The Fight for Madam President

A Case Study of the Presidential Campaigns of Senator Margaret Chase Smith and
Representative Shirley Chisholm

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Introduction

On July 28, 2016, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton took the stage at the Democratic National Convention and accepted the party’s nomination for president. Speaking to a jubilant crowd in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Clinton laid out her party’s platform for the presidential race, addressing the important issues of climate change, raising the minimum wage, and reforming immigration and campaign finance laws.1 Many in the United States cited the nomination as the final step towards breaking the glass ceiling, the closest women had ever been to achieving the highest elected office in the country. In many ways this is true: never before had a woman received as many votes in the general election or been so close to the presidency. Although she did not win the election, Clinton is undoubtedly the woman who was closest to winning.

Many in this election were incorrect, however, in stating that Clinton was the first woman to be nominated for president by a major party. Clinton herself made the error on June 8, 2016, almost two months before the Democratic Convention, claiming her campaign as “the first time in our nation’s history that a woman will be a major party’s nominee”.2 In regards to the general election, this is true. Clinton’s 2016 campaign was the first time a woman was a major party’s nominee during the general election. She was not, however, the first woman to be placed in nomination for the presidency by a major party, nor was she the first woman to campaign for the presidency.

Female presidential campaigns are not new to American politics, although the relative

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1 Sullivan and Stanley-Becker, “Hillary Clinton Accepts Democratic Presidential Nomination."

2 Associated Press, “Clinton Speaks About Nomination.”
success of Hillary Clinton’s 2016 campaign is relatively new in the history female political endeavors. Victoria Woodhull became the first woman to run for president in 1872, running under the Equal Rights Party ticket, a coalition of “socialists, feminists, spiritualists, and communists”. Running decades before receiving the right to vote, Woodhull received national attention, with “nearly 100 stories reporting her candidacy in just the first month after... her announcement”. Technically ineligible to run for office due to her age, Victoria’s attempted campaign introduced the idea of a female Commander in Chief, however ludicrous the idea was perceived at the time.

A number of women followed in Woodhull’s footsteps and conducted their own presidential campaigns, nearly all on minority or third-party platforms. Many were under-qualified and quickly deemed ineligible candidates. Yet even when a respected, competent and qualified woman threw her name in the running for the presidency, she faced many of the same criticisms, from both media and society at large. This occurred even when running under the banner of a major party, as seen in the presidential campaigns of Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, the first woman to be nominated by a major party for the Republican Party, and Representative Shirley Chisholm of New York, both the first woman nominated by the Democratic Party for the presidency and the first African American woman to run for the presidency. Both of these women were exceedingly qualified, having over 40 years of combined government experience between them on a range of issues including armed forces, education, and housing. Yet when conducting their campaigns, both faced considerable obstacles and

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³ Braden, “Ms. President?”

⁴ Ibid.
opposition, in part because of their gender. This paper will attempt to explore the ways in which the presidential campaigns of Senator Margaret Chase Smith and Representative Shirley Chisholm differed and how media portrayal, and the candidates’ personal portrayal, affected the overall outcomes of their campaigns.
Case Study: Margaret Chase Smith

Margaret Chase began her career in politics in the 1920s while still in her hometown of Skowhegan, Maine. The oldest of six children, Margaret took a variety of jobs while still in high school, eventually signing on to work at the local newspaper, the Independent-Reporter. She was heavily involved in a number of women’s clubs, most notably Sorosis and the Maine Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs (BPW), of which she became head in 1925. She also became increasingly involved in Maine state politics. She began with Skowhegan’s local Republican Committee, serving as group secretary before continuing with the county’s Republican Committee. While working for the Cummings Mill, she was encouraged to become involved in greater state politics; her boss Willard Cummings, who “sought to stack the state Republican Committee with his associates” pushed Margaret to run for a seat on the State Committee, where she won her first election in 1930.

From there, she quickly grew in state politics, particularly after her marriage to Clyde Smith in 1930. Clyde Smith had served two terms in the Maine legislature and ran unsuccessfully for Governor, but with the help of his wife won election from Maine’s 2nd Congressional District to the House of Representatives in 1936. Margaret followed her husband to Washington, with the “insistence of his constituents...that Margaret be appointed to his

5 Fitzpatrick, The Highest Glass Ceiling: Women’s Quest for the American Presidency, 73.
6 Ibid., 74.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
As Clyde’s office manager and secretary, she gained valuable experience and connections in DC which would prove invaluable to her own political successes in later years. In Washington “she handled the correspondence, which was the backbone of the office operation”. When the time came for Clyde’s reelection in 1938, “they campaigned as a team. Clyde was the candidate, Margaret the manager”. Margaret became more directly involved in Clyde’s reelection campaign, “increasingly becoming his link to his constituents”. She spoke on her husband’s behalf on several occasions, and it was during these public appearances that Margaret began cultivating her role as a public figure and separating herself as an independent candidate, with somewhat differing views from those of her husband. The most notable of these campaign appearances occurred in 1938 at the Kennebec Women’s Republican Club, where Margaret spoke on the necessity for military preparedness and development of the Navy, a concern for Maine’s shipyard in Kittery and the Bath Iron Works ship-building facility. Although Clyde Smith was “an isolationist who opposed increased defense spending”13, Margaret Chase Smith emphasized the need for military investment as a means for ensuring peace during a time of increasing concern in Europe. This position would follow Smith throughout her career in both the House and the Senate, earning her great admiration for her dedication to the country’s armed forces.

Due in large part to his wife’s campaigning efforts, Clyde Smith won reelection in 1938,

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9 Smith, Declaration of Conscience, 65.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.


