like projects while integrating them into a broader social vision for a more ethical America” (Troy 139). The image she created from this political theme was once again called into question after her husband’s unfortunate personal choices reflected poorly upon her individual reputation. While redefining her role, Hillary attempted to soften her strategy and rhetoric as well as lessen the appearance that she had any influence over Bill (Troy 82). Even less than before, Hillary was certain not to contradict her husband in public on any political policy. Although her stint in policy formation had offered a great potential opportunity to expand the role of first lady, she handled the situation poorly and was thereafter forced to accept the more traditional political role.

OVERALL. The polarity Hillary generated offered a fascinating dynamic to the Clinton presidency. Aside from attempting to legislatively reform health care, Hillary oversaw an unfocused term in office that failed to meet many of the goals she had previously laid out for herself. It is fortunate for Hillary, who became the first modern first lady to experience less popularity than her husband, that her reputation was exclusive of the public’s perception of her husband. It is hard to display an unbiased representation of Hillary’s activities as first lady while they still remain attached to emotional hostility throughout the country. During the first six years of the Clinton administration, Hillary demonstrated her capabilities at performing as a “lawyer, policy wonk, partner, feminist, mother, wife, hostess, trendsetter, children’s advocate, health care crusader, cover girl, icon, [and] media sensation” (Troy 8). More than any of her

ambitious endeavors, however, it is Hillary's polarity that has most greatly defined her legacy as first lady.

LAURA BUSH

HUSBAND: GEORGE W. BUSH

TERM: 2001 – PRESENT

WIFE. Laura has chosen to support her husband in a fashion very similar to the way Barbara Bush supported George H. W. Bush while in the White House. As the first first lady exclusive to the twenty-first century, Laura's combination of conservative and liberal tendencies has been especially important (Wertheimer 262). Laura appears to be aware of her natural strengths and how to apply them to the office of first lady to best support her husband's tumultuous presidency. Laura and George W., much like Barbara and George H.W., seem to understand the unique role of the individual in forming their partnership. By each focusing on personal experience and expertise, "hers as an educator and librarian and his as a politician" they have been able to learn many things from each other that have helped them cultivate a successful partnership (Wertheimer 262). Following in the wake of the polarizing Clinton administration, Laura's peaceful relationship with George has gained prominence as a priority of the first lady. Her quiet and dignified support of her husband has been a wonderful asset to George who has experienced intense criticism for many of the policies he has implemented over the past eight years.

PRESS RELATIONS. Laura has not struggled to form an amicable relationship with the press. Her tender nature is more suitable for responding to the curious inquiries of the press than Hillary Clinton's coldness had been. Laura has been able to focus solely on the

responsibilities of first lady in her press coverage and therefore represents her husband more consistently and positively than her predecessor. From the onset of the second Bush administration, the press introduced Laura to the public as “a woman who gives her husband a steadiness, evenness” that he would not be able to obtain elsewhere (Wertheimer 243). Laura has solidified her support of her husband by refraining from making their political differences explicit to the public. By continuously assuring the press that she has no hopes of entering into the same type of partnership with her husband that had been observed with Hillary and Bill, the press has been generous in its allowance of privacy.

Laura has approached the press with a full understanding of the opportunities to effect change that are available to her through the use of media. Laura became “the first presidential spouse to deliver an entire presidential radio address, an opportunity she used to discuss the rights of oppressed Afghan women,” and she has also used “European airwaves to tackle the insanity of terrorism and its nefarious influence on helpless children” (O’Brien 286). Laura’s positive use of the opportunities available to her as first lady has helped to increase the public’s awareness of her advocacy projects and has helped her to maintain an open relationship with the press. By avoiding controversial subjects and joining her press relationship with her advocacy agenda, Laura has helped to make the office of first lady more unified and comprehensive.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND PERSONALITY. Laura has been critical in establishing a cordial environment within her husband’s otherwise turbulent administration. Laura started establishing a bipartisan tone even before entering the White House by “focusing public attention on one of her abiding interests – American authors” instead of on the controversial policies her husband has promoted (Wertheimer 245). Laura’s use of the role in this capacity has

greatly helped her husband's reputation with less conservative factions in the United States and has alienated neither supporters nor enemies of George's presidency.

In another moderate approach to the first ladyship, Laura chose to reverse one of Hillary's important changes to the role. To show that she is not focusing on the political aspects of her role, Laura has moved the first lady's office out of the West Wing and into the East Wing (Wertheimer 245). Because she has been able to show that she is no less active than her ambitious predecessor, this trivial relocation of furniture did not meet with any criticism. Her sole focus on the advocacy role of the first lady has helped her to more prominently support her husband by avoiding criticism and maintaining peace in the social realm.

SOCIAL ADVOCATE. Laura has adopted a focus for her advocacy efforts that is very similar to her mother-in-law's. She has inspired the nation with her passion for improving literacy by holding literary salons in the East Room of the White House, actively promoting libraries, launching an initiative to help with teacher recruitment, and taking part in numerous fundraising and capital campaigns to further these efforts (O'Brien 286). Her well rounded approach to an advocacy agenda has helped many individuals and displays an interest in educational topics that is supportive of George's presidential efforts. Her choice of topic has contributed to the bipartisan tone Laura established in the White House because of the universal support she has received and the worldly nature inherent to the topic.

Laura has also had the opportunity to reach out to many other Americans, primarily as a result of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. These events undoubtedly had a monstrous emotional impact on the nation, and Laura "displayed heroic composure, purpose, and empathy" in the aftermath of this catastrophe (O'Brien 286). Laura did not delay in showing her support for those directly affected by the tragedy, and she recognized and addressed the powerful effect it had on the entire nation. Although her previous advocacy efforts focused

solely on children's issues, Laura also considered the impact that these events had on adults and embarked on a mission to console children and adults alike. After the attack:

Laura wrote open letters to the youth of the nation, imploring them to confront their confused and horrified feelings; she went on the air to remind parents that turning off their television sets at a time like this might not be such a bad idea; she visited those who had been wounded by the attacks; and in Pennsylvania she consoled those who had lost loved ones on Flight 93. (O'Brien 286)

Her thorough, genuine, and immediate attention to these current events was well received and appreciated by the nation. In the tradition of displaying the humanitarian side of the presidency through an advocacy role, her response to the national crisis did nothing less than appropriately represent her, her husband's, and the entire federal government's support for the grieving nation.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS. Unlike Hillary Clinton, Laura understood the magnificent effect that being a silent political partner could have on her husband's presidency. Although she has been helpful in meeting some political goals, she kept her role in this area very traditional by appealing to the women and minority voters who were otherwise left unreached by her husband's administration (Wertheimer 242). Although she disregards many rumors that she actively advises her husband on political policies, she certainly is one of his most consistent political supporters. Like many first ladies, she was willing to sacrifice some of her individuality and private life in order to help her husband advance his career.

Laura was not afraid to take on a more substantive political role when the need arose, despite her desire to remain out of all political conflict. After September 11, Laura recognized the need for growth in her political capacity. Facing numerous questions and concerns from around the world, "Mrs. Bush's foreign travel evolved from simply accompanying her husband

to Asia with little substantive diplomacy of her own to her solo trip to Europe where she presented speeches at large venues" (Wertheimer 258). Laura's ability to adapt the political role of the first lady to the needs of the public is an incredible asset to George's administration. Without having to worry about Laura as a political liability, George has been able to send Laura as his representative on numerous occasions without experiencing the typical fallout that has accompanied this type of endeavor.

OVERALL. Laura Bush has thus far proven that her commitment to the first lady role is a valuable asset of the Bush administration. Laura's tranquil approach to her public image has helped her husband's presidency to avoid excess controversy. Her efforts in the literacy campaign have been substantive and she has shown an equal success in representing the humanitarian side of the administration. Overall, Laura has proven that a balanced approach to the office is the best approach even in the twenty first century. Although she has not been included in the ranking at the beginning of this thesis, it is probable that her fulfillment of the responsibilities of the first lady will be looked upon as a relative success.

Observations on Leadership and Comparisons to Presidential Rankings

Comparing the rankings between the perceived success of a president and the perceived success of his spouse represents little correlation. The differences in the substance of their duties are primarily responsible for these variations. Especially because there is no formal definition of what activities a first lady must pursue and which ones she can choose to abandon, there is much greater flexibility in how she can achieve her success. As the first lady is not elected to her office but arrives there as a consequence of her husband's career, she is not responsible for meeting the needs of any particular constituency. Because one of the inherent duties of a first lady is to reflect her popularity on to her husband, it is interesting that those first ladies who had an exceptional relationship with the press do not have husbands that are placed as highly on the comparative ranking. For example, although Lady Bird Johnson was able to manage all aspects of her office well and her fulfillment of the obligations met with seemingly little controversy, this popularity was unable to aid her husband who is ranked as an average president. Conversely, Abraham Lincoln achieved presidential success and popularity without the aid of his wife, who constantly produced a poor image of herself as a result of her personality and actions.

Whereas many of the earlier presidents are attributed with fulfilling the office more successfully than their predecessors, it is the modern first ladies who clutter the top of their respective ranking list. Because the role of first lady is constantly being redefined, these presidential spouses miss the opportunity to effect long and lasting change on the office. Where the presidents set important precedents that their successors often follow, first ladies have always been free to adapt the role to fit their own lifestyle and preferences. Without the restrictions of the Constitution that are placed on the president's obligations, modern first ladies have been able to adapt the office to a diverse range of emotions felt throughout the country.

Likewise, modern first ladies may experience an easier time at creating a bipartisan atmosphere than their predecessors, due to the lack of emphasis on the social function. Modern first ladies, unlike modern presidents, have also been able to expand or retract the limitations of their office to meet their unique strengths and weakness, giving them the opportunity to appear more successful and accomplished than they may actually be. The disparity in the rankings between modern presidents and their wives may also be a result of fame. While presidential activity has always been a key component of media attention for the general public, it is only in modern history that the activities of the first lady have become well known throughout the United States instead of just in Washington society. The popularity of modern first ladies also speaks to the universality of their advocacy causes and the implementation of the many new resources that have been made available to them.

Several character traits become repeatedly evident in ranking those individuals who have filled leadership positions. Regardless of the period in which an individual held office or the distinct duties he was charged with accomplishing, the same traits can be witnessed in each of the highest achieving individuals. First, openness to the office and all the opportunities and challenges that come with it is a constant trait in both the most successful first ladies and presidents. Like John Adams or Elizabeth Monroe, those who openly admit that they are not fond of the position in which they find themselves perform consistently worse than those who use their unique situations as an opportunity to grow and improve. Second, those leaders who adjust their expectations to better serve those around them have been ranked consistently higher. For both presidents and first ladies, those individuals who are able to adapt their approach without compromising their identity receive the best response from the public. Although ambition and a clear goal are certainly valuable aspects of leadership, the inability to

be flexible with these items is detrimental to overall performance. Throughout the study of the presidents and their wives, numerous good and bad leadership examples have been revealed.

Conclusion:
The Role of the Future First Spouse

The role of first lady has consistently evolved over time. Because achievement in this office is so closely connected to each individual's personality, it is impossible to find a combination of duties to ensure that the office holder will experience success. The role has vacillated between a highly public role and one in which the first lady intensely guards her family's privacy, and the reputation she is able to establish using either strategy is completely susceptible to the passing fads of the media. In the recent past, balance between active political and advocacy roles has replaced the more traditional forms of White House hostessing. Regardless of how any individual first lady has chosen to define her role, it will have to be continuously redefined each time someone new is whisked into the office by virtue of her spouse's election.

