

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 232 151

CS 207 505

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 TITLE Bess Truman and the Press: Case Study of a First Lady as Political Communicator.  
 PUB DATE Aug 83  
 NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (66th, Corvallis, OR, August 6-9, 1983).  
 PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)  
 EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.  
 DESCRIPTORS Comparative Analysis; \*Females; \*Media Research; \*News Media; \*News Reporting; Politics  
 IDENTIFIERS \*Press Conferences; Roosevelt (Eleanor); \*Truman (Bess)

ABSTRACT

Unlike her energetic predecessor, Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady Bess Truman sought to remain outside the public spotlight. While Mrs. Roosevelt held weekly press conferences for women reporters, Mrs. Truman held all press conferences somewhat under protest, and in absentia, with questions filtered through her social secretary. As she consequently became an unwilling party to the political communication process, reporters were forced to write stories that stressed the commonplace. With portrayal of Mrs. Truman left mainly to the press, she received more kindly treatment than she might have been expected to: instead of presenting her as noncooperative, reclusive, or even hostile, the press chose to deal with her performance in more positive terms, referring to her as independent and an individualist. Some editors found Mrs. Truman a welcome relief from Mrs. Roosevelt, and apparently without conscious design, her image was acceptable to the majority of Americans, who saw nothing wrong with a small-town matron being devoted to her husband and refusing to express her own ideas in public. (HTH)

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Bess Truman and the Press  
  
Case Study of a First Lady  
  
as Political Communicator

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Submitted to the Committee on the Status of Women  
for the 1983 Convention of the Association for Education in  
Journalism and Mass Communication, Corvallis, Oregon,  
August 6-9

## Abstract

This paper examines the interrelationship between one of our lesser-known First Ladies, Bess Truman, and the Washington press corps of women reporters. It describes how the women reporters tried to mold Mrs. Truman into a news source similar to her predecessor, Eleanor Roosevelt, even though Mrs. Truman sought to remain outside the public spotlight. Confronted with the reporters' demands, Mrs. Truman held press conferences in absentia with questions filtered through her social secretary. As she became, in consequence, an unwilling party to the political communication process, the reporters were forced to write stories which stressed the commonplace. The paper concludes that both the performances of Mrs. Truman and the women reporters testified to the limited expectations set for women in post-World War II American life.

## Bess Truman and the Press

### Case Study of a First Lady as Political Communicator

If a contest took place to select the holder of the most vaguely-defined position in American political life, the winner might well be the First Lady, who lacks any power in law but wields an unspecified amount of public influence. Through unpredictable operations of fate, as defined by marriage and the democratic electoral process, the First Lady finds herself in the public eye even though she may lack training, experience or even the desire to be there. Without set duties, she is expected to improvise a suitable part in her husband's administration, taking into account public opinion as influenced and reflected by the media. Bereft of any constituency of her own, she becomes a creature of the media, which measures her success or failure in its own terms.

Rightly or wrongly, from the days of Martha Washington, criticized for behaving too much like a queen, to Nancy Reagan, accused of more interest in clothes than causes,<sup>1</sup> First Ladies have been targeted for journalistic criticism. Presiding over the fishbowl world of the White House, they are scrutinized closely as symbols projecting the style or

tone of their husband's administration. Consequently no history of a President is complete without at least a look at the First Lady's performance as part of the political communications process.

This article will analyze the depiction of Elizabeth Wallace Truman, always called Bess, as First Lady in the media of her day, which was primarily the press. Since Mrs. Truman lived to the age of 97, dying on October 18, 1982, her papers are not yet open to the public. This article has been based on printed material about her plus items from two manuscript collections at the Library of Congress: The Edith B. Helm papers and the Bess Furman papers. Helm served as both Mrs. Truman's social and press secretary, while Furman, a veteran Washington newspaperwoman, covered Mrs. Truman for the New York Times. Other information was gained from an interview with a close friend of the Truman family and from the President's personal file at the Truman Library.