13 Ibid.
but fell ill a number of times during his second term in office. Having previously suffered from a “cardiac event” in 1932\footnote{Fitzpatrick, The Highest Glass Ceiling: Women’s Quest for the American Presidency.} and again in the late 1930s, Margaret “by necessity took over more of her husband’s duties”.\footnote{Ibid., 77.} Shortly before his death in April 1940, Clyde Smith encouraged the people of Maine to support “the candidate of my choice, my wife and my partner in public life, Margaret Chase Smith”\footnote{Ibid., 78.} in the special election which would determine who would carry out the remainder of Clyde’s term. Margaret’s nomination papers had been filed prior to her husband’s passing. In accordance with the tradition of the widow’s mandate, which favored appointing the congressmen’s widows to the remainder of their term, she faced only token opposition and was quickly elected to her husband’s seat.

Smith had only six months in office before the 1940 congressional election, and she faced much more media criticism about her capability as a woman in Congress than during her special election. Particularly with conflict in Europe on the rise, many doubted women’s capabilities “to serve well in a time of international crisis”.\footnote{Ibid., 82.} Even at this early point in her career, however, Smith was lauded as a “versatile woman…with a long and popular business career” by the Christian Science Monitor, which claimed her to be “well established in her own right as a candidate for public office”.\footnote{Ibid., 81.} Her experience in her husband’s office had shown her firsthand the operations of government, and she “inherited Clyde’s political power base which she merged with her own network of politically active women”, solidifying her connections in both Maine
and DC and ensuring her win. Building on her Navy Day speech given during her husband’s 1938 reelection campaign, Smith emphasized rearmament and war mobilization as key campaign points. She won her 1940 House seat with ease, receiving a much larger plurality than that earned by her husband during his campaigns and joining 7 other women in the House for the 77th Congress.

During her tenure in the House, Congresswoman Smith remained dedicated to her constituents, accepting no campaign contributions and responding to each letter on the day it was received. She returned to Maine frequently to hear their concerns, but was determined not to miss a single roll call or vote in order to ensure the best representation for her district. Assigned to the Naval Affairs Committee (which would later become the Armed Services Committee) in 1943, she was a vocal supporter of the US involvement in World War II, voting to repeal the 1939 Neutrality Act in November 1941. One of her many votes considered unpopular by her GOP colleagues, Margaret Chase Smith frequently voted against Republican bills or initiatives, with the New York Times calling her “a party all by herself”. This bipartisan record may have earned some displeasure from fellow Republicans but only boosted her support among Mainers, who re-elected her with glowing success for three additional terms in the House before Smith decided to run for Senate in 1948.

Margaret Chase Smith’s 1948 Senate race garnered national media attention and thrust the would-be Senator into the spotlight. In a campaign strategy that she would repeat throughout her Senate career and later during her bid for the presidency, Smith lauded her record in the

19 Ibid., 89.
20 Ibid., 94.
House as proof of her capabilities and promise for the Senate, focusing on military strength and the necessity for support of Maine jobs. Traveling door to door to meet personally with potential voters, Smith impressed Mainers with her “ease and familiarity with fellow citizens”. She won the general election handily, despite national headlines claiming the Senate to be “no place for a woman” and local Maine papers trying to smear Smith’s reputation. Due to the success which her campaign received and the national attention it garnered, Smith was already being discussed as a powerhouse in Republican politics, with headlines in the Boston Globe as early as 1948 espousing “Say Margaret Smith Could Be President”.

If Senator Smith’s election campaign gained her attention as a potential presidential candidate, her record in the Senate helped even more so. She continued to advocate for a strong military and foreign policy stance, particularly against the Soviet Union, and earned an international reputation as an able politician during her 1954 and 1955 world tours. Khrushchev even went so far as to call her “an Amazon warmonger hiding behind a rose”, a “cannibalistic little lady” and a “devil in the form of a woman” for her military stance against the Soviet Union. She was considered as a Vice Presidential running-mate for President Eisenhower in 1952, with The Coronet reporting in November 1951 that she is “eminently fitted for the high office of Vice-President” and “pondering the 1952 election, they found one name sticking out almost unanimously for the coveted nomination for Vice-President”. Although she was

21 Ibid., 97.
22 Ibid., 99.
23 Margaret Chase Smith, Face the Nation.
24 Margaret Chase Smith, Face the Nation.
25 Ann Fields, “Will Margaret Chase Smith Ever Be President?”
ultimately dropped from the 1952 ticket in favor of Richard Nixon, the consideration she received demonstrates the powerful position she possessed in national politics.

Perhaps the most defining moment of Senator Smith’s political career, and certainly that of her time in the Senate, was Smith’s Declaration of Conscience speech against Senator Joseph McCarthy on June 1, 1950. Senator McCarthy accused the State Department of employing communists, who were actively trying to ensure the United States lost the Cold War to the Soviet Union, and claimed to have a list of known communists and evidence supporting these claims. Upon receiving no proof from Senator McCarthy regarding these accusations, Margaret Chase Smith decided to challenge McCarthy on the floor of the Senate, delivering her famous Declaration of Conscience speech in which she criticized the Senate, and in particular Senator McCarthy, for causing the Senate to be “debased to the level of a forum of hate and character assassination”.

As the only senator to challenge McCarthy for his persecution of suspected communists, Senator Smith received both praise and criticism, with many congratulating her for her courage to speak before the Senate and others claiming her to be anti-American and a communist herself. Her popularity did not waiver in Maine however, and a 1954 Gallup Poll listed her as the fourth most admired woman in the world. Bernard Baruch claimed that, had a man delivered Smith’s Declaration of Conscience speech, “he would be the next President of the United States”.