Despite the thirty-eight unique approaches to the office that have been examined in this paper, each first lady has had to deal with the same stress inherent to the position. As spouse of the highest elected official in the country, demands are placed on the first lady's time and energy that are not found in any other situation. It is remarkable that throughout the history of the presidency no White House marriage has ever fallen victim to divorce. Although each first lady has used her own set of values to prioritize her responsibilities while in the White House, they have all been forced to balance many distinct duties solely for the political careers of their husbands. The selflessness required to successfully complete a term as first lady is unequalled in most occupations.

Looking into the future of the first lady role presents many interesting hypothetical situations. The current presidential campaign has brought to light the issue that a woman may

not always be the one filling the role of first lady. Despite the obvious conflict in title, would a man be able to fulfill the uniquely feminine duties of this office? Although the hostessing aspect of the office has declined in importance since the inception of the role, the fulfillment of these duties is greatly facilitated by a gentle and feminine personality. A man would be equally qualified as a woman to fulfill all aspects of serving as a presidential spouse, but the way in which the country interacts with this individual would certainly necessitate change. In the continual evolution of the office, having to redefine the role of first spouse to capture the impact of male support on a female presidency would present many challenges that have not yet been discovered.

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¹First person accounts from the first ladies or their husbands have been used sparingly in this thesis to emphasize the importance of the public's perception of the first lady.

**Appendix A:
Ranking of the Presidents²**

1	Abraham Lincoln	Great
2	George Washington	
3	Andrew Jackson	Above Average
4	Harry S. Truman	
5	Theodore Roosevelt	
6	Woodrow Wilson	
7	James Madison	
8	William McKinley	
9	Franklin Roosevelt	
10	Thomas Jefferson	Average
11	George Bush	
12	Bill Clinton	
13	Dwight D. Eisenhower	
14	Jimmy Carter	
15	Benjamin Harrison	
16	Grover Cleveland	
17	John F. Kennedy	
18	Zachary Taylor	
19	Ronald Reagan	
20	Lyndon B. Johnson	
21	William Howard Taft	
22	Gerald Ford	
23	Richard Nixon	
24	Rutherford B. Hayes	Below Average
25	Herbert Hoover	
26	William Henry Harrison	
27	John Tyler	
28	U. S. Grant	
29	Calvin Coolidge	
30	James A. Garfield	
31	Franklin Pierce	
32	Millard Fillmore	
33	James K. Polk	
34	Martin Van Buren	
35	Chester Arthur	
36	James Monroe	
37	Andrew Johnson	
38	J. Q. Adams	
39	Warren G. Harding	
40	John Adams	
41	James Buchanan	

² Compiled for "Presidential Greatness Colloquium" taught by Larry Markle in the fall semester of 2006.

*Appendix B:
Presidential Analysis³*

George Washington

As the man charged with setting the first presidential precedents, George Washington was very successful. His charisma helped him attract company that would allow him to easily advance socially and politically. His perseverance in leading the militia with inadequate supplies even before performing in the role of president speaks volumes about his work ethic. He was generous with his resources and seemed very dedicated to achieving as much as possible while president. Inclined to action, Washington was confident with decision making and taking charge even in stressful situations. Although undoubtedly opinionated on matters, Washington knew the power his position held and was very conscious to not unfairly influence people. Despite the renown Washington experienced from the entire population, he remained humble and aware of the ramifications the power he was entrusted with could have if used unwisely. Washington sought the advice of those he trusted and often reserved judgment in heated situations without leaving his unity of command threatened. He drew an appropriate line between his personal feelings and the emotional attachments assumed with his job and he took the task of appointing people and approving legislation very seriously. Perhaps as a result of being an only child, he aimed to please people and keep peace between opposing parties, but not at the expense of making inappropriate decisions. Overall, Washington was successful as the first president because he understood the importance of setting the tone and defining the role of this office for future presidents.

³ *Compiled for "Presidential Greatness Colloquium" taught by Larry Markle in the fall semester of 2006.*

However, Washington seems to have had a problem with assuming responsibility. As figurehead of the nation, he should have been the end of the rope for every decision which fell within his jurisdiction. When in charge of resolving an issue Washington needed to accept responsibility for any mistakes instead of feigning innocence and passing the blame on to other individuals. Washington also seemed to be unquestioning of the principles surrounding the revolution, demoting his authority to serve as a representative of the new nation during a time of such turbulent change. At times, the ceremonial role that Washington played as president seemed slightly frivolous, but not overly obnoxious.

I ranked Washington second because his leadership was decisive and he was confident in his decisions. Although at times his questionable morals led me to question his personal strength and leadership capacity, he accomplished many long-lasting ideals throughout his term. I think Washington was made a great leader by the energy the country was experiencing while he was in office and the abundance of people surrounding him that were willing to ensure that the new governmental system was a success.

John Adams

John Adams certainly understood the foundations of the nation and ideals of the government he had helped to build. Adams attempted to follow in the footsteps of Washington's presidency and not to erase the patriotism that had arisen for the new government. A good amount of strength was demonstrated in Adams' presidency but it also forced Adams' to become incredibly intense with regards to his political ideals and philosophies.

John Adams took his presidential figurehead role with an unequal amount of representing the values and ideals of the country and being seen as the power source of the government. At many times, he viewed his role as more ceremonial than diplomatic which led to an inefficient accomplishment of presidential tasks. His inability to reserve judgment, vanity and stubbornness did not lead him to be well liked or respected by domestic or foreign dignitaries. Likewise, he disregarded any necessity to be popular with the public, vastly reducing his effectiveness. Perhaps due to the lack of confidence the public had in Adams, he often questioned and doubted his own abilities, prohibiting him from easily gaining and retaining command. Adams did not handle adversity well and reacted poorly to criticism. Many of his decisions appear impulsive and poorly executed. Although warranted by his behaviors and decisions, Adams was very pessimistic about social and political situations. This pessimism is not an admirable trait for an elected official of the entire nation. Adams did not appropriately prioritize the role of president with other personal matters in his life as demonstrated with his eight month absence from the political scene. His inability to work well with others greatly decreased his accomplishments as president.

I ranked John Adams 41st because although he failed as a balanced leader, any of his small accomplishments were undoubtedly understated by the successes of Washington and Jefferson. Like many Americans during the time, I think my personality would have clashed with his, nearly depleting any hope of me viewing him as a great political or social leader. If he would have presided during more strenuous times, it might have given him more ample opportunities to demonstrate his leadership capacity.

Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson, at least in comparison to his fiery predecessor, was able to make decisions silently and without creating unnecessary controversy. Unlike his predecessors, Jefferson was finally willing to take advantage of his implied powers, as demonstrated with the Louisiana Purchase. At least in the beginning of his term, Jefferson was extremely visionary in his ideal to return the government and country to fulfill its original purposes. Intelligent and deliberate, Jefferson made a very attentive official with goals seemingly less self-centered than those of John Adams. Thomas Jefferson's optimism gave him the opportunity to fruitfully represent the ideals of the American people.

Jefferson tended to conceal his authority as president to an ineffective degree. This downplaying of the presidential office did not show any degree of pride in the recently established government. On more than one occasion, he abandoned his own principles to govern the country, alluding to weakness in his personal conviction. Because Jefferson knew the Lewis and Clark expedition was illegal, it was very detrimental to the public's view of his dependability to disguise the questionable character of the adventure. Although ultimately successful, Jefferson often achieved goals in a back handed manner and was overconfident in his desire for economic and tax reforms.

I ranked Jefferson tenth because his position in the presidential line-up seems very serendipitous. Although he accomplished many great things and had inspiring vision he would not have been effective if it weren't for the timing of other European conflicts. I think Jefferson is the most overrated president considering his questionable means of achieving greatness. He was deceptive to the people who had elected him and I therefore don't think he deserves to be called a great president.

James Madison

As a leader, Madison excelled physically and mentally. His temperament allowed him to easily influence others although he didn't use this advantage unfairly over the public or to impose his views unjustly on Congress. He seemed genuinely concerned for the public good and seemed to be in control of himself and the presidential situation at all times. The combination of optimism and realism in his character also allowed him to experience great vision for the future of the United States and the government. Although he was willing to articulate the views of his party, Madison persevered to have no influence in the outcome of important debates. His lack of direct influence over Congress allowed for unity to once again be felt throughout the country. Overall, Madison's quiet but confident leadership throughout his presidency allowed him to excel at reinstalling nationalism and confidence in American institutions.

At times, Madison didn't seem to have the energy or enthusiasm to lead the nation throughout the war of 1812. The optimism that he hoped would carry his presidency through the crisis was often highly naïve and unrealistic.

Madison is my personal favorite and if given the opportunity to have dinner with a president, I would choose James Madison. He seems very motivational and inspiring and was able to accomplish great things without creating dramatic controversy.

James Monroe

James Monroe's career prior to the presidency certainly gave him the experience and exposure he needed to be a success in the political arena. Monroe's desire to be regarded as a private citizen was very noble and allowed the common man to associate better with him as a governmental figurehead. Expecting party politics to dissolve by accepting the widest possible

agreement on controversial issues helped ease many tensions. Monroe took a great leadership role in foreign affairs and acted decisively on many issues resulting in better Anglo-American relations. As a president charged with transitioning power between forces, Monroe's lack of influence on Congress allowed new leaders to emerge as an investment in the future government of the country.

Monroe's character did not allow the American people to truly rally behind him. He was not viewed as passionate enough about helping the country to grow, an important facet of the presidency in the early 19th century. Likewise, his desire to suffocate party politics often resulted in a lack of strong legislation. Although Monroe recognized Congress' need to pursue certain policies, he did not encourage them to make important or lasting constitutional amendments. Monroe also took important matters too lightly and refused to take responsibility for failures under his watch, including the depression and the Tenure of Office Act. Attention to the composition of his cabinet was slight and he unfortunately allowed it to become more of a public platform than a board of advisors.

I ranked Monroe 36th because his personality was not complimentary to his duties as president. His successes and failures while in office were, however, well balanced. Monroe had the ability to greatly improve and expand the office of president since he was elected while the office was still so young but he did not take advantage of this opportunity to make changes and set precedents that would benefit later presidents.

John Quincy Adams

John Quincy Adams' courage to address Congress with his vision of America's future finally allowed a president to influence Congress' course of action. Unfortunately, Adams' goals

met a wall of indifference and he was unable to implement the issues on his presidential platform, such as increasing the importance of Latin American affairs. Adam's ability to refrain from personally identifying with the slavery issue helped to ensure that further sectionalism did not occur.

Adams' visions were very bold and ambitious and his foreign ideas were viewed as overly fierce. His inability to bode well with the indifferent Congress greatly prevented him from implementing many parts of his agenda. Adams felt so constrained by the politics of his party that he was unable to fiercely defend his visions for country improvements. He did not give careful consideration to appointing new cabinet members when entering the presidency and his influence and efficiency was therefore hindered.