Bess Truman, who said she never wanted to be First Lady, was thrust into the role unexpectedly when the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt on April 12, 1945, elevated Vice-President Harry S. Truman into the Presidency. On the train back to Washington from Roosevelt's funeral at Hyde

Park, New York, Mrs. Truman poured out her fears to Frances Perkins, Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor. As Perkins recalled it, "I don't know what I am going to do," Mrs. Truman said. "I'm not used to this awful public life."<sup>2</sup> The immediate problem, she told Perkins, was how to deal with the women reporters accustomed to covering Mrs. Roosevelt.

It would have been hard for anyone to follow in the energetic footsteps of Eleanor Roosevelt, who still ranks as by far the most active of the 35 women who have been First Lady in the 193 years of the Presidency.<sup>3</sup> The prospect appeared particularly unsettling to the 60-year-old Mrs. Truman, the product of Independence, Missouri, a small town where ladies were expected to be seen but rarely heard in public.<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Roosevelt, the niece of one President, Theodore Roosevelt, as well as the wife of another, had been accustomed to a far more cosmopolitan environment, pursuing a career as a writer, lecturer and publicist of humanitarian, but often controversial causes. Serving as an unofficial ambassador for her polio-crippled husband, Mrs. Roosevelt traveled and gave interviews all over the world, boosting morale during World War II and expressing herself on Roosevelt's New Deal politics. During her 12 years in the White House, from the second day after Roosevelt's Inauguration in 1933 until the

day he died, she held weekly press conferences for women reporters only, to offer as she put it, "the kind of material which was better written by women for women."<sup>5</sup>

As Perkins recalled it, Mrs. Truman said Mrs. Roosevelt expected her to hold press conferences too and offered to "sit with me and sort of introduce the (newspaper) girls to me and get me familiar with the procedures."<sup>6</sup> The Vice-President's wife for a bare 83 days before finding herself First Lady, Mrs. Truman was appalled at the thought. She seemed greatly relieved when Perkins informed her she had not "the slightest obligation" to hold press conferences since no First Lady before Mrs. Roosevelt had done so.<sup>7</sup> Mrs. Truman cancelled the scheduled conference and refused comment on public issues.

To understand her attitude toward journalists, one must look at her background and family life. President Truman endorsed her attempts to retreat from public notice. President Roosevelt had used his wife's access to the media to leak news for public reaction, as, for instance, when he insisted Mrs. Roosevelt run a steel industry unemployment report defending the New Deal in her newspaper column, "My Day," a syndicated diary.<sup>8</sup> But Truman wanted his relatives removed from politics and thought Roosevelt had made a great mistake in

allowing his family to become involved. Writing his sister, Mary Jane, when she asked if she should accept an invitation to a political meeting, Truman advised her sharply:

For goodness sake, refuse it. They are only using you to advertise themselves. You remember what awful places the Roosevelt relatives were in the habit of getting him tied up with. It won't help me a bit for you to go to Oklahoma to a political meeting and it will give these columnists like (Drew) Pearson and the rest of the gossips a chance to say that my family, particularly the women of my family, are courting the limelight. So please don't go....

I have kept Bess and Margaret out of the political picture as much as I can and I am still trying to keep them from being talked about....<sup>9</sup>

As one scholar has pointed out, Victorian assumptions regarding separate spheres for men and women lay behind Truman's statements.<sup>10</sup> To his genteel women did not belong in the rough-and-tumble men's world of politics with its corrupting influences. They needed to be screened from the fiery spotlight of publicity for fear they would be burned. Still it was expected they would help their menfolks in subordinate, behind-the-scenes capacities.