With such a successful national political career, it comes as no surprise that Senator Smith would consider running for the Presidency. Nationally, opinions about a woman

26 Smith, Declaration of Conscience.

Commander in Chief had changed dramatically since Smith began her political career, with only 31% of Americans saying they would support a female presidential candidate in 1937 and 52% saying they would support a female presidential candidate by 1952.\textsuperscript{28} Given the more open national attitude to a female candidate and Margaret Chase Smith’s presence nationally as well as internationally, “there was nowhere to go but the presidency”, the Senator claimed.\textsuperscript{29}

Speculation of her candidacy began in late 1963, with President Kennedy describing her as “very formidable, if that is the appropriate word to use about a very fine lady,” when asked about the potential of a Smith presidential candidacy. “She is very formidable as a political figure…I would think if I were a Republican candidate, I would not look forward to campaigning against Margaret Chase Smith in New Hampshire, or as a possible candidate for President”.\textsuperscript{30} Prior to President Kennedy’s assassination, Margaret Chase Smith had spoken to the Women’s National Press Club and declared she would release her decision whether or not to run on December 5, 1963, but this address was pushed back to January 27, 1964 out of respect for the late President. The \textit{San Diego Union} wrote that “If Mrs. Smith announces she will enter the New Hampshire primary in March, her presence would have to be taken seriously by Rockefeller, Goldwater or any other male candidate”.\textsuperscript{31} Until the date of Senator Smith’s speech, it was unknown whether she would run or not, despite wide media speculation that she would indeed be campaigning. Indeed, it was unknown until the moment she took the stage if she would run, arriving before the Women’s National Press Club with two possible endings to her speech either

\textsuperscript{28} Braden, “Ms. President?”

\textsuperscript{29} Fitzpatrick, \textit{The Highest Glass Ceiling: Women’s Quest for the American Presidency}, 119.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 66.

\textsuperscript{31} Smith, \textit{Declaration of Conscience}, 362.
confirming her candidacy or rejecting the rumor.

Margaret Chase Smith began her announcement by addressing the concern that the country had become more divided, with increased hatred and bigotry than it had previously. Lauing President Kennedy's election as proof that this was false, and the country was indeed making progress, she then explained the “steady flow of mail” she had been receiving during the past year urging her to run for President of the United States. “At first my reaction was that of being pleasantly flattered with such expression of confidence in me...and so I answered the letters by saying that I was pleased and flattered but that I was realistic enough not to take the suggestion seriously”.

Rather than listing her reasons to then run for president, Senator Smith listed a number of reasons for which she should not run, including “that a woman would not have the physical stamina, that I obviously do not have the financial resources or the political organization to wage the campaign that others have, and that the race would necessitate absence from Washington which would cause her to break her record of attending 1,590 Senate roll calls”.

Nevertheless, Senator Smith stated that it was precisely these reasons for which she shouldn’t run that she had decided to “throw her bonnet in the ring” and declare her candidacy in the New Hampshire and Illinois primaries, a test of “how much support will be given to a candidate without campaign funds,...without a professional party organization,...who will not purchase political time on television or radio,... and who will campaign on a record rather than on promises”.

Almost immediately newspapers around the country began covering Smith’s campaign,

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32 Speech Announcing Presidential Candidacy.

33 Isabelle Shelton, “Mrs. Smith Enters the Race: Senator Compares Pros and Cons - And Jumps In.”

34 Margaret Chase Smith, Speech Announcing Presidential Candidacy.
with many claiming she had the support of the American people and others claiming the country was not ready for a female president. In a poll conducted by the St. Petersburg Times on February 2, 1964, “only one person in three would vote for a woman for president, even if she were well qualified for the job and was nominated by their own party.” Women around the country claimed it was about time for a female candidate, with such comments as “I find her totally impressive as a woman in politics,” “women hold the purse strings of the nation. A woman president might even balance the budget,” and “I don’t think she has a chance, but it’s wonderful that she’s trying.” Several newspapers claimed women were divided in their opinion of Senator Smith’s capabilities to be president, with some echoing comments heard during Smith’s Senate race that “I wouldn’t respect a woman’s opinion in world affairs as much as a man’s,” and “it’s a man’s job. It’s too much for a woman.” Claims of men’s views were equally divided, although with much more negative attention than that given by female voters. Many were concerned about her abilities to be Commander in Chief and run the military, and several media outlets reported men saying that, although she was a qualified Senator, “the


36 “A Woman As U.S. President? ‘No’, Says Majority.”

37 AP, “Women Not Unanimous in Wanting A Woman to Be U.S. President.”

38 Norma T. Vivian and Freddie Boyle, “Women at Odds on Idea Of Female President.”


40 Ibid.

41 Norma T. Vivian and Freddie Boyle, “Women at Odds on Idea Of Female President.”
country’s not ready psychologically to accept a woman president”\textsuperscript{42}, and “they make wonderful wives, but I don’t think the country is ready to have one as a president”\textsuperscript{43}.