I ranked J.Q. Adams 38th because although he had a lot of great ideas he was not able to get them implemented during his presidency. Like his father, he did not seem excited to have been elected president and I think this greatly affected his ability to really adapt to the national leadership role.

Andrew Jackson

While Andrew Jackson was president, his temperament and personal impediments allowed him to exert his influence over the country and the citizens knew he was in control. His rule as president was not always ethical but was very politically strong and he continuously defended the issues which were important to him personally and to his party. He skillfully used the veto power to kill the issues he thought compromised his political agenda. Overall, he presided in office with a very serious outlook although he was often overtaken by his own personal vindications. He was very concerned with financial decisions and spent conservatively

to prevent corrupt political decisions. Jackson was able to avoid many confrontations by ensuring his appearance as a president who genuinely cared about equality for the common man.

It is doubtful whether Jackson came into the presidency with the proper motives to sincerely govern the country. His personal feelings often got in the way of his professional agenda and this prevented him from seriously considering the ideas and suggestions of his cabinet. Unfortunately, he is guilty of setting a precedent for rewarding political supporters and abusing appointment power. The combination of Jackson's inability to be humble and his hostility towards any policy that wasn't in direct and complete compliance with his agenda prevented him from being more effective in implementing new legislation. His angry reactions and stubbornness often forced Jackson to appear intimidating and isolated him from the common man, driving political divisions deeper into the heart of America.

Although Jackson's presidency was controversial, it was also very powerful. I am a little disappointed that he became so personally vindictive during his presidency, but I think it's great that he really embraced the power he was given. He demonstrated some aspects of the presidency that had not yet been shown and if he had remained politically focused in office instead of becoming overwhelmed with personal issues, I think he would've been even more effective. For these reasons, I ranked Jackson third: first of the above average presidents.

Martin Van Buren

As the first "self-made" president, Van Buren was a very ambitious man. He was able to politically maneuver around individuals and issues to create a very loyal group of supporters. As a result of his discipline, he was able to control patronage but rejected settling disputes by

force. As president, he nobly sought peace and harmony both abroad and domestically. His agenda was purposeful and his implementation of it was successful in maintaining unity amongst the states and in keeping peaceful relations with Mexico and Britain. Van Buren did not strictly adhere to party lines when supporting issues such as regulating bank notes, granting him a more universal appeal.

Although his leadership style was very domineering, many of Van Buren's ideals and philosophies rested on a powerful aristocratic philosophy that often interfered with his presidential agenda for the good of all citizens. He supported many policies to avoid displeasing the south in order to selfishly secure his political future.

I don't feel that Van Buren was centered on the nation enough to be a great president. His inability to focus on issues and policies that would improve the nation or even the office of the president greatly reduced his performance. I ranked him 34th because I feel his successes and lack of improvements in the political arena outweigh his successes.

William Henry Harrison

Although his actual presidency was too short to be effective, the political past of Harrison supports the idea that he would have been a very successful president. As governor of the Indiana territory and numerous other political and military roles, Harrison certainly had wide experience in governing groups of people. Harrison dispersed his appointments to the cabinet throughout the country and gave great consideration to creating an effective board of advisors.

Unfortunately for Harrison, no man who orates a two hour speech in the cold and rain to dispel a rumor of weakness and old age and dies as a result has not correctly prioritized his life enough to be an effective president. Harrison also had a poor view of why someone should

be elected to the presidency and wrongly believed that a lifetime of political and military service to his country would ensure a successful term as president.

Although it is difficult to judge the true success of Harrison based on such a short term in office, I believe his previous successes as governor of the Indiana Territory should afford him the benefit of the doubt. I obviously have a personal bias towards his success potential after visiting his home in Vincennes. I think the contributions he made to modern day presidential campaigning are an extremely important accomplishment. I very much enjoyed his campaign song that chanted "Van's a used up man!" For these reasons, I ranked William Henry Harrison 26th.

John Tyler

Tyler's ability to assume the presidency without much trouble set an important precedent for future situations. His assumption without delay or question also established his authority in his new role. Tyler adamantly stood behind his political agenda and believed in his own leadership capabilities.

Overall, Tyler's surprise presidency was rather uneventful. Tyler did not have the personality to ensure people believed he was in full control of the government after succeeding Harrison which caused him to face some hostility from Congress and the American people. I don't think it's a sign of success or potential when nearly the entire cabinet resigns as a result of the president breaking with his party. Although not being governed by party politics is desirable, Tyler broke with the Whigs so quickly that the country completely lost hope in his ability to govern moderately.

Despite the lack of extraordinary occurrences during Tyler's presidency, he was a critical factor in determining the lines of assumption that would be referred to in numerous future instances. Because of his determination, I ranked Tyler 27th.

James K. Polk

Throughout his presidency, James Polk claimed to be devoted to Democratic Party principles. He was a very skilled liar and used his ability to deceive very effectively. Polk was completely in control of his military and demanded authority in order to fulfill his continental vision. Attention to detail allowed Polk to effectively achieve his political agenda.

His ability to remain detached from the issue of slavery could have helped Polk to be more effective in retaining the union of the country, but he did not use it correctly. Polk demonstrated a false desire to maintain public integrity throughout his presidency. Unfortunately, despite his advocacy of Democratic principles, Polk is responsible for dividing the Democratic Party. He was extremely dishonest and misleading in dealing with sectional issues such as tariffs, resulting in a general distrust towards his administration. His attempts to bully and intimidate individuals and states into falling in line with his policies were very inappropriate examples of successful leadership. His failure to consider the effects of expanding the country in terms of sectionalism and slavery was very naïve.

Polk did not use his skills to create additional efficiency or effectiveness in his policies while in office. I ranked him 33rd because I believe he did not do anything out of the ordinary or did not attempt to exceed the expectations of the nation.

Zachary Taylor

Zachary Taylor wished to lead a very quiet presidency by abhorring political treachery and ignoring minor issues. With such political crises creating extreme tension throughout the country, this quiet approach to the presidency was a fairly appropriate approach. He did not pretend to be knowledgeable or an authority on all issues facing his presidency which allowed him to more easily connect with all citizens.

Taylor was not personally strong. His innocence and strict adherence to principle did not allow him to accomplish his presidential goals.

My first impression of Taylor's presidency was that he was rather unaccomplished during his time in office. I dislike his motivation to do nothing more than lead a quiet presidency. Although this may have been an appropriate approach, it doesn't demonstrate any hidden potential he might possess as leader of a nation. However, Taylor was what the country needed at the time and he was able to connect with the common citizens: a great accomplishment during such a tense period. I believe Taylor deserves the average ranking of 18th:

Millard Fillmore

Millard Fillmore realized that his allies and sole adherence to Whig policies would not allow his presidency to be productive and instead aimed to handle patronage issues fairly. Due to his lack of policy, Fillmore was able to temporarily ease sectional tension and delay civil war. He gave great consideration to balancing his implementation of laws favoring the South and awareness of Northern issues and sentiments.

Fillmore took advantage of the presidential role to inappropriately seek personal revenge. Also, his refusal to change American policy in order to maintain any degree of peace made his presidency completely ineffective.

I ranked Fillmore 32nd because he did not do anything to prevent or resolve the conflicts that would eventually contribute to the civil war. He did put great thought into all aspects of the presidency and was well balanced in that regard. However he only preformed those duties that were expected of him and did not attempt to improve himself, the nation, or the presidential office while serving as president.

Franklin Pierce

Pierce attempted to mend political rivalries and dispel hostilities of the past with his cabinet appointments. Many of his actions as president were well intentioned but impossible to implement without destroying any unity that remained in the country. It was beneficial for Pierce to accept the fact that political differences were perpetual and unable to be completely overcome. He assumed the role as party leader to gain necessary votes for his policies. His foreign policy was assertive and he had a great understanding of Democratic policy.

Pierce did not have a firm grip on the presidency during a time when the country needed a strong and visible leader. It seemed as though Pierce had an external locus of control and because he couldn't prevent the downward spiral of the country's unity, he did not even attempt to make his presidency useful. The scramble for appointments at the beginning of his term showed a lack of organization in his leadership style. Pierce's choices for appointed positions in territorial government were failures and he was extremely uncreative in implementing new policies to suppress war. His fears of confrontation made his lack of military

actions and adversity, compared to Lincoln's use of force, appear despairing and weak. His Democratic commitments were often suffocating and hindered his ability to understand and manage the challenges of the presidency.

I think Pierce has been underrated in the polls we received in class. Although he did absolutely nothing to solve the problems related to the Civil War, he did no less than all his predecessors had been doing in preventing the outbreak of war. Unfortunately, his personality got in the way of his presidency but I do not think it was so interfering that he should be rated as a disaster. He was by no means a success so I feel 31st is an adequate ranking for his accomplishments.

James Buchanan

Buchanan kept his promise to only remain in office for one term. When Buchanan agreed with an act of Congress, he was willing to offer the full support and enthusiasm of his administration. It was wise of Buchanan to reorganize his cabinet once states began to secede, but some of his new appointees may have been too extremist and therefore contributed to further tension that arose between the north and south.

Buchanan was a very emotionally unstable president for a time of such national crisis. He was erratic and timid and had great difficulty understanding some of the underlying issues of the country's current state of affairs. His attention to detail became so meticulous that it was a hindrance to his effectiveness as president. He viewed things with a very narrow perspective and was extremely cautious, conservative, and unimaginative in his ideas. He unfortunately chose to make the cabinet socially comfortable instead of politically strong and was hesitant to lead with his own opinion. He did not understand the value of debate and was overly defensive

when his authority was challenged making him appear distant to the common citizen. He allowed his presidency to become corrupt through bribes and contracts and remained ignorant of the motivations behind the sectional crisis. His presidential goals were relatively lacking in ambition which directly led to a lack of substantial policy during his presidency.

I found it extremely difficult to find any positive attributes within Buchanan's presidency. Whatever leadership qualities he may have possessed were adequately displayed through the situations he encountered while president. He was simply not a strong enough leader to be presiding at this point in history. I ranked Buchanan dead last for his ignorance and inflexibility.

Abraham Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln was a very effective president even if he was only made great by his circumstances. Lincoln confidently led the nation through the Civil War with a character of integrity that allowed him to appeal very successfully to the northern states. His vision was to be the leader of all people on a scale the presidency had never before seen. From the beginning of his presidency, he encouraged the entire population to understand the goals of the Union through simple explanations of complex issues. Like any good leader, he was willing to ask for help and input from trusted advisors, a crucial key in his ability to function as president in the midst of a divided nation. Likewise, his optimism and desire to reunite the states was contagious and encouraged the soldiers and citizens to stand behind the effort of the Union. He aimed to reassure the country of the importance of the war in which they were involved. Lincoln was able to remain effective throughout the duration of the war because he refused to completely give up on his principles. Although he believed Congress was the entity in charge of

directing the nation's affairs, he did not hesitate to be active in his role as president and to shatter previous precedents. His ability to assume power during the national crisis demonstrated a more centralized authority than the country had seen under previous administrators. He strove to legitimize all his actions in order to uphold the respect of the people and to ensure that he was not chasing power for personal gain. His ability to remain tolerant of personal criticism throughout his presidency greatly aided Lincoln in remaining focused. Likewise, his determination to not live above the common man but instead visiting refugee camps and embracing the wartime community, greatly helped ensure support from the nation. Lincoln never attempted to usurp the power of other individuals or committees and was willing to admit his faults and failings.