Mrs. Truman's life had been so clothed in anonymity that even the publicity staff of the Democratic National Committee could find little to say about her when Truman



became the Vice-President nominee in 1944. It turned out exactly four paragraphs of biographical information, one of which referred to the Truman's only child, Margaret, then a student at George Washington University in Washington.<sup>11</sup> Although Truman had been a U.S. Senator for 10 years before receiving the nomination, "Women reporters who earn their livings writing about official wives scarcely knew her by sight," Furman noted.<sup>12</sup>

The daughter of a well-to-do milling family, Mrs. Truman was born on February 13, 1885, in Independence, Missouri, a Southern-oriented town on the fringe of Kansas City. She grew up there and did not work before her marriage in 1919 at the age of 34 to Truman, her high-school sweetheart, then a dashing major home from World War I. Considered a tomboy as a youngster, she attended public school in Independence and ended her formal education at the Barstow School, a young ladies' finishing school in Kansas City. Facts about her were so obscure that the Democratic committee's biographical sketch erroneously identified her as a former schoolteacher, perhaps because she looked the part with her grey hair, glasses, and matronly figure.

When Truman was elected county judge (supervisor) with the backing of Kansas City's Pendergast machine, Bess Truman

offered behind-the-scenes counsel but refused to make speeches. She drily told a Truman cousin, "A woman's place in public is to sit beside her husband, be silent and be sure her hat is on straight."<sup>13</sup> Always a steadfast helpmeet, Mrs. Truman pared expenses in her mother's Victorian home in Independence where the Trumans lived, to help pay back her husband's creditors after his haberdashery business failed, prompting him to enter politics for a livelihood.

While a Senator's wife, Mrs. Truman avoided the Washington social scene, instead working in her husband's office as a \$4,500-a-year secretary, a job which led to charges of nepotism during the Vice-Presidential campaign. A Truman aide reported Mrs. Truman herself came up with the most effective response: She instructed her husband to "say that like most Americans, the Trumans weren't rich and that she had to work to make ends meet."<sup>14</sup> In Washington the Trumans lived unpretentiously in a small apartment shared with Mrs. Truman's mother and Mrs. Truman did her own housework.<sup>15</sup>

Having forfeited any attempt to exercise influence outside the family circle, within it Mrs. Truman appeared to reign supreme. Her husband usually introduced her in public as "The Boss," and consulted her on all decisions, leading Truman's biographers to speculate that the combative

President was (happily) henpecked.<sup>16</sup> The "little woman" whom he shielded from political wars rode herd on his use of profanity in public, administering a tongue-lashing when he used the term S.O.B. in referring to columnist Pearson and when he threatened to beat up a music critic who scorned his daughter's singing.<sup>17</sup> A woman of dignity, she wanted him to behave like a gentleman.

The Trumans' nineteenth-century ideas on women's place failed to satisfy the needs of twentieth-century women journalists who depended on the First Lady for a never-ending supply of news stories. After Mrs. Roosevelt's willingness to provide volumes of copy, Mrs. Truman's refusal to hold press conferences initially outraged reporters. Although they prodded, badgered, cajoled and complained, Mrs. Truman refused to capitulate. She had held one press conference, on July 22, 1948, just after Truman's nomination for Vice-President, answering questions about her husband's preferences in food and clothing, and she had no wish to face inquiring journalists again.<sup>18</sup> When one reporter asked how the press women could get to know her, Mrs. Truman replied they had no reason to because she was "only the President's wife and the mother of his daughter."<sup>19</sup>

"I don't think she saw her role at all other than being

a hostess," commented Jane Lingo, a college friend of Margaret Truman who often saw the Trumans at social functions.<sup>20</sup> "Mrs. Truman was very aware of the amenities; she was a lady of the old school. She was very kind to receive groups of people, all kinds of groups. She told me she wore one glove size larger when she left Washington because of shaking so many hands."<sup>21</sup> At social gatherings she maintained a gracious, but far from effusive, poise, showing her "political savvy" by politely turning aside from those fishing for information, Lingo recalled.<sup>22</sup> Consequently women reporters despaired of getting news items.

But the Truman administration, like other administrations, did not minimize the importance of harmonious press relations. To partially quench the women journalists' thirst for news, Charles Ross, White House press secretary, decided that the corps of reporters covering Mrs. Truman should be briefed regularly on her activities.<sup>23</sup> The task was delegated to Edith B. Helm, an elderly widow who had been White House social secretary both in the Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations and stayed on to help Mrs. Truman. Initially Helm was aided by Reathel Odum, Mrs. Truman's personal secretary, but the responsibility eventually fell to Helm alone.