For her part, Senator Smith conducted her campaign much in the same way as her previous Congressional campaigns in Maine. Speaking to “Face the Nation” on February 2, one week after announcing her candidacy, Smith declared, “I shall not alter my plans on the money because it would be so out of character for me. [In] my Maine campaigns...I have not spent money...The offers of money have been very, very fine, and I am deeply grateful, but I want to go into the primary in New Hampshire in character”.\textsuperscript{44} Indeed, during her House and Senate campaigns in Maine, Smith had only accepted campaign contributions once for her first Senate bid in 1948, costing her roughly $10,000. Throughout the entirety of her presidential campaign, Margaret Chase Smith’s overall expenditures “I would estimate, including the convention expense...would be about $7,000”\textsuperscript{45}. When receiving campaign contributions from constituents and supporters, Smith made a note of how much was received, then wrote each donor a letter detailing why she could not accept the contribution and sent the money back.\textsuperscript{46} She prided herself on running “the most economical presidential campaign in history”\textsuperscript{47}, to prove, as she stated in her campaign announcement, that one did not have to be a millionaire to run a successful presidential campaign. Organization of the campaign was much the same. While in

\textsuperscript{42} Elizabeth Ford, “He’s Not Ready To Say ‘Ma’am’ to President.”

\textsuperscript{43} AP, “Male Reaction To Woman President Is Sharply Split.”

\textsuperscript{44} Margaret Chase Smith, Face the Nation.

\textsuperscript{45} Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, Report to the People.

\textsuperscript{46} Margaret Chase Smith, “Mrs. Maud Page, $10 Contribution Return.”

\textsuperscript{47} Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, Report to the People.
Maine, Margaret Chase Smith coordinated her reelection efforts simply by traveling door to
door, meeting personally with constituents across the state in a yearly tour to meet with Mainers
and hear their concerns. She had no formal campaign headquarters or organization, instead
relying entirely on unpaid volunteers to spread word of her candidacy by word of mouth or face
to face meetings. This strategy was quickly moved to the national level in her fight for the
presidency.

Senator Smith was also adamant that her campaign not to take time away from her
Senatorial. Determined not to miss any votes in the Senate, Margaret Chase Smith spent only 10
days in New Hampshire and two weekend trips to Illinois, the two primaries in which she was
entered and actively campaigned. Although Smith made the most of the time she spent
campaigning, taking two consecutive weekends to travel the length of New Hampshire and
making several appearances at campaign events in Illinois, she acknowledged the struggle such a
confining schedule posed. In an interview with “From the People’s” Harry Clarkson, Smith
remarked “it doesn’t give me the time that I would like to be outside because I follow the policy
of staying at the Capitol when the Senate is in active session, and voting”.48

Beyond the structure of Margaret Chase Smith’s campaign which hindered itself, media
attention and the representation she received presented a significant challenge. In comparison
with other candidates, Smith’s age was mentioned in nearly every article referring to the election.
Described by the Associated Press as the “snow haired” lady Senator and by the New York Times
as “a trim white-haired lady of 65”49, her age was increasingly utilized to demonstrate her

48 Margaret Chase Smith, From the People.
inability to handle the strenuous demands the presidency would pose. Several reporters expressed concerns over Smith’s abilities to handle the presidency emotionally by stating, “the female of the species, undergoes physical changes and emotional distress of varying severity and duration which have an effect on judgment. Her cause is hopeless, and makes a travesty of the women’s right’s cause.” She was frequently referred to as Mrs. Smith rather than Senator Smith, and *Time* began calling her ‘Maggie’ during her run, while none of her male opponents received such nicknames from the press. The question of who would serve as the host or “first gentleman” to the widowed Senator was also a frequent news piece, to which she responded “Well I haven’t thought about that. I have been in Congress for 23 years without one. I presume I could get along in the White House without a husband, if that is what you mean”.

Perhaps the most detrimental of the press coverage was the framing of Senator Smith’s campaign as merely symbolic, an attempt to “break the barrier against women being seriously considered for the Presidency” as she declared in the announcement of her candidacy. She was consistently asked if she was a serious candidate, with numerous interviewers and reporters questioning if she was running in order to secure the vice-presidential nomination rather than as an actual presidential contender. She repeated on each occasion that she was “a candidate for the Presidency, and when you’re a candidate for an office you don’t settle for second place”. The focus on the vice presidency and the continued emphasis by the media of Margaret Chase

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51 Margaret Chase Smith, *Issues and Answers*.

52 Jay Nelson Tuck, “Vice President Margaret Chase Smith...Can It Happen in ’64?”; David L. Broder, “Mrs. Smith’s Goal Uncertain”; “Sen. Smith Insists She’s Seeking Only Presidency.”

53 Margaret Chase Smith, *Opinion in the Capitol*.
Smith as a less than serious candidate did perhaps more damage to her campaign than the sparse nature of campaign efforts themselves.

Conducting a campaign based only on one’s record and on minimal resources and organization is admirable. Smith rarely mentioned the names of her opponents, stating “I think it is not necessary to carry on a smear campaign or an attack campaign”54, and that “I am not running against anyone. I am running on my own record and I am going to run a positive campaign and not a negative one”55. As a moderate candidate, Smith regarded herself as a reasonable third choice between conservative Barry Goldwater and the more liberal Republican Nelson Rockefeller. Her opponents had vast resources at their disposal however, and were able to conduct a much more thorough and traditional campaign through ad-buys, media spots in radio and television, and organized campaign appearances throughout the country. While in New Hampshire, Smith “met with no organized groups, but visited banks, barbershops, and newspaper offices, introducing herself and answering questions concerning political matters when asked”56. She repeatedly emphasized her 23 years of experience in Congress, stating “I think my record of service and accomplishment and of years is greater than any of the other announced candidates and most of the talked of unannounced candidates. I think I have a good record, I am very proud of my record. I can see no reason why, as a woman, I should not put that record to good use as well as any man could”57.