Upon entering office, it could be said that Lincoln's understanding of the chief executive role was underdeveloped and naive. At times he seemed to support very unrealistic constitutional amendments, such as paying for the expenses of colonizing blacks overseas. Lincoln's plan to make it appear as though the Confederacy started the war was very intelligent, but also very deceiving. Lincoln did not use his cabinet as effectively as possible. Instead, he viewed the members more as department administrators than a consultative body for the benefit of his presidency.

Lincoln was the most inspirational president to lead our nation. His ability to lead us through the Civil War certainly earns him a place in history among the great presidents. Betsy's display of emotional support for Lincoln and his commitment to our country in class was also contagious. He created an improved balance between president and congress and he was able to use his personal character to fulfill his presidential responsibilities. If he had lived through his second term and had to deal with reconstruction, his ranking might be different. Due to his

ability to begin reuniting the country, I believe Lincoln deserves to be ranked first in terms of successful presidents.

Andrew Johnson

Although his motives during his presidency were questionable, Andrew Johnson insisted that Congress not legislate while southern states remained unrepresented. Before his presidency, Johnson remained loyal to the national government despite his Southern sentiments.

Johnson was an incredibly weak individual and therefore an ineffective leader of a struggling country. His firm prejudices took his focus off of the welfare of the nation and unfortunately caused him to misuse his opportunity to reunite the country while president. Whether it was a result of being forced to follow in Lincoln's shadow or his own controversial agenda for reconstruction, Johnson was incapable of being a strong leader. His pride often got in the way of his presidential duty to the entire nation. His efficiency could have been vastly improved if he would have allowed himself to be surrounded by trustworthy confidants and advisors. His policies represented his personal views and his personal motives often interrupted crucial political decisions. His unwillingness to compromise was undoubtedly a cause of continued hostility between political parties as well as the continued divide between north and south. Likewise, any scandals that may have been associated with his administration did not increase his effectiveness during the reconstruction process. His uncompromising ideas and policies were main factors in contributing to his highly ineffective presidency and political alienation. His use of the veto on civil rights issues alienated him from the entire Republican party while his impulsive behavior was successful in completely alienating him from Northern

voters. This alienation forced Johnson to cease thinking about his duty as president and turned his attention to his own political alignments for the future. His refusal to abide by laws which he personally deemed unconstitutional showed both a lack of statesmanship and a lack of respect for the country of which he was an ambassador and leader.

Johnson did not complement the legacy that Lincoln had left during his presidency. He was uninspirational during a time when the country needed great motivation. He also perhaps attempted to be too detached and different from Lincoln while the country was looking for familiarity and stability. His reconstruction plans seemed incredibly selfish and for this reason I ranked Johnson 37th, a below average president.

Ulysses S. Grant

Grant achieved many things during his time as president. His establishment of the National Park System continues to be a wonderful asset to the country more than a century later. Likewise, the long-overdue settling of quarrels with Great Britain that occurred during his presidency was a great attribute to his administration. This settlement set an important presidential precedent for international dispute resolution in the future to attempt arbitration before the outbreak of war. The Fifteenth Amendment, passed during Grant's term, was extremely successful and played a crucial role in the shaping of American history over the next century. Grant seriously considered the appointments of his subordinates, a refreshing ideal after the isolation of the Johnson administration. His temporary scattering of the KKK was also a great move for the future of the country as was his resistance to the pressures of increasing the money supply to combat the poor economic situation.

Ulysses Grant attempted to achieve political detachment. However, in the time of his presidency, detachment was not the characteristic that the country was seeking in its leader. Grant wasn't always aware of the feedback that would be caused by his various policies which made it very difficult to counteract negative opinions. Grant's rushed reduction of the national debt greatly contributed to the stalling of economic growth. Greater patience in a situation such as this could have avoided the panic that exposed the faults of the economic system. His refusal to be proactive reduced the effectiveness of his office and of Congress. His promise to impose no policies of his own seems to be an indicator of weak convictions or, at the very least, an unattractive leadership quality. Likewise, if Grant would have structured more rules for his cabinet members from the beginning instead of in reaction to scandal, many personal divisions and inefficiencies could have been avoided. Grant's inability to understand the criticism that assailed him greatly hurt his ability to improve his leadership style to become the type of president that the nation desired to see. Although Grant paid careful attention to his cabinet appointments, he was too distracted by resentment to pay continuous attention to their corruptive actions.

Grant's long term and lasting improvement towards the duties of the president are questionable. His successes and failures are fairly well balanced but the possibility that he was wrapped up in intense scandals during his term greatly reduces his appeal as a qualified leader. It seems to me that he was more focused on fixing symptoms than solving problems and I definitely believe someone else in his position could have been a lot more beneficial in continuing to mend the nation's wounds. I ranked Grant 28th because he wasn't completely detrimental to the country but he also failed to do anything extraordinary.

Rutherford B. Hayes

As the successor of Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes was refreshingly free of scandal. Hayes' goal of promoting the rights of all citizens while restoring honesty to the government was extremely visionary in a time of great change. Although his cabinet members and other appointees were not necessarily the best suited candidates for the positions, Hayes did not appoint merely on the basis of the spoils system, a habit that had been developed in recent presidencies. Hayes' refinancing of the increasing national debt was successful in restoring confidence in the American economy, a key emotional component of safety that the nation had been missing for several years. His commitment to the promise of serving only one term showed great respect and honesty towards the nation he represented. His self-confidence and belief that he had addressed several of the more difficult problems facing his office was both inspiring and naïve.

President Hayes did not promote diversity, a value very central to modern America that should have been a national concern. Instead, Hayes encouraged a more homogenous middle-class society which greatly contributed to the continuation of racial segregation in a country that was facing the turbulent change of race dynamics. This also allowed Hayes to ignore the cause of discontentment: uneven distribution of wealth. Because he failed to define the real problems, Hayes was only able to address the symptoms of the struggling nation. Likewise, his thoughts that maternal duties were not compatible with political duties greatly fostered sexism throughout the nation. Although Hayes promoted a policy of enforcing new legislation, he was not efficient or successful in practicing this enforcement. Because Hayes picked cabinet members that were neither connected to the previous administration or to the election, his transition into a position of power was not as smooth as it could have been. His reforms alienated many Republicans just as the reforms of past presidents had and therefore

contributed to the further breakup of his political party. Overall, Hayes' presidency seemed more sheltered and reactive than energetic and proactive, leading to inefficient legislation and policy implementation. For example, his use of military force to subdue violence in some communities and his failure to use the government to suppress strikes shows little advanced planning to these events.

I ranked Hayes 24th because he was an average president. He did not purposefully diminish or improve the future of cultural relations in the country. His presidency was both visionary and respectful towards the nation but overall his term was fairly ineffective.

James A. Garfield

In a time of rapid change, Garfield supported the Industrial Revolution. The sentiment of the president was an integral part to forcing other Americans to accept the rapid modernization as well. He supported other dramatic social rights changes and advocated a better relationship between the president and Congress, both long overdue agenda items. His vision was to minimize European influence in the hemisphere in an attempt to build solidarity, greatly helping the morale of the country that was still suffering from the sectional wounds of the Civil War. His open door policy as president and willingness to listen to anyone could have been very beneficial to the American people if it hadn't backfired and resulted in his assassination. Garfield was very intelligent and appreciated complexity, a trait that could have served him well in finding innovative solutions to the nation's problems had he been given the opportunity.

Although Garfield's avoidance of extreme political positions was successful in maintaining party relationships, it did not show a very strong commitment to any political agenda. Garfield's success, due to his reputation as the lesser of two bad alternatives, greatly

reflected in his policy implementation during his short time as president. Like John Adams, Garfield's dread of entering the presidency did not help him win the support of the American people. Appointing people to the cabinet was not one of Garfield's strongest abilities and if he would have remained president, the group formed to balance party factions would have proved highly ineffective. Although he was willing to admit that he made mistakes, his refusal to correct his mistakes is not a desirable quality in a national leader.

It is very difficult to judge the success of Garfield's presidency due to his short term in office. I feel that 30th is an appropriate ranking for Hayes and that he deserves the benefit of the doubt for success potential.

Chester Arthur

Immediately after his inauguration, Chester Arthur realized that he needed to act as an effective leader of the nation more than as an avenger of the Stalwarts who had killed Garfield. Arthur improved the social scene of the politically elite in Washington and was very calm about pursuing official business. His presidency was not marked by rushed and irrational decisions like many of the men before him. Arthur had a strong sense of personal and social responsibility. His advocacy of the modernization of the dilapidating navy fleet and his support of trade expansion were both critical in accumulating power for the United States. Arthur was very dignified and reserved which was a characteristic that had been recently absent from the White House.

Arthur offered very little legislative direction. He was very sluggish about what little direction he did offer the nation, weakening the focus of his administration.

At times, Arthur was overly concerned with the social life of politicians in Washington and tended to forget his objective as president. He did not seem to offer rewarding and sustainable changes for the future. I ranked Arthur 35th, below average, because I think his effectiveness and efficiency could've been greatly improved with more focus on policy and policy implementation.

Grover Cleveland

Grover Cleveland took legislation very seriously. He broke prior precedents of restraining veto usage, and paid attention to every bill that passed through his office. This dedication to his job is a very admirable leadership trait.

Cleveland viewed the presidency as a place to make sure bad things didn't happen. His lack of initiative to ensure that good things did happen greatly reduced the efficiency of both terms he served as president. Cleveland supported an unsympathetic relationship between the government and the people which led many voters to feel castigated by him, reducing his effectiveness in leading a united nation. Although I think the government could be very effectively run like a business, Cleveland was unsuccessful at tackling the presidency from this mindset. His appointments of business leaders to high positions and his policies that lessened politics in government greatly distracted Cleveland from other important issues that needed attention. This inattention to every detail of the country's well being greatly isolated many segments of his party. He was ineffective in managing the appointment system and was often unwilling to accept advice. These character flaws caused tension between party leaders and the president, placing unnecessary stress on the governing body.

I gave Cleveland the average ranking of 16th. He took his role as president very seriously but he was not proactive in improving the nation. He did not do the correct things correctly and therefore was neither effective or efficient.

Benjamin Harrison

Benjamin Harrison worked very thoroughly on his presidential duties throughout his term. Harrison was prepared to push the civil rights agenda being called for by the nation with his support of education and protection for former slaves.

Harrison was a very stiff president which made him appear both unapproachable and unwilling to listen to the needs of the people he was supposed to be serving. His meticulousness and pride made it very difficult for the president to accomplish tasks while working with others. His use of veto threats was a very inappropriate way to handle presidential power and shows a lack of compromising ability that is a necessary trait to handle power both effectively and efficiently. Overall, Harrison spent the majority of time agreeing to the agendas of the party bosses and spent little time transforming the presidency into an office that would help him manage the country more effectively. His stubbornness was not backed by a strong dedication to his personal convictions and he was therefore unable to enforce many key policies that he had promised during his presidential campaign.

I was personally disappointed in learning about Benjamin Harrison's presidency. I had hoped that he would have the same potential as his grandfather. Unfortunately Ben seemed too standoffish to appeal to most citizens. I ranked Harrison 15th, the first of the average presidents, because he attempted to do great things but did most of them in a wrong and, at times, offensive way.