Both secretaries feared the press and were frightened of embarrassing the administration. According to Helm, "Miss Odum and I felt and looked like condemned criminals."<sup>24</sup>

A newspaperwoman, Doris Fleeson, summed up their demeanor: "While they showed no trace of personal resentment against anybody, their attitude toward this part of their duties clearly was that there must be an easier way to make a living."<sup>25</sup>

Obviously the Truman White House did not yield exciting news. On May 6, 1945, for example, Bess Furman sent a dispatch to the New York Times reporting that the Trumans, then living in Blair House while the White House was undergoing redecoration, planned no changes in White House management.<sup>26</sup> Readers were hardly left breathless to learn Mrs. Truman was "said" by "authentic White House sources" (probably Helm) to have cooked for the U.S.O. (United Service Organization) and worked for the Red Cross before becoming First Lady.<sup>27</sup> Wracking their brains to come up with questions for Helm to present to Mrs. Truman, the women reporters grasped for any tidbit of information. They asked Mrs. Truman to name her favorite color ("blue"), her favorite style of clothing ("tailored"), whether she liked costume jewelry ("very little of it"), whether she counted calories ("yes"), her dress size ("18"), her shoe size ("6") and what type of centerpiece

she used at her Independence home ("floral").<sup>28</sup> Her answers, relayed by Helm, almost never extended to a sentence.

Helm's reluctance to volunteer anything to the press is revealed in a memo to Ross concerning guest lists for White House teas. "For your information only and I shall not give this out to the press unless they ask questions, the teas will include persons who have left cards at the White House and who can be identified," Helm noted, guarding what hardly was a state secret.<sup>29</sup> A society reporter for the Washington Star described the unwilling press secretary this way: "Mrs. Helm belonged to the old school and as she really believed a lady's name is in the paper only when she is born, married, or dies, her horrified reaction to the simplest question was such that you almost stopped asking. With her it was ladylike and proper and you accepted it."<sup>30</sup>

As innocuous as the Helm press briefings were, they still remained part of the White House publicity apparatus. A systematic way of providing accreditation for "each lady correspondent who wishes to attend" was set up by the Press Secretary's office.<sup>31</sup> Although men reporters had sought to attend Mrs. Roosevelt's press conferences but been rebuffed, there is not record of any male reporter desiring admittance to the Helm conferences.<sup>32</sup> For that matter, many of the

women lost interest. Helm kept a neat attendance record, carefully checking off the names of those present. By the last year of the Truman administration, the record showed attendance varied from seven to 15 out of a total of 46 women accredited to attend semi-monthly gatherings.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps Mrs. Truman's most memorable newsmaking activity, aside from participation in a Spanish class, occurred in 1946 when she invited members of her bridge club from Independence to be her guests at the White House. Even Helm geared up for this big event, plaintively asking Mrs. Truman in a memo: "...may I give out the names of the members of your bridge club....also, may I tell about any plans you may have made for sightseeing for them? ...We will certainly be asked questions about your plans for them while they are here." Mrs. Truman penciled in her usual monosyllabic reply - this time a "yes" to both inquiries.<sup>34</sup>

Not surprisingly, the media did not dote on Mrs. Truman. Some society reporters sniped at her ultra-conservative wardrobe, mainly limited to a dark blue suit and accessories accented with a white blouse and white gloves. Complaints of dowdiness infuriated Truman who retorted: "She looks just like a woman ought to look who's been happily married for a quarter of a century."<sup>35</sup>

Although her short haircut, called a "poodle cut," attracted attention, she scarcely struck the fancy of news photographers. Unaccustomed to posing for her picture, she often appeared as a forbidding, grim-faced matriarch standing by her husband's side.<sup>36</sup> Since the Truman administration predated the adulthood of television, Mrs. Truman was spared much video coverage, although once Margaret Truman conducted a stilted interview with her parents on Edward R. Murrow's "Person to Person" show.<sup>37</sup> Mrs. Truman did not speak in public so she was never heard on the radio, unlike Mrs. Roosevelt.