Although she received a warm welcome from voters in New Hampshire, due to the very

54 Margaret Chase Smith, Face the Nation.
55 Ibid.
57 Margaret Chase Smith, Face the Nation.
nature of her campaign, Smith was unable to effectively campaign in a way which would have enabled her to win the primary. As she stated during an interview with ABC’s Issues and Answers, “I think it is very difficult to say [how she’s doing in New Hampshire]. People are not talking in New Hampshire and I think there are so many uncommitted voters, and you get the feeling that they are very pleasant, they are very interested, and I couldn’t have had a warmer hospitality in the few days I have been up there, but that doesn’t always transform into votes”

This issue repeated itself across the country; although Margaret conducted a more organized and traditional campaign for the Illinois Primary, appearing on a local TV program and “before small groups with a prepared statement...in which she reiterated her reasons for entering the campaign”, she still lacked the organizational structure and extensive campaign effort which enabled Barry Goldwater to carry the state. Given her limited resources she had a respectable turnout, winning 2,120 votes to come in fifth in New Hampshire and eight times as many votes to come in second in Illinois. Unfortunately, this was still not enough to gain her delegates for the convention beyond those pledged to her by her home state. Remarkably, she was able win 6,039 votes in the Oregon primary, for which she did not campaign, but was unable to enter other primaries and therefore could not earn additional delegates and momentum going into the Convention.

At the 1964 Republican National Convention, Margaret Chase Smith continued to campaign, refusing to give up her delegates to the recognized nominee Barry Goldwater in order to have a unified convention, stating afterwards that “I never had any intention of giving up until

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58 Margaret Chase Smith, Issues and Answers.

the final vote was cast. When I announced my candidacy I was in to stay all the way.” 60 At San Francisco’s Cow Palace on July 15, 1964, her name was officially placed in nomination for the presidency by Vermont Senator George Aiken, who described her as a candidate with “integrity… wide experience in government…courage…and common sense. She wants to get things done that ought to be done-and she wants them done right”. 61 Senator Smith received 27 votes: two from Alaska, 14 from Maine, one from Massachusetts, three from North Dakota, one from Ohio, five from Vermont, and one from Washington. 62 Although many in the country acknowledged that “this distinguished woman never really had a chance to be her party’s standard bearer;” the Mirror reported that it was “glad she campaigned for the nation’s highest office. It gave millions of Americans a televised glimpse of one of this country’s great public servants”. 63

Following the convention, Smith gave her support to Senator Barry Goldwater, citing her pledge at the convention to support “whomever the convention chose, and I have no intention of going back on that pledge merely because I didn’t win or because I disagree with Senator Goldwater on many issues.” 64 Despite losing the nomination and the presidency, Smith did not see her campaign as a loss, instead stating, “I think I made a real gain for women for the future, even though I didn’t win personally. There are other things than votes to win one of these conventions. I’d like to have gotten more delegates, to be certain, but I was very, very satisfied

60 Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, Report to the People.
61 Senator George D. Aiken, “Presidential Nomination of Senator Margaret Chase Smith.”
62 Smith, Declaration of Conscience, 389.
63 Ibid., 390.
64 Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, Report to the People.
with my effort.\textsuperscript{65} She recognized the flaws in her campaign, stating that “If I were to run again, I would organize every state and go for the delegates at least two years in advance”\textsuperscript{66}, but was proud of the strides she made for women in politics and the effort given across the country towards her election.

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{66} Gutgold, \textit{Paving The Way for Madam President}, 39.
Case Study: Shirley Chisholm

Shirley Anita St. Hill began her political career while in school at Brooklyn College in New York City. The oldest of four girls born to immigrants from Barbados, Shirley spent half of her childhood living with her grandmother in Barbados while her parents worked multiple jobs to support their family. Returning to Brooklyn in 1934 and moving to the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood in 1936, Shirley experienced firsthand the racism and discrimination against African Americans and immigrants in the United States, although she witnessed “little racial consciousness or leadership among the black migrants from the American south”. Encouraged by her parents, who were “deeply committed to their children’s education”, Shirley attended Brooklyn College in the city, the place she says “changed my life”. Initially involved on campus with the creation of a black women students’ society, she was encouraged to develop politically by her professor Louis Warsoff, an expert on legal and constitutional history. She recognized early on that, due to both her race and her gender, such political involvement would be nearly impossible, often calling them her two “handicaps”, of which “being female put many more obstacles in my path than being black”.

Following her graduation in 1946 with a teaching degree and fluency in Spanish, Shirley began teaching at local child-care centers, earning her Master’s degree from Columbia Teachers College in 1951 and rising to administration positions within Manhattan’s child-care centers. She

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67 Fitzpatrick, The Highest Glass Ceiling: Women’s Quest for the American Presidency, 158.
68 Ibid., 159.
69 Ibid., 160.
70 Ibid., 162.
also began attending Democratic Club meetings in her district, the 17th Assembly District, which was controlled by Irish American political boss Stephen Carney and staffed with nearly all-white members. Shirley criticized the 17th A.D. for its failure to help the people of Bedford-Stuyvesant, becoming known as a “pot stirrer who was encouraging rebellion among female members”.

Her involvement in the community only increased after her marriage to Conrad Chisholm in 1949. She belonged to the local chapter of the NAACP and the Brooklyn chapters of two groups of African American women, the Key Women of America and the National Association of College Women. She became acquainted with Wes ‘Mac’ Holder, a “black mover and shaker in the borough… determined to elect black candidates to represent black communities”, with whom she helped successfully elect lawyer Lewis Flagg Jr. as Brooklyn’s first African American judge to office and found the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League, or BSPL. Although short lived, the organization made Chisholm a recognized face among black political leaders in New York City, and it was during this time that she vowed “to be someone who moved up politically in this country”. In 1960 she cofounded the Unity Democratic Club, which was “instrumental in mobilizing African American and Hispanic voters” and provided a direct challenge to the white-controlled 17th Assembly District Democratic Club.