William McKinley

The election of McKinley emphasized his ability to appeal to all classes, a characteristic of his presidency that temporarily realigned party politics. McKinley chose to surround himself with people who were very good at getting what they wanted. Luckily, however, McKinley was good at manipulating even these men to help him with his own advancement. He encouraged the public to stay informed and allowed for a very transparent presidency through the press. He was able to control the press effectively enough to control politics which contributed to his continued support by Americans. He was a very moving speaker and the people responded to his hints of emotion when addressed. Although he did eventually respond to the call for war, he ensured that the country was first fully prepared for the war economically and physically through the renovation of the navy. McKinley was very dedicated to reforms he desired to see through as president and was successful at accomplishing these through his persistence and determination. McKinley greatly helped to develop the openness of the presidency to the entire population through the press and also expanded the role of Commander in Chief.

Unfortunately for McKinley, he lacked understanding of the future importance of foreign markets and therefore spent a large amount of time encouraging a protectionist ideal that would need to be reformed or erased completely in just a matter of years. McKinley demonstrated a fear of criticism and once he encountered strong political opposition from the people, it was common for him to abandon his own idea. His control of the press, although beneficial to maintaining his reputation, bordered on censorship and was very manipulative: a successful but discouraged form of motivation. McKinley knew that what the country needed could only be achieved through war and therefore attempted to manipulate the country into moving towards this end.

McKinley was the first president to be forced to deal more consistently with the increasingly intrusive media. He was a great manipulator but he often used this power inappropriately. The improvements he offered to the country and his helpfulness in preparing the country for the future was questionable. I think McKinley deserves the above average ranking of 8th because he attempted to use different tactics to create success during his presidency.

Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore had a variety of talents and skills that allowed him to encompass and utilize all areas of the presidency. Because there was no national emergency during his presidency, Roosevelt was able to encourage the expansion of presidential importance. Despite his privileged background, Teddy was able to overcome many preconceived prejudices and this versatility allowed him to encompass the changing roles of the office. His varied background also allowed him to master the conflicting demands of change in American politics. Roosevelt was extremely intelligent and reflective, but unlike the Adams family, did not use this trait to isolate himself from the common man. His self-confidence, sophistication, and independence were contagious and the Americans admired the new and energetic style of leadership found in Roosevelt. His ability to appeal to independent-minded voters is still an inspiring characteristic that has seldom blessed the presidential candidate before or since Teddy's two terms. At this time, his energetic and youthful leadership style was just what the United States needed to gain the attention of the world. His optimism and ability to fascinate the entire country was uniquely refreshing. Roosevelt seemed to understand that the public had great interests and rights in political activities. He vigorously pursued all of his agenda items and was unafraid to expand his

powers and break previous precedents. It was also very helpful that Theodore understood that the president would be responsible for both the failures and successes of the country during his term and therefore strove incredibly hard to complete his obligations successfully. His enthusiasm for projects, such as the Panama Canal, were so contagious that Americans were willing to support him despite questionable measures, a phenomenon that had not occurred when Jefferson tried to expand American power in a similar way. Throughout his presidency he wasted little time and capital on legislative projects that could've been potential party stalemates.

Teddy's judgment of what was in the best interest of the country often inspired great controversy. At times it seems that Teddy was eager to gain attention for himself instead of focusing his publicity efforts and dedicating himself fully to the nation and his duties as president. Perhaps as a fear of losing his popular reputation, Roosevelt stayed away from divisive issues, such as social reform, even though he had the potential and personality to lead the nation through these controversial issues. In a way, his desire for individualism restrained him from completing or even attempting legislation, policy, and reform that could have greatly improved the country. His tolerance of injustice and pessimistic view of Native American progress were very detrimental to the expansion of social equality in the country. Roosevelt also failed by doing little to encourage the changing of attitudes and stereotypes between races, a problem that had it been more seriously considered would have greatly decreased tensions and violence during the 20th century. Unfortunately, Roosevelt got so caught up in his presidential power that he lost the balance between presidential aspirations and the desires of the general population that had first elected him to the presidency. His questionable methods for ensuring he would get to build the Panama Canal were not highly regarded and his actions toward Taft after he left office leave Roosevelt in a sour light.

Roosevelt's outgoing personality was contagious and his presidency rejuvenated the nation. His desire to lead was incredibly inspiring and offered changes to the office which greatly improved the role of president. However, once a leader always a leader, and Roosevelt's behavior after his second term was less than admirable. I ranked Teddy Roosevelt 5th because, despite his shortcomings, he greatly encouraged the adaptation of the presidential office to the modernization of the nation.

William Howard Taft

Taft took the role of the presidency very seriously. His ability to give sound political and legal advice was a great attribute to his office, as were his negotiating skills. Taft demonstrated his loyalty to the country and his duty while president, giving him the leverage to mend disputes and conflicts with ease. Taft did not want to impede on the legislative process which left Congress feeling needed and individuals feeling valued. Taft's happy nature allowed him to better handle the stresses of the presidency and allowed him to remain optimistic in situations overflowing with doubt. Taft was attentive to American influence and power in foreign nations.

Unfortunately for Taft, his personality and approach to the office did not live up to the new image Teddy Roosevelt had built for the presidency. If Taft would have spent less time complaining and agonizing about decisions, his presidency would have been able to accomplish more successful programs. His lack of creativity, reflected in his tendency to rely on past precedents, did not help him to fulfill the presidential role that had become increasingly demanding during the reign of his predecessor. The anxiousness and uncertainty that Taft felt about his ability to be successful in the role of president was cast upon the American public which resulted in an ineffective motive for Taft to improve and grow into the role of president.

Taft was not an overachiever and was content with less than the best. This lackadaisical approach to the office left a great deal of policy untouched and many programs unimproved. His passivity on issues and inattention to detail when communicating with others hurt his reputation and contributed to his inefficiency as a leader.

Like John Adams, Taft was greatly unsuccessful because he did not want to hold the office of president. This lack of desire for the position resulted in lack of direction for his term and greatly contributed to the ineffectiveness of his administration. I ranked Taft 21st because I feel many of his successes have been overshadowed due to his legacy of getting stuck in the bathtub. I also think his leadership potential was overlooked because he could not completely live up to Theodore Roosevelt's shadow.

Woodrow Wilson

Woodrow Wilson was an effective communicator. Because of his political and communicative skills, Wilson was able to be a model ambassador throughout the world for the United States. His ideas for the prevention of war were very innovative and became increasingly detailed throughout his presidency. Personally, I like his philosophy surrounding the idea that a leader should be an educator and think this was a great philosophy to adopt in such a position of power. It is greatly admirable that he would approach congress in person, write his own speeches, and hold press conferences to keep the nation informed. Wilson was very inspirational in revitalizing party government and keeping the Democrats focused on legislative goals. Restoring competition instead of following the predecessors' patterns of increasing regulations was a much needed change in policy. He remained active and involved at different levels of government by sitting in on committee meetings which restored a vision of importance

to several governmental positions and agencies. Wilson was able to balance recognizing and helping other emerging world powers while protecting the interests of the United States: a great display of presidential wisdom. Wilson was adaptable and willing to compromise with those policies he didn't agree with if he knew they were in the best interest of the country, further attesting to his wisdom.

Wilson should not have allowed segregation into governmental departments with the foresight that the acceptance of such policies would be embraced by the rest of the country. Wilson's desire for America to be a guide for the rest of the world was ideal but impractical considering the flawed past of the United States. Wilson's willingness to compromise his principles could have been disastrous for leading the United States had he been too eager to please his constituents at any point and was therefore a very risky governing attitude. On the other hand, Wilson's arrogance was also an evident character flaw and to avoid disappointing supporters he should have stepped down when he learned of his failing health. Even with a 'savior of the world' attitude he did not understand the importance of saving himself.

Wilson was my first personal favorite since President Madison. I liked his proactive view of leadership and his desire for greatness. I think he managed to project this desire for greatness onto the country and that his temperament was well suited for governing the nation. The approach he took towards his duties as president was compelling and I believe he deserves the above average ranking of 6th.

Warren G. Harding

Harding's appointments were very diverse which allowed the cabinet to extend and create a very expansive vision for the nation. Harding displayed America's desire and

willingness to be a real world power through his ability to effectively ease tensions in the Pacific. Citizens were able to relate to Harding and his actions. He was supportive of the needs of the country and agreed not to push major changes that would be polarizing or upsetting. Harding understood the seriousness of presiding over the nation.

Harding refused to interfere with the agenda of Congress which did not exhibit any great deal of presidential strength on his part. Unfortunately, Harding signed legislation based on racist principles that did not further the better good of the country. Harding's frequent complaining and general dislike of the presidency greatly diminished his effective capacity and wasted valuable time. Unfortunately, Harding trusted people easily which led him into doubtful and dangerous situations.

Because Harding was not able to defend himself against scandals, I think it's appropriate to give him the benefit of the doubt in ranking his success. While president, Warren's successes and failures were well balanced. He had the potential to use the nation's resources more wisely and therefore govern more efficiently and his actual administration was relatively below average. Because he failed to make long lasting improvements for his position or the country, Harding deserves the ranking of 39th

Calvin Coolidge

Even as a national leader, Coolidge was able to maintain personal characteristics of integrity and steadiness. This personality allowed him to reassure and calm the nation after the scandals of the prior president. His insistence on justice and honesty resulted in resignations and new appointments that greatly increased the capacity of advisors to lead the president and the nation. Despite setbacks and obstacles, Coolidge constantly moved forward with the

presidency which also forced the nation to continue moving forward. Coolidge was able to use his activities as president to restore respect to the office.

Coolidge could have done many more great things had his goal for the presidency been something other than to leave no mark at all. The lack of his own agenda greatly decreased his enthusiasm and loyalty to programs and legislation during his term. Although Coolidge attempted to appeal to Americans by offering tax cuts, his plan was not equally favorable to everyone and severely limited federal government spending. Coolidge was unable to help or lead congress because of his lack of agenda and was relatively inactive in government procedures. Coolidge refused to see the needs of the nation so that he would not be forced to solve the problem of increasing economic inequity and instability. Coolidge lacked the personality necessary to be an adaptable leader. His view of government as nonproductive was also mirrored in his own ability to be productive and produce lasting legislation.

The presidency of Coolidge was by no means a failure but it had a lot of room for improvement with regards to efficiency. He seemed to lack personal ambition which translated into a lack of political ambition for developing the nation. Likewise, his agenda seemed to lack focus which made many of the policies that he tried to implement seem somewhat undesirable. Coolidge is ranked 29th because his presidency was on the verge of below average. Relatively speaking, however, I think Coolidge accomplished enough beneficial items during his term to be considered average.

Herbert Hoover

Herbert Hoover embodied an incredible amount of optimism and vision during one of the darkest and most panicked times in the nation's history. Unlike several of his predecessors,

Hoover accepted responsibility for both the failures and successes of the presidency. Likewise, Hoover had a good knowledge of how to manipulate presidential publicity in his favor. Hoover's dedication to public service and volunteering was inspirational to the terrified nation. Unlike other leaders, Hoover was able to see the government as a business and understood the necessity of investment to directly help boost the economy. Hoover's ideal to resist forcing people to accept government standards and instead encouraging freedom greatly embodied the founding principles of the country and presidential office. Willing to take bold steps when necessary, Hoover was able to respond to crisis with semi-innovative and reassuring actions.