With portrayal of Mrs. Truman left mainly to the press, she received more kindly treatment than she might have been expected to. Instead of presenting her as non-cooperative, reclusive, or even hostile, the press chose to deal with her performance in more positive terms. Furman, who had a reputation for chatty feature stories that never offended the establishment, set the tone with a 1946 article in the New York Times Magazine. Titled the "Independent Lady from Independence," it pictured Mrs. Truman walking with "an independent stride," exhibiting an "independent vigor" in her handshake and "a hearty independent timbre in her voice."<sup>38</sup> It showed her as a Middle Western individualist with considerable personal integrity.



Although the two women had been acquainted before the article appeared (both President and Mrs. Truman had attended Furman's inauguration as president of the Women's National Press Club in 1946), the relationship grew more personal after it was published. In the summer of 1948, when pollsters predicted Truman's defeat, Furman wrote Mrs. Truman: "As to fall, my personal hopes for a Democratic victory I would want you to know, even though as a cold political realist I must admit it does not to me look it is in the cards."<sup>39</sup> In a letter to Margaret Truman, Furman praised her singing and declared she wished "to set the record straight."<sup>40</sup> When the New York Times Magazine requested a rewrite of a Furman article on Margaret Truman, presumably to make it less laudatory, Furman wrote her subject "that I simply can't find it in my nature to do," commenting the piece about "your mother" was "really my style."<sup>41</sup> The relationship, however, never flourished to Furman's complete satisfaction. Mrs. Truman furnished material for Furman to use in her book, White House Profile (1951). Giving her permission to include a vignette about her displeasure over the S.O.B. incident, Mrs. Truman wrote Furman in a handwritten note: "I have no objection to you using that statement. It is true," and she underlined "is."<sup>42</sup>

Yet although Furman invited Mrs. Truman and her daughter repeatedly to her home, there is no record they went.<sup>43</sup> And Mrs. Truman turned down Furman's fervent plea to be allowed to ghostwrite an article on her relief at no longer being First Lady - an article for which Cosmopolitan offered to pay each of the women \$1,000.<sup>44</sup> Mrs. Truman simply did not make intimates of newspaper reporters, as an article in Collier's pointed out. It noted the Trumans had broken off with a cousin, Jeanne Rogers, a Washington Star reporter who gossiped about Margaret Truman's dates and nightclubbing in Look magazine.<sup>45</sup> Even when Mrs. Truman took women reporters on a tour of the newly refurbished White House in 1952, she refused to be quoted and allowed them to write only about furniture and color schemes.<sup>46</sup>

The news magazines accented Mrs. Truman's positive qualities, rather than stressing the negative. In 1947 both Time and Newsweek carried articles on her answers, through the conduit of Helm and Odum, to questions sent by what Time called "Washington newshens....in the hope of getting a story on her reactions to being a President's wife."<sup>47</sup> Many of the answers were, as customary, monosyllabic. "Does she think there will ever be a woman President of the United States?" ("No.") "Would she want to be President?" ("No.")

"If you had a son would you try to bring him up to be President?" ("No.") "What is her reaction to musical criticism of Margaret's singing?" ("No comment.") "What qualities, innate or acquired, does she think would be the greatest asset of the wife of a President?" ("Good health and a well-developed sense of humor.")<sup>48</sup> Time termed her answers "terse, tart and revealing," although Newsweek ran the questions and answers verbatim under a headline "no comment."<sup>49</sup> During the campaign of 1948, Newsweek warmed up more to Mrs. Truman, who, along with her daughter, accompanied Truman on his campaign train and waved to the crowds. Newsweek referred to Mrs. Truman as "a mother" to those on the train with "natural kindness...which won her respect and affection."<sup>50</sup> It characterized both her and Margaret Truman as "an invaluable asset" in Truman's unexpectedly successful bid for re-election.<sup>51</sup>