Through the Unity Democratic Club, Chisholm mounted a campaign for the Bedford-

71 Ibid., 169.
72 Ibid., 173.
73 Ibid., 167.
75 Fitzpatrick, The Highest Glass Ceiling: Women’s Quest for the American Presidency, 175.
76 Gutgold, Paving The Way for Madam President, 57.
Stuyvesant assembly seat in 1964, the same year Margaret Chase Smith ran for the presidency. Although she received considerable opposition from within the black community and the Unity Democratic Club itself for running as a woman and not promoting the “male black youth...who the UDC felt were more deserving of the assembly seat”77, Chisholm demanded support. She felt she had earned the right to the seat and “was the best-qualified nominee, and I was not going to be denied because of my sex”.78 Thanks to her expansive network of African American women activists from her involvement in local groups and the borough’s growing Puerto Rican population, Chisholm won her assembly seat with “more than 70 percent of the primary vote...and an even larger margin – 90 percent – in the general election”.79

During her four years in the New York State Assembly, Chisholm acquired what she called “a liberal education in how politics is run in our country – a sort of graduate course to follow my basic education in ward and county politicking”.80 She introduced fifty bills during her time in office, focused on issues which most affected her constituents such as “racial discrimination in banking, investment and insurance practices, ... increased minimum wage...more affordable public housing and education opportunities...and a number of bills to benefit women”.81 She used this record as the basis for her election to the US House of Representatives in 1968, when the creation of the 12th Congressional District placed most of Bedford-Stuyvesant as well as parts of other black boroughs together for an 80 percent black or

78 Ibid., 177.
79 Ibid., 180.
80 Ibid., 182.
Hispanic district. Due to the redistricting, residents of these neighborhoods would finally be able to elect a candidate to Congress who more accurately represented them.

With the help of former colleague Mac Holder, Chisholm beat both opponents in the June Democratic primary with nearly 46 percent of the votes and went on to win the general election in November by a 2 to 1 majority, despite the considerable media criticism she received and an attempt by James Farmer, her chief opponent, to divide black support on the basis of gender. The Wall Street Journal claimed her run detrimental to the wider black community, stating that “Negro families are largely run by women, much to the detriment of black men and children”.

Many television stations covering the race reduced her to a “little school teacher” as a means of undermining her qualifications for the position. Nevertheless, Shirley Chisholm joined the 91st Congress as the first African American woman to be elected to Congress.

Congresswoman Chisholm quickly made headlines as a force to be reckoned with in the House of Representatives. She vehemently opposed her initial committee assignment to the Agriculture Committee and its rural development and forestry subcommittee, demanding an assignment which would better serve the needs and interests of her constituents. Although not known necessarily for her congressional experience like Margaret Chase Smith, she gained press attention for her candor and the blunt manner in which she called out the Nixon Administration’s policies in addition to the novelty of being the only African American woman in Congress. She maintained support for the causes that got her elected to Congress, including expanded jobs programs, affordable housing, expanded day-care centers, and welfare reform, as well as enforcement of anti-discrimination laws for African Americans. Congresswoman Chisholm

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82 Fitzpatrick, The Highest Glass Ceiling: Women’s Quest for the American Presidency, 189.
staffed her Washington office “initially entirely with young women, half of them African American” and was a vocal supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment and the women’s liberation movement, claiming herself to be a feminist and founding the National Women’s Political Caucus. She was acknowledged as a leader among the women’s movement as well as the black community, and began considering a run for the presidency in early 1971.

The attitudes towards women in government, and indeed the possibility of a female president, had changed significantly since the 1950s when Margaret Chase Smith’s name first circulated as a potential presidential running mate, and again following the Senator’s 1964 presidential campaign. The majority of change came in the form of legislation enabling equal access for women to political positions. In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act, the first law requiring equal pay for women. In 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, which included a provision against discrimination on the basis of sex,64, and the Supreme Court’s decision in Griswold v. Connecticut was lauded as a victory for contraceptives and women’s reproductive rights. These legislative accomplishments, coupled with the change in attitude towards both a female and an African American president demonstrated by Tables 3, 4, and 6 of a Gallup and National Opinion Research Center survey, indicate that Shirley Chisholm could expect more success with her presidential campaign than previous female candidates.

Chisholm chiefly expected the support of NOW, the National Organization for Women, and African American political groups. In the fall of 1971 several male African American leaders “began to meet quietly to plot their own strategy” for election in 1972, urging

83 Ibid., 195.
84 Cohen, Breakthrough: The Making of America’s First Woman President, 180.
presidential primary runs by “African American sons or daughters in states with large black voting blocs”.86 NOW members, thanks to a change in convention rules, demanded and organized women to ensure that they “constituted 50 percent of all delegates to the 1972 Republican and Democratic national conventions”.87 Such a force, coupled with the momentum from the ERA which was passed in Congress in 1972 and sent to the states for ratification, would carry the female vote in favor of Chisholm. Media outlets were already reporting rumors of Chisholm’s campaign in late 1971, with the Hartford Courant running the headline “Black Woman May Run for President”.