Hoover was not politically attractive and was unable to maintain close relations with the general public in a time that called for a reassuring friend and a fearless leader. It was very naïve for Hoover to believe that his encouragement of volunteerism would be enough to carry the nation through the economic crisis of the depression. It is unfortunate that he was not willing to negotiate on scenarios for economic relief sooner. At times, Hoover appeared completely unresponsive to a nation that was requiring a great deal of proactive leadership. His inflexibility cost him great amounts of time during the depression that could have been used in creating and implementing helpful social programs. Unable to ignore sagging public approval accompanied by an inability to estimate the impact of the economic crisis on everyday life greatly depleted the effectiveness of Hoover's presidential actions.

As a business major who views leadership capabilities in terms of management styles, I think Hoover had several successful accomplishments. Although he was not proactive, he was very idealistic and flexible. His reaction to events and crises, however, was not always timely and often comes across as inefficient. Ranking Hoover 25th, I believe he failed to truly make sustainable improvements for the benefit of the country.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Among the best of Roosevelt's qualities was his ability to persuade politicians and citizens, his ability to correctly read public opinion aided him in this area. His obvious dislike of corruption and political inequity were grasped by the nation which increased confidence in his presidential abilities. By leaving alternatives available in policy formation, Roosevelt was constantly able to maintain his all encompassing appeal to the nation. His optimism and enthusiasm were highly contagious and his ability to remain calm and reassuring afforded him the illusion of being in constant control. Roosevelt was not afraid to recognize the many crises facing the country and immediately began to create solutions for them upon entering the office. To create solutions, Roosevelt used his resources wisely and involved experts in specific fields to resolve each issue efficiently. Aside from merely fixing the current issues, Roosevelt attempted to prevent the same crises from occurring in the future. By extending a sense of inclusion to the public, Roosevelt was able to restore confidence to the nation. Roosevelt brought the federal government into direct contact with the life of individual citizens, a phenomenon that had never occurred before. Luckily, once Roosevelt's motives became questionable, such as with the internment of Japanese Americans, he was able to effectively justify his actions and decisions.

Perhaps due to the sheer volume of legislation produced under the Roosevelt administration, several programs lacked forethought and failed to reach the exceptionally high expectations of long-lasting reform. As his presidency continued, agendas and visions became increasingly ill-defined. At times, his personal motives distracted him from creating legislation for the public and gave him the appearance of selfishness in an era that could only support collaboration. Also, Roosevelt seemed to become so wrapped up in public policy that foreign policy was completely ignored. Once foreign policy could no longer be ignored and the president began veering away from neutrality, Roosevelt's motives were questionable.

Roosevelt did not effectively communicate with Truman as vice president which led to greater obstacles and moral confusion after his death. By the end of his life, Roosevelt had become cocky by breaking the two-term precedent twice. Like other presidents, his inability to step down from running for another term when he was aware of his failing health is not an honorable attribute of a leader.

I think F.D.R. has been overrated as a president. Although he oversaw a great amount of short term improvements for the country, very few of his programs are still in place today. I think his failures have been overlooked and I also think people have equated sympathy with greatness. Because Roosevelt became cocky enough to run for a fourth term, I do not think he deserves to be ranked as a great president. I feel 9th appropriately reflects Roosevelt's commitment to improving the office of president, the relation between Congress and president, and his overall impact on the nation.

Harry Truman

Harry Truman was incredibly loyal as a man and president. He was able to constructively accept criticism due to his outstanding self-confidence and he was able to connect to the public through his attempts to appear as an ordinary man. Even under pressure, Truman was able to assemble effective groups of advisors and quickly disseminate meaningful policies. Truman had the foresight to understand the importance of helping rebuild Europe after World War II and therefore acted to authorize loans and subsidies to several countries. Finally, Truman agreed to face the escalating issue of Civil Rights that had previously been ignored and dedicated specific resources to resolving these issues. His unification of the armed forces was beneficial immediately and currently continues to remain effective and efficient.

Unfortunately, Truman was perhaps not completely aware of the consequences of some of his presidential actions, especially the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan, due to ineffective communication during his vice presidency. Response to crisis was not Truman's forte and the anger he exhibited when controversial incidents occurred greatly offended and isolated large sections of laborers. When he was offended, exaggeration on Truman's part greatly polarized issues that could have remained unemotional. His inability to handle such tense situations without greater tact was a severely limiting factor of his presidency. Often, Truman gained support for his ideas through extremely exaggerated portrayals of a situation. By the end of his presidency, Truman had acted without consulting congress and completely reversed military policy, creating tension in Washington and throughout the nation.

Truman finally brought forth issues during his presidency that had needed to be addressed much earlier. He was able to meet the needs of the country as well as expand upon them to encourage and ensure the future success of the nation. His ability to transcend his background greatly expanded the appeal of his actions as president to more citizens. I ranked Truman 4th because I think his leadership as president was between above average and great.

Dwight Eisenhower

Eisenhower's commitment of the United States to consulting with other countries should a danger arise was extremely visionary and proactive. He was cautious in pursuing ideas and first ensured adequate support existed for his presidential policies. To encourage the retention of presidential power, Eisenhower strove to maintain and increase the dignity of the presidential office. His distaste of public confrontation and indirect undermining of controversial figures greatly increased the appearance of integrity. To complete his appropriate duty within

the balance of powers structure, Eisenhower agreed to enforce Supreme Court decisions. Eisenhower was able to achieve several of his major objectives during his presidency, such as signing a balanced budget, and using his image to quiet heated controversies. As leader of the nation, it seems that Eisenhower always felt there was more he could do to improve the country.

Although Eisenhower was plenty clear about what he did not want to accomplish during his term, his proactive agenda lacked direction on those things he did hope to accomplish. Overall, Eisenhower's presidency appears completely uncreative and a mirror image of Truman's strategy. Some of the measures pushed for by Eisenhower during his presidency were exaggerated. Many of Eisenhower's adaptations to previous legislation only appeared to offer a solution but did not actually address the cause of the problem. Eisenhower appeared insensitive and biased towards Civil Rights reform even after prior presidents had made such great improvements in this area. Because he would rather leave reporters confused as to his position on controversial issues than make his opinion known, Eisenhower appears to lack presidential fortitude. It was very difficult for Eisenhower to be innovative and adaptive to changing times towards the end of his presidency.

Eisenhower continued to find ideals and policies to improve upon throughout his presidency. He was able to fulfill many of his campaign promises although this was achieved possibly because the promises were so vague. I feel as though his presidency was a repeat of past and proven success methods and offered no creativity or improvements on these routines. However, the enthusiasm of Andrea in class was contagious and I think Eisenhower deserves the above average ranking of 13th.

John F. Kennedy

Because Kennedy had attractive qualities as a man, voters were naturally drawn to him as a president and assumed he held a great capacity for leadership. His youthful and aggressive style helped Kennedy's administration to be appealing to all Americans. Kennedy was willing to assume blame for the failings of the country even when the disastrous occurrence at the Bay of Pigs was not his idea. This selflessness proved to be a great exhibition of loyalty and sincerity to the country. Kennedy understood both the dynamics of party politics in Congress and the necessity of spurring economic growth. Instead of wasting time and energy on bold, uncertain measures, Kennedy and his men waited for proof of necessity before increasing the aggressiveness of their agenda. Kennedy's youthful ambition showed promise of great leadership in the White House.

At times, it seems like Kennedy did not expect excellence but was willing to accept the status quo. He would often take no action to prevent things from occurring that he disliked. Kennedy resisted the inevitable because he did not know how to deal with it. His motives with regards to civil rights were based more on appearing perfect to other countries than protecting the citizens within his own nation. At times, Kennedy seemed to flee from the presidency and left the nation without guidance, wondering where their leader stood on critical issues.

I ranked Kennedy 17th because people today have such an inflated view of his success. I view his presidency as average only because I think his success was due more to his personality than his policies. The country had begun to worship Kennedy because of his youth and the benefits it entailed. His cautious approach however delivered a balanced amount of positive and negative consequences. Even if Kennedy would have survived to finish his term, I think the public's view of his success as a president instead of as a martyr would've have continued to

increase and he would've been able to maintain his approval rating without having any real substance to his duties.

Lyndon Johnson

Johnson was reassuring to the country immediately after Kennedy's death and patiently waited for citizens to mourn before completely overtaking the nation with his unique personality. Many great goals of Johnson's were actually accomplished, such as conservation, the expansion of educational opportunities, and desegregation, ensuring at least minimal degrees of success during his term. Johnson acknowledged that he did not possess the same charm and appeal as his predecessor and worked around the obstacles of living up to Kennedy's image. His ability to persuade and encourage enthusiasm forced the country to view him as a demanding and in-charge president. His open door policy along with other measures helped to ensure party factions would not feel isolated, abandoned, or attacked by LBJ's policies. He tried to establish friendships with individuals in all positions and appointments so that they could work more effectively together and also maintained involvement with everyone to encourage efficiency. Johnson strove for constant success and would not tolerate failure. Unlike other politicians, Johnson fairly admitted that his health was failing and affecting his capacity to lead and therefore declined running for a second term.

Johnson can be contributed with beginning some of the harshest and cruelest negative advertising seen during campaigns today. Instead of assuring the quality of his strengths, Johnson chose to exploit the weaknesses of his enemy. At times he was extremely egotistical at the cost of maintaining party peace. The idea that he manipulated his presidential policies to ensure his election is dishonorable and acted as an unfair advantage to gain attention. As if

guilty of something, Johnson often refused to publicize his intentions on controversial actions. He often hid the full extent of difficult issues and allowed Americans to live in ignorance. He ignored the real cause of problems and instead substituted the difficult roots of problems with causes easier to solve. When Johnson took the war effort upon himself, he devastated both his capacity to lead and his personal life. It is amazing that Johnson could rise to such a great leadership position when he was so unwilling to temporarily give up the spot light or admit that others had some degree of superior skills.

Johnson was in the right place at the right time and had the correct personality to comfort the nation after Kennedy's death. At times, his determination to get his policies passed and the influence he impressed upon the nation was extreme and intimidating. Likewise, I do not think his negative campaigning for the office of president reflects a good strategy for the leader of a prosperous nation to employ. I think Johnson's failures were understandable considering his circumstances and I therefore gave him the average ranking of 20th.

Richard Nixon

Nixon attempted some bold policy initiatives during his presidency which had the potential to really display his presidential leadership and influence Congress and the nation had they been successful. His potential as president was outstanding and his leadership abilities had been proven throughout his past experience. Leaving his office with at least some dignity, it was wise of Nixon to step down before Congress was able to vote on certain removal from office.