Certainly some editors found Mrs. Truman a welcome relief from Mrs. Roosevelt. William D. Hassett, one of Truman's press secretaries, reported Truman "deeply touched" to see an editorial in the Lubbock (Texas) Evening Journal of March 29, 1951.<sup>52</sup> The editorial read: "Mrs. Truman has been a great tonic for that very large segment of the population who got good and tired of her predecessor climbing flagpoles, scrambling down into zinc mines, and turning a dollar wherever she could

be cashing in on her White House connections."<sup>53</sup>

In summary, although Mrs. Truman became First Lady before the day of professional political image-making, her performance as First Lady was not politically ineffective. Apparently without conscious design, her image was acceptable to the majority of Americans, who saw nothing wrong with a small-town matron being devoted to her husband and refusing to express her own ideas. If Harry Truman appeared to be an average American man accidentally placed in high office, Mrs. Truman seemed a typical American spouse. That the media portrayed her rather favorably simply serves to mark how limited society's expectations were for women in the Truman era. Still there was a carry-over from the days of the independent Mrs. Roosevelt, who had made the position of First Lady part of the news-making apparatus of the nation. Unlike the First Ladies before Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Truman was not permitted to ignore the press completely. Her press briefings, even though Helm was used as a buffer between her and the reporters, showed that the role of the First Lady was becoming an increasingly institutionalized part of the American political communications system.<sup>54</sup>

## Notes

1. Alice C. Desmond, Martha Washington: Our First Lady (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1951), p. 223. See also Mary W. Ashworth, "Martha D. Washington," Notable American Women, 3, 549-550, and "The World of Nancy Reagan," Newsweek, Dec. 21, 1981, pgs. 22-27.

2. Oral history interview with Frances Perkins, Columbia University Oral History Project, as quoted in Gerry Van der Heuvel, "Remembering Bess," Washington Post, Oct. 19, 1982, p. D1.

3. Allan J. Mayer, "America's First Ladies," Newsweek, Nov. 5, 1979, p. 49.

4. Van der Heuvel, "Remembering Bess," p. D1.

5. Eleanor Roosevelt, manuscript of article for "Newspaperman," Eleanor Roosevelt papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y., Box 3051. See also Joseph P. Lash, Eleanor and Franklin (New York: Signet, 1973), p. 480.

6. Perkins oral history interview, as quoted by Van der Heuvel, "Remembering Bess," p. D11.

7. Perkins oral history interview, as quoted by Van der Heuvel, "Remembering Bess," p. D11.

8. Eleanor Roosevelt to Lorena Hickok, May 7, 1936, Box 2, Lorena Hickok papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. See also Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Sept. 23, 1936, Box 3170, Eleanor Roosevelt papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

9. Harry S. Truman to Mary Jane Truman, Jan. 16, 1946, as quoted in Margaret Truman, Harry S. Truman (New York: Morrow, 1973), p. 304.

10. Barbara Kellerman, All the President's Kin (New York: The Free Press, 1981) p. 7.

11. Bess Furman, "Bess Truman, Silent Partner," unpublished manuscript, Box 54, Bess Furman papers, Library of Congress, p. 2.

12. Furman, "Bess Truman, Silent Partner," p. 2.
13. As quoted by Ethel Noland in Jhan Robbins, Bess & Harry: An American Love Story (New York: Putnam's, 1980), p. 38.
14. As quoted by Hugh Fulton, chief advisor during Truman's Vice-Presidential campaign, in Robbins, Bess & Harry: An American Love Story, p. 70.
15. Furman, "Bess Truman, Silent Partner," p. 1.
16. Bert Cochran, Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency (New York: 1973), p. 226. See also Albin Krebs, "Bess Truman Is Dead at 97; Was President's 'Full Partner'," New York Times, Oct. 22, 1982, p. B8.
17. Cochran, Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency, pgs. 225-26.
18. Robbins, Bess & Harry: An American Love Story, p. 68.
19. As quoted in Van der Heuvel, "Remembering Bess," p. D11.
20. Interview with Jane Lingo conducted by the author, Nov. 22, 1982, Washington, D.C.
21. Lingo interview, Nov. 22, 1982.
22. Lingo interview, Nov. 22, 1982.
23. Edith B. Helm, The Captains and the Kings (New York: Putnam's, 1954), p. 256. See also list of press women eligible to attend press briefings, Box 32, Edith B. Helm papers, Library of Congress.
24. Helm, The Captains and the Kings, p. 257.
25. As quoted in Helm, The Captains and the Kings, p. 257.
26. Carbon copy of story slugged "First Lady," May 6, 1945, Box 54, Furman papers. See also "Trumans to Keep White House Aides," New York Times, May 7, 1945, p. 30.