Her official announcement came on January 25, 1972, “in the elementary school auditorium of Brooklyn’s biggest Baptist church”.88 During her speech, Chisholm declared herself to be “the candidate of the people”89, criticizing the Nixon Administration’s policies regarding Vietnam and Black America. She labeled her campaign an effort “to repudiate the ridiculous notion that the American people will not vote for a qualified candidate simply because he is not white or she is not male. I do not believe that, in 1972, the great majority of Americans harbor such narrow and petty prejudices”.90 She released a series of presidential campaign position papers in early 1972, directly attacking the Nixon Administration’s policies on the

87 Ibid., 203.
88 Braden, “Ms. President?,” 188.
90 Ibid.
economy, police and prison reform, the environment, and housing, then listing her own multi-step solution. Women across the country responded positively to her campaign, repeating the process seen in her Brooklyn campaigns in which local women, “often relatively resource poor, organized local activities” for her election. Several stated in the *Amsterdam News* that they supported Chisholm’s campaign and felt she “would make a very capable first woman president”.

Despite this showing of support however, Chisholm was almost immediately criticized by the media. The *New York Times* reported that she “had three strikes against her – her sex, her race, and the fact that she did not appear to have overwhelming support among women, blacks or youths”. *Washington Post* writer Myra MacPherson wrote her off as “a member of the lunatic fringe…and both voters and other politicians narrowly viewed her *only* as a woman’s or black candidate”. Indeed, that divide amongst her supporters along lines of race and gender were hugely destructive to Chisholm’s campaign, especially given that she had originally expected overwhelming support from both black and women’s groups. With the exception of California Congressman Ronald Dellums and Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, there was virtual

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96 Ibid.

97 Braden, “Ms. President?,” 188.

98 Ibid.
silence from most black male leaders regarding the Congresswoman’s campaign. Many argued
she would be forced to choose between the women of America and the blacks of America, with
one black politician saying, “In this first serious effort for blacks for high political office, it
would be better if it were a man”.

Among the women’s groups, Chisholm “was unable to move the predominantly white
women’s organizations to address the pressing economic issues facing African American
women.” The National Women’s Political Caucus encouraged her to campaign, but “did not
explicitly endorse or vigorously campaign for her”, while NOW leader Gloria Steinem made a
televised statement declaring her support of Chisholm’s campaign efforts but added that “I’m
supporting both Shirley and [George] McGovern (the leading Democratic opposition to Shirley
Chisholm). I don’t think that’s a conflict of interests. I feel he’s the best white male
candidate”. Such political division from two large minority groups prevented any cohesion of
the Chisholm campaign, providing a significant obstacle.

Financial restrictions also played a large part in Shirley Chisholm’s campaign, preventing
her from expanding to additional primary races. She had “only three full-time staff people
working with her, along with part-time and volunteer help, and no press secretary. Her advance
publicity consisted mostly of telephone calls and notices place on church bulletins”, and she
struggled to fundraise for necessary costs. In the end her campaign cost roughly $300,000, of

99 McClain, Carter, and Brady, “Gender and Black Presidential Politics” From Chisholm to Moseley Braun,” 57.
101 Ibid.
103 Braden, “Ms. President?,” 190.
which she received approximately $120,000 in donations and fundraising and taking out personal loans and “operating on my American Express card” for the remainder in order to continue campaigning. A national media buy or concentrated ad campaign like that conducted by opponent George McGovern and President Nixon was out of the question. Indeed, Congresswoman Chisholm struggled enough with the media without having to buy additional time. She was quickly dismissed as an unserious candidate, with so many questions regarding the symbolic nature of Chisholm’s run she was forced to restate on numerous occasions that “I want to make unequivocally clear that I am running for the Presidency of the United States”. She had to file a protest with the Federal Communications Commission to get equal air time with other candidates, who were granted free hour-long sessions to debate their issues while Chisholm was initially provided with none. Although she ultimately received a half-hour session with three major networks, and her appearances on national television “gave her candidacy a certain legitimacy”, the organizational failures of her campaign what devastated any additional media coverage she may have received.

Chisholm was able to travel and actively campaign in eleven states, with people in 14 states voting for her “in some fashion or the other” and arriving at the 1972 Democratic Convention in Miami with 28 pledged delegates. Once it was made clear that George McGovern would receive the Democratic nomination, Hubert Humphrey released his delegates to Congresswoman Chisholm, allowing her to finish the convention second overall with 151

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105 Ibid., 215.
106 Braden, “Ms. President?,” 191.
107 Gutgold, Paving The Way for Madam President, 65.
delegate votes. Disappointed by the outcome of her campaign, Chisholm later remarked that her bid for the presidency was her “greatest accomplishment”\textsuperscript{108}, acknowledging that, while it was unlikely she would win, “I ran because somebody had to do it first. In this country everybody is supposed to be able to run for President, but that’s never been really true. I ran \textit{because} most people think the country is not ready for a black candidate, not ready for a woman candidate. Someday…”\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{108} Fitzpatrick, \textit{The Highest Glass Ceiling: Women’s Quest for the American Presidency}, 223.

\textsuperscript{109} McClain, Carter, and Brady, “Gender and Black Presidential Politics” From Chisholm to Moseley Braun,” 56.
Analysis: A Comparison of Two Presidential Campaigns

Although conducted a mere eight years apart, the presidential campaigns of both Senator Margaret Chase Smith and Representative Shirley Chisholm faced rather different obstacles, yet the biased attention they received from the media was and has remained the same for all female presidential candidates. Margaret Chase Smith enjoyed a more ‘legitimate’ campaign in the eyes of the nation and had achieved greater respect and experience during her time in Congress prior to her run for the presidency. As a white Republican woman from a northern state, she was more easily able to enter into the ‘boys club’ of the United States Congress, building on the momentum she gained from conducting her husband’s election campaigns and running his office in Washington. She had 23 years of experience in Congress when she decided to run, a fact she repeated during her campaign as evidence of her qualifications for office, and was often called the “Rose of Washington” for her disposition and the signature rose she wore in her lapel every day.\footnote{Braden, “A Rose By Any Other Name,” 55.} She had earned considerable respect amongst Republicans and Democrats alike for her Declaration of Conscience speech condemning the actions of Senator Joseph McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee, which if delivered by a man would make him “the next president of the United States” according to Bernard Baruch.\footnote{Ibid., 54.} She was already considered for the national ticket prior to her 1964 campaign, mentioned in 1948 and 1952 as a potential running mate for Eisenhower due to the success and national attention of her Senate race. If anything she was expected to run for the presidency.