Unfortunately for Nixon, he took criticism very personally and wasted extraordinary amounts of time, energy, and resources attempting to weaken his enemies. Several of Nixon's economic policies, especially his belief that the country would abide by voluntary guidelines, were extraordinarily ineffective and although they may not have made the economic situation worse, they also failed to improve it. Nixon attempted to combat recently unpopular initiatives for the sole purpose of pleasing more key political figures. Many of his battles were symbolic instead of effective and much of what got achieved during his presidency was not originated by him. Instead of pursuing the presidency and his duties in office for the best interests of the country, Nixon was very self-interested, resulting in less effective governing of the nation. Although foreign policy is a critical aspect of the presidency, Nixon's inattention and boredom with domestic policies does not show a balanced effort to cover all presidential areas. His blatant lie to win the campaign, that he had a plan for ending the war even though he had no plan at all, shows a great disrespect and deceit of the American people. Without this aspect of his campaign he perhaps could have saved himself from his equally deceitful and less-than-stellar second term.

Although Nixon was surrounded by great policy during his term, such as the creation of the EPA, laws surrounding desegregation, and improvements in the space program, his presidency was ultimately driven by his personal agenda. He temporarily halted the progress of the nation through his selfish desires to get ahead and therefore diminished the effectiveness of him and his successor. Although I am very disappointed that Nixon lied to the entire country with such frequency, I think his presidency was still average due to the scandals and secrets of office that had become the norm.

Gerald Ford

Ford had the desire and drive to heal the nation after Nixon's resignation. Also, his honesty and humility after the scandal of his successor were greatly welcomed by the American people and helped him to disassociate with the failures of Nixon. Because he was willing to let people like Henry Kissinger make key policy calls, he was able to achieve greater clarity in his agenda. His efforts to preside in office using compromise and appeasement were also wonderfully desired by the nation. Attempts at accessibility and cosmetic changes to enhance the flow of communication in meetings were critical success factors in his presidency and small but important details that had been overlooked in the recent past. His understanding of the economy and the economic situation allowed him to enthusiastically encourage the nation to battle the recession.

Unfortunately Ford's desire to be cooperative in office was not long lasting and the constant clashes Ford faces with Congress greatly inhibited his ability to achieve meaningful and lasting policy implementations. Also, Ford often underestimated his negotiating abilities with Congress and would approve measures that were less than what he hoped, greatly limiting his potential for great, outstanding, and revolutionary policies. Ford was incapable of defining a worthy foreign policy while he was in office, perhaps because he was not expected to need the necessary skills to accomplish this in his vice presidential role to which he had been elected.

I don't think the people wanted or were willing to trust anyone associated with Nixon to be successful. For this reason I think Ford faced great hostilities that would not allow him to achieve the best policies for the country. He did improve the government process, even if only cosmetically, but settled for less than he truly wanted. Like other average presidents, I think Ford had the potential to be great and I therefore ranked him 22nd.

Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter was able to carry his strong moral character into the presidency and balance his personal, moral, and religious views with the views he needed to adopt in order to remain in charge of the nation. Determined to impose his view of power upon the nation, he was willing to sacrifice personal time to attend to the needs of his country. Carter was sensible and willing to admit to his imperfections, an ability that many individuals overlook as an important leadership characteristic. His ambition was admirable but not enough to carry him through a successful reelection campaign.

Because Carter did not feel that he needed to consult with other top leaders in Washington, he greatly limited the creativity and potential reach of the presidency. Carter was unable to pass his enthusiasm for fairness onto the nation due in part to his arrogance. Perhaps he was afraid to fully utilize the entirety of presidential power, but his timidity greatly interfered with his public image as a capable leader of the most powerful nation in the world. Although Carter recognized his imperfection, he tended to pass the blame on to the country for his personal failings instead of accepting responsibility as the elected official at the time. Unfortunately, Carter simply did not have a knack for understanding the desires of the people and therefore contributed to his own public opinion downfall as well as the alienation of factions within the Democratic Party.

Carter is another personal favorite of mine due to my involvement with Habitat 4 Humanity. I think that the example a president sets for the nation, even after he has left office, is very important, and I think Carter's dedication to continue improving the country and the people, even when they were not willing to reelect him, shows a profound amount of pride in the nation. I am so glad to see that religion can be a part of the president's life without interfering in his ability to govern. I think Jimmy Carter was an above average president that the

nation didn't appreciate and ranked him 14th for his balance of prioritizing personal life and remaining committed to presidential duty.

Ronald Reagan

Reagan embodied all the character traits of a text book leader. He was self-confident, enthusiastic, reassuring, and flexible, and he was capable of reflecting his personal views onto and across the nation. His definitive nature and personal qualities allowed for the dissolution of tensions between nations and the renewed faith in national institutions. Balancing ideology and charisma, Reagan was able to appeal to the public as well as the most extreme politicians. He was able to combine manipulating the modern political media while embodying common values to maintain a positive public image. His ability to rely on appointees to handle important and difficult initiatives greatly involved key figures in the direct government of the nation and led to more effective policies and efficient uses of time. Reagan was able to distinguish the bad and good within a single policy and therefore was able to better focus on the most critical aspects of different initiatives. His overall vision and focus helped him to continue moving past his temporary setbacks as president.

Reagan refused to deal appropriately with unpleasant, disappointing, or embarrassing situations that arose during his term. During times when his definitive nature was most needed, Reagan appeared detached and distanced. Although Reagan was involved in policy making, he left important details to his advisors and other officials. At times, Reagan refused to accept responsibility for the failings of his administration. Because Reagan ensured that the nation knew more about his private life than his opinions on controversial issues, his success in the role as guide of the nation is questionable. Instead of fighting for American causes with American

troops, Reagan used local troops in Vietnam with American weapons to achieve these goals, a policy I feel is highly unfair and arrogant due to its assumption that the value of life differs based on nationality. Reagan was also fairly untalented at accepting criticism and instead of constructively using any form of criticism he used it as an attempt to encourage more patriotism in the country. His desire to be well liked at the expense of appropriate and necessary policies greatly deepened the cynicism of the public and created an aura of sloppiness surrounding his management style.

Although Reagan made significant contributions to the presidency, he failed to truly revolutionize any particular aspect during his time in office. He has been overrated in the past for ending the Cold War which was not an accomplishment that occurred solely as a result of his term, but through a history of presidential activities. I wonder how much Reagan actually governed during his presidency and how many of his successes only occurred due to his ability to act as a strong and knowledgeable leader. Reagan could pass as a great leader, but as leader of a nation his presidential leadership should have been based more on substance and political stances than personality. Reagan attempted to be liked more than he attempted to be govern and for that reason I rated him 19th.

George H. W. Bush

Bush became a great example of moderation throughout his presidency and pursued a variety of policies in the best interest of the country. At the risk of ruining his personal reputation, Bush was willing to go back on promises in order to ensure the future success of the nation. His flexibility really expanded his success potential in the presidential role and helped to heal tense differences between party factions. Bush's investment in personal diplomacy with

the leaders of other nations could have been extremely beneficial for the future of the United States had other leaders and future leaders supported and maintained these relationships.

Bush lacked the personality traits of great leaders and instead of charm and confidence, he embodied awkwardness and puniness. It seems that many of his practices were more a result of his personal background than his political conviction. Unfortunately Bush failed at practicing the unity and peace that he idealized and was therefore ineffective at passing peaceful and united goals onto the nation. Prepared to govern as a war president, the policies that Bush adopted in the arena were conflicting with his messages of peace. He failed to anticipate possible consequences of his actions and was overly cautious about change. This caution coupled with his inarticulateness led to great amounts of public confusion on presidential opinions. Likewise, this public confusion made it extremely difficult for Bush to encourage public or congressional support for his ideas. His ideas and rationale therefore were viewed as inadequate. His people skills simply weren't up to par for an office of such national prestige and he often negligently chose to count on subordinates who further inflamed conflicts. His condescension towards Congress was inappropriate considering he publicly admitted worrying about his own inconsistencies and failures.

Unfortunately for Bush, the perspective on the success of his presidency currently suffers from associations with the faults of his son's presidency. Perhaps Bush could have better served as president if he had been more able to sympathize and understand the common American. However, Bush did figure out a semi-successful way to govern by consensus and realized the importance of continued personal diplomacy. His approach to the presidency was excellent for the issues he faced in office and it's a shame that he has been so harshly criticized for going back on a promise that, if kept, would have further hurt the country. I ranked Bush 11th for his continuous attempts for improvement while in office.

Bill Clinton

Unlike his predecessor, Clinton was an expert at manipulating people and controlling public opinion. His desire to be successful was contagious and he greatly prepared himself for the presidency by studying the successes of past presidents. His youthfulness, energy, and optimism were well liked by the country, greatly expanding their support of him personally and politically. Clinton took careful considerations of the details of all policies during his two terms in office and although Clinton was aware of and remembered his hardships growing up, his policy creation was not ruled by this unwealthy upbringing. Clinton was able to create policies that benefited the largest possible number of citizens and citizens believed in his investment in their individual success. Clinton realized and even emphasized the importance of foreign affairs on American economic interests and prioritized his duties appropriately. Clinton's ability to connect with and read the population helped him to realize where to draw the line when situations became too controversial. As president, he used his office to transcend politics based on party ideology: a moderate ideal for which the nation had been calling for several years.

Because Clinton was so ruled by public opinion, he refrained from taking politically risky stands that could have furthered the nation better than what he actually implemented. When things did not work out perfectly, Clinton was unable to handle the adversity of failure. His depression during these times weakened his capability to lead and his habit of blaming other people for his failings weakened his appearance of being in control. Likewise, instead of admitting that his budget had failed, he had to make deals with members of his party in order for it to survive. Clinton did not actively work with Congress to create legislation and therefore many of his policies were so detailed and complex that even other prestigious officials were overwhelmed by them. Clinton was unsure of his ability to use force, creating doubts throughout the nation. Although his attempt at diplomacy was by no means harmful, it also was

not helpful in bringing long term benefits or solutions to foreign policy. His deceit of the entire country over the Lewinsky scandal did not show respect for the people he was representing.

Clinton's legacy is more substantive than rhetorical. He was able to read the desires of the country well and his charisma allowed him to achieve a lot of important policy victories with Congress and other nations. His ability to work well with opposing sides was admirable as was the scope of his management. Unfortunately, a leader should respect his followers and Clinton's blatant lies about multiple issues surely did not demonstrate his willingness to do this. Because Clinton made choices that caused him to be such a polarizing figure, I don't think he was a great president but I think he still deserves the above average ranking of 12th.

Appendix C

Other Polls and Rankings of the First Ladies

4

Table 7.3 Most Admired First Ladies

First Lady	Percentage of Votes
Eleanor Roosevelt	50.0
Hillary Clinton	40.0
Jackie Kennedy	24.3
Rosalynn Carter	21.4
Barbara Bush	18.6
Betty Ford	12.9
Lady Bird Johnson	11.3

Source: R. P. Watson, *Women in Public Life Poll, 1995-1996*.
 Note: Respondents could vote for more than one First Lady.