27. Carbon copy of story slugged "First Lady," May 6, 1945, Box 54, Furman papers.

28. Summary of questions answered by Mrs. Truman, n.d., Box 32, Helm papers.

29. Memorandum for Ross, Oct. 2, 1945, Box 32, Helm papers.

30. Winzola McLendon & Scottie Smith, Don't Quote Me; Washington Newswomen & the Power Society (New York: Dutton, 1970), p. 68.

31. Memo on press meeting, Dec. 6, 1945, Box 32, Helm papers.

32. For comparison with Mrs. Roosevelt's conferences, see Betty H. Winfield, "Mrs. Roosevelt's Press Conference Association: The First Lady Shines a Light," Journalism History 8 (Summer 1981) 54-55, 63.

33. Attendance roll for press briefings, 1952-53, Box 32, Helm papers.

34. Memo to Mrs. Truman, April 2, 1946, Helm papers.

35. As quoted in Robbins, Bess & Harry: An American Love Story, p. 99.

36. Lingo interview, Nov. 22, 1982.

37. Cochran, Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency, p. 227.

38. Bess Furman, "Independent Lady from Independence," New York Times Magazine, June 9, 1946, p. 20.

39. Bess Furman (Armstrong) to Mrs. Truman, June 3, 1948, Box 34, Furman papers.

40. Bess Furman (Armstrong) to Margaret Truman, Aug. 7, no year, Box 34, Furman papers.

41. Bess Furman (Armstrong) to Margaret Truman, Jan. 31, 1949, Box 34, Furman papers.

42. Bess Truman to Furman, n.d., Box 34, Furman papers.
43. Bess Furman (Armstrong) to Bess Truman, May 8, 1951, and Oct. 2, 1951, Box 34, Furman papers.
44. Bess Furman (Armstrong) to Bess Truman, April 8, 1952, Box 34, Furman papers.
45. Helen W. Erskine, "The Riddle of Mrs. Truman," Collier's, Feb. 9, 1952, p. 61. See also Jeanne Rogers, "My Cousin - Margaret Truman," Look, Oct. 25, 1949, pgs. 40-44.
46. Carbon copy of story slugged "First Lady," May 29, 1952, Box 54, Furman papers.
47. "Mrs. T., by Mrs. T.," Time, Nov. 10, 1947, p. 24. See also "Behind Mrs. Truman's Social Curtain: No Comment," Newsweek, Nov. 10, 1947, p. 16.
48. "Mrs. T., by Mrs. T.," Time, Nov., 10, 1947, p. 24.
49. "Mrs. T., by Mrs. T.," Time, Nov. 10, 1947, p. 24, and "Behind Mrs. Truman's Social Curtain: No Comment," Newsweek, Nov., 20, 1947, p. 16.
50. "Part of His Appeal," Newsweek, Nov. 8, 1948, p. 13.
51. "Part of His Appeal," Newsweek, Nov. 8, 1948, p. 13.
52. William D. Hasset to Mrs. Charles R. Taylor, April 5, 1951, Box 2, President's Personal File, Truman Library, Independence, Mo.
53. Newspaper clipping enclosed in letter to Mrs. Taylor, Box 2, President's Personal File.
54. See Lewis L. Gould, "Media Aspects of Coverage of First Ladies," paper delivered at the American Journalism Historians Association meeting in Dallas, Texas, Oct. 2, 1982.