Table 7.4 The Good Housekeeping Rating

Rank	First Lady	Total Score	Host	Camp	Lead	Pol	Fem	Trad	W.H.	Infl	Help	Spoke	Char	Women
1.	Lady Bird Johnson	92	8	10	9	10	6	4	8	9	10	2	9	7
2.	Eleanor Roosevelt	89	8	10	10	10	10	0	0	5	8	10	10	8
3.	Rosalynn Carter	88	7	10	8	10	10	0	2	10	10	7	8	6
4.	Lou Hoover	83	10	3	9	8	8	2	8	5	10	5	7	8
5.	Jackie Kennedy	79	8	6	0	0	4	6	10	7	6	4	10	8
6.	Betty Ford	73	8	2	6	4	7	3	2	6	8	10	9	8
7.	Helen Taft	69	6	9	2	10	5	2	2	9	9	2	7	6
8.	Pat Nixon	63	10	8	0	0	0	9	10	4	8	0	6	8
9.	Bess Truman	60	2	7	0	10	0	10	4	7	10	0	6	4
	Florence Harding	60	6	5	0	10	0	8	6	8	10	2	5	0
11.	Edith Roosevelt	54	8	0	1	0	0	10	9	0	8	0	8	10
12.	Edith Wilson	53	1	8	0	8	6	0	0	10	8	0	6	6
13.	Grace Coolidge	52	10	0	0	0	0	10	7	0	6	2	9	8
	Mamie Eisenhower	52	10	8	0	0	0	10	3	0	8	0	8	5
15.	Ellen Wilson	48	4	3	10	4	0	7	5	0	7	0	6	2

Source: *Good Housekeeping*, July 1980, p. 120.

Key: Host = Hostess Fem = Feminist Help = Helpfulness to president
 Camp = Campaigner Trad = Traditionalist Spoke = Outspokenness
 Lead = Leader in causes W.H. = Improving White House Char = Charisma
 Pol = Interest in politics Infl = Influence on president Women = Inspiration to women

Table 7.5 Fitness for the Office

First Lady	Score
1. Lady Bird Johnson	8.75
2. Lou Hoover	7.50
3. Eleanor Roosevelt	7.00
4. Pat Nixon	7.00
5. Rosalynn Carter	6.75
6. Jackie Kennedy	6.00
7. Ellen Wilson	5.50
8. Mamie Eisenhower	5.25
9. Helen Taft	4.75
10. Betty Ford	4.50
11. Edith Roosevelt	4.50
12. Florence Harding	4.25
13. Grace Coolidge	4.25
14. Bess Truman	3.25
15. Edith Wilson	2.25

⁴ Table 7-1 to 7-3 are included on pages 180 – 189 in “The Presidents’ Wives: Reassessing the Office of First Lady” by Robert Watson, included on the Works Cited List.

Table 7.6 Presidential Partnership

First Lady	Score
1. Rosalynn Carter	10.0
2. Lady Bird Johnson	9.5
3. Edith Wilson	9.0
4. Helen Taft	9.0
5. Florence Harding	9.0
6. Bess Truman	8.5
7. Lou Hoover	7.5
8. Betty Ford	7.0
9. Eleanor Roosevelt	6.5
10. Jackie Kennedy	6.5
11. Pat Nixon	6.0
12. Edith Roosevelt	4.0
13. Mamie Eisenhower	4.0
14. Ellen Wilson	3.5
15. Grace Coolidge	3.0

Table 7.7 Personality and Charisma

First Lady	Score
1. Eleanor Roosevelt	10
Jackie Kennedy	10
3. Grace Coolidge	9
Lady Bird Johnson	9
Betty Ford	9
6. Edith Roosevelt	8
Mamie Eisenhower	8
Rosalynn Carter	8
9. Helen Taft	7
Lou Hoover	7
11. Ellen Wilson	6
Edith Wilson	6
Bess Truman	6
Pat Nixon	6
15. Florence Harding	5

Table 7.8 Activist First Ladies

First Lady	Score
1. Eleanor Roosevelt	9.5
2. Rosalynn Carter	8.25
3. Betty Ford	7.25
4. Lou Hoover	7.25
5. Lady Bird Johnson	7.25
6. Helen Taft	6.25
7. Edith Wilson	5.75
8. Jackie Kennedy	5.0
9. Bess Truman	4.5
10. Florence Harding	3.0
11. Edith Roosevelt	2.5
12. Grace Coolidge	2.5
13. Pat Nixon	2.0
14. Ellen Wilson	1.5
15. Mamie Eisenhower	1.25

Table 7.9a Top Ten (Most Successful) First Ladies

1.	Eleanor Roosevelt
2.	Barbara Pierce Bush
3.	Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy
4.	Claudia "Lady Bird" Taylor Johnson
5.	Rosalynn Smith Carter
6.	Hillary Rodham Clinton
7.	Elizabeth "Betty" Bloomer Ford
8.	Dolley Payne Madison
9.	Abigail Smith Adams
10.	Edith Bolling Galt Wilson

Table 7.9b Top Ten First Ladies (average score)

1.	Eleanor Roosevelt
2.	Abigail Smith Adams
3.	Dolley Payne Madison
4.	Martha Dandridge Washington
5.	Elizabeth "Betty" Bloomer Ford
6.	Sarah Childress Polk
7.	Julia Dent Grant (tie with Harriet Lane) ^a
8.	Frances Folsom Cleveland
9.	Ellen Axson Wilson
10.	Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy

Source: Watson Presidential Scholar Poll, 1996–1997. Poll, 1996–1997.
 Note: a. Harriet Lane was James Buchanan's niece.

Table 7.10a Bottom Ten (Least Successful) First Ladies

1.	Mary Todd Lincoln
2.	Nancy Davis Reagan
3.	Hillary Rodham Clinton
4.	Edith Bolling Galt Wilson
5.	Florence Kling Harding
6.	Mamie Doud Eisenhower
7.	Elizabeth "Betty" Bloomer Ford
8.	Grace Goodhue Coolidge
9.	Elizabeth "Bess" Wallace Truman
10.	Rosalynn Smith Carter

Table 7.10b Bottom Ten First Ladies (average score)

1.	Anna Tuthill Symmes Harrison
2.	Mary Todd Lincoln
3.	Jane Means Appleton Pierce
4.	Florence Kling Harding
5.	Helen Herron Taft
6.	Nancy Davis Reagan
7.	Mamie Doud Eisenhower
8.	Ida Saxton McKinley
9.	Margaret Mackall Smith Taylor
10.	Lettia Christian Tyler

Source: Watson Presidential Scholar Poll, 1996–1997.

Table 7.11 Rankings of First Ladies

First Lady	Watson Poll		SRI Poll	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
1. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt	1	112	1. Eleanor Roosevelt	94.65
2. Abigail Smith Adams	2	103	2. Harriet Lane	86.34
3. Dolley Payne Madison	3	100	3. Abigail Adams	83.64
4. Martha Dandridge Washington	4	95	4. Dolley Madison	77.42
5. Elizabeth "Betty" Bloomer Ford	5	93	5. Rosalynn Carter	77.48
6. Sarah Childress Polk	6	90	6. Lady Bird Johnson	77.28
7. Julia Dent Grant	7	89	7. Jackie Kennedy	74.62
8. Harriet Lane	8	87	8. Barbara Bush	74.05
9. Frances Folsom Cleveland	9	85	9. Betty Ford	72.16
10. Ellen Axson Wilson	10	85	10. Edith Wilson	70.72
11. Letticia Broughton Kennedy	11	83	11. Bess Truman	68.19
12. Lucretia Rudolph Garfield	12	80	12. Martha Washington	67.39
13. Abigail Powers Fillmore	13	80	13. Lou Hoover	64.90
14. Elizabeth McCardle Johnson	14	79	14. Edith Roosevelt	63.87
15. Edith Kennel Roosevelt	15	74	15. Lucy Hayes	62.82
16. Hillary Rodham Clinton	16	70	16. Louisa Adams	61.26
17. Claudia "Lady Bird" Taylor Johnson	17	69	17. Mamie Eisenhower	61.10
18. Elizabeth "Bess" Wallace Truman	18	69	18. Pat Nixon	61.78
19. Barbara Pierce Bush	19	66	19. Grace Coolidge	61.71
20. Rosalynn Smith Carter	20	68	20. Sarah Polk	61.36
21. Louisa Johnson Adams	21	67	21. Ellen Wilson	60.52
22. Lucy Webb Hayes	22	67	22. Frances Cleveland	60.35
23. Pierce Ryan Nixon	23	62	23. Elizabeth Monroe	60.13
24. Elizabeth Kortright Meno	24	62	24. Izzy Johnson	59.98
25. Caroline Fanning Scott Harrison	25	62	25. Helou Lili	59.94
26. Grace Goodhue Coolidge	26	62	26. Julia Grant	59.84
27. Lou Henry Hoover	27	61	27. Julia Tyler	59.36
28. Julia Gardner Tyler	28	60	28. Lucretia Garfield	59.25
29. Edith Bolling Galt Wilson	29	60	29. Caroline Harrison	59.12
30. Letitia Christian Tyler	30	60	30. Letitia Tyler	58.67
31. Margaret Mackall Smith Taylor	31	60	31. Abigail Fillmore	58.67
32. Ida Saxton McKinley	32	60	32. Ida McKinley	58.53
33. Mamie Doud Eisenhower	33	60	33. Margaret Taylor	58.37
34. Nancy Davis Reagan	34	60	34. Jane Pierce	58.22
35. Helen Herron Taft	35	60	35. Florence Harding	58.13
36. Florence Kling Harding	36	60	36. Nancy Reagan	58.05
37. Jane Means Appleton Pierce	37	60	37. Mary Lincoln	57.62
38. Mary Todd Lincoln	38	60		
39. Anna Tuthill Symmes Harrison	39	60		

a. Harriet Lane was James Buchanan's niece.

	Watson Poll (1997)	SRI Poll (1993)
1	Eleanor Roosevelt	Eleanor Roosevelt
2	Abigail Adams	Hillary Clinton
3	Dolley Madison	Abigail Adams
4	Martha Washington	Dolley Madison
5	Betty Ford	Rosalynn Carter
6	Sarah Polk	Lady Bird Johnson
7	Julia Grant	Jackie Kennedy
8	Harriet Lane (Buchanan)	Barbara Bush
9	Frances Cleveland	Betty Ford
10	Ellen Wilson	Edith Wilson
11	Jackie Kennedy	Bess Truman
12	Lucretia Garfield	Martha Washington
13	Abigail Fillmore	Lou Hoover
14	Eliza Johnson	Edith Roosevelt
15	Edith Roosevelt	Lucy Hayes
16	Hillary Clinton	Louisa Adams
17	Lady Bird Johnson	Mamie Eisenhower
18	Bess Truman	Pat Nixon
19	Barbara Bush	Grace Coolidge
20	Rosalynn Carter	Sarah Polk
21	Louisa Adams	Ellen Wilson
22	Lucy Hayes	Frances Cleveland
23	Pat Nixon	Elizabeth Monroe
24	Elizabeth Monroe	Eliza Johnson
25	Caroline Harrison	Helen Taft
26	Grace Coolidge	Julia Grant
27	Lou Hoover	Julia Tyler
28	Julia Tyler	Lucretia Garfield
29	Edith Wilson	Caroline Harrison
30	Letitia Tyler	Letitia Tyler
31	Margaret Taylor	Abigail Fillmore
32	Ida McKinley	Ida McKinley
33	Mamie Eisenhower	Margaret Taylor
34	Nancy Reagan	Jane Pierce
35	Helen Taft	Florence Harding
36	Florence Harding	Nancy Reagan
37	Jane Pierce	Mary Lincoln
38	Mary Lincoln	
39	Anna Harrison	

Note: The Watson Poll included (bachelor) President James Buchanan's niece and first ladies such as Lucretia Garfield and Anna Harrison, who might not be included because of their husband's short tenures in office.