Shirley Chisholm, by contrast, had to contend with the race issue; although the Civil
Rights Act was passed in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965, considerable prejudice still existed within the political structure of the United States, as seen by the all-white 17th Assembly District Democratic Club which Chisholm fought early in her political career. As the first African American woman to be elected to Congress, she was perceived by some to be more of a novelty not to be taken seriously, or as Chisholm herself stated, “I started out as a freak candidate, a kind of political sideshow. But I wound up in the main tent”112. While she had considerable local political experience her Bedford-Stuyvesant activist groups and her time in the New York State Assembly, she was only a two-term Congresswoman at the time of her presidential run. Although she had gained national attention for her time in Congress, not all was positive. She was brash in some of her remarks on policy, perceived as controversial by the press and coming across as confrontational at times “if she thought a problem persisted for too long and needed to be solved at once”113. As the New York Times reported upon the announcement of her campaign, she had three strikes against her; nobody expected her to run for president.

Both women experienced financial constraints which limited their campaigning ability, Smith by choice, to see if “support will be given to a candidate without campaign funds and whose expense will be limited to personal and travel expense paid by the candidate”114, and Chisholm by fate, due to a lack of organizational structure allowing her to effectively fundraise. Margaret Chase Smith limited her campaigning further by refusing to leave DC while the Senate was in session, stating in interviews that she “follows the policy of staying in the Capitol when

112 Braden, “Ms. President?,” 192.
113 Gutgold, Paving The Way for Madam President, 71.
114 Margaret Chase Smith, Speech Announcing Presidential Candidacy.
the Senate is in active session and voting”\textsuperscript{115}, a stipulation which Chisholm did not follow. Smith also officially entered into only 3 primaries: New Hampshire, Illinois, and Oregon, and she was only able to campaign in New Hampshire and Illinois. Shirley Chisholm, by contrast, actively campaigned and made appearances in eleven states and received votes in 14\textsuperscript{116}, while also making television and radio appearances and traditional campaign stops in what by today’s standards would be a typical presidential campaign. Perhaps it is from this structure of her campaign that Chisholm was able to receive considerably more delegates at her convention, 151, compared to Smith’s 27.\textsuperscript{117}

A key difference in the campaigns of Senator Margaret Chase Smith and Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, perhaps more significant than the organization of the campaigns themselves, was the way each candidate identified herself as a ‘woman candidate’. In the speech announcing her candidacy, Chisholm remarked that “I am not the candidate of the Women’s Movement of this country, although I am a woman, and I am equally proud of that”\textsuperscript{118}. Although not specifically endorsed by the women’s liberation movement, a fact which would heavily affect the outcome of Chisholm’s campaign, she was extremely involved in the movement and contributed extensively to its political and legislative efforts. Identifying herself as a feminist, Chisholm was a founding member of both NOW and the National Women’s Political Caucus, vocal in her support of the Equal Rights Amendment in addition to numerous bills benefitting women. Her

\textsuperscript{115} Margaret Chase Smith, From the People.

\textsuperscript{116} Gutgold, \textit{Paving The Way for Madam President}, 64.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 38, 65.

\textsuperscript{118} Chisholm, “Document 13: Statement of Candidacy for the Office of President of the United States by the Honorable Shirley Chisholm.”
public support of abortion access gained national attention and was particularly controversial, although Chisholm was surprised when the responses from the “heavy flow of mail to her Washington office...were overwhelmingly favorable”\textsuperscript{119}. Given her considerable support of women’s issues prior to her presidential bid, Chisholm naturally expected the support of women’s groups in campaign efforts and endorsements. The response was lackluster, however, with half of the support divided between her campaign and that of George McGovern, Senator from South Dakota, who was considered at the time “the more viable candidate of the Democratic contenders and the candidate most capable of defeating then president Nixon”.\textsuperscript{120} Although useful during her time in Congress, Chisholm’s identification with the women’s movement proved disappointing at best and devastating at worst, particularly in its use to divide the black community by painting Chisholm as the ‘woman candidate’ rather than the ‘black candidate’. Margaret Chase Smith, by contrast, refused to label herself a feminist, “adamant that being a woman made no difference in the way she did her job”\textsuperscript{121} and that “since women are people just as much as men are, there is no reason why they should not be considered on the basis of qualification and record just as men should be. If a woman is qualified to be a United States Senator, then there is no reason why she is disqualified from being President or why the electorate should refuse to vote for her”.\textsuperscript{122} She did introduce the Equal Rights Amendment during her time in the House and supported more women becoming involved in politics, and in this way she could be considered decidedly feminist based on her actions, but her


\textsuperscript{120} Fitzpatrick, The Highest Glass Ceiling: Women’s Quest for the American Presidency.

\textsuperscript{121} Braden, “A Rose By Any Other Name,” 50.

\textsuperscript{122} Margaret Chase Smith, Would you vote for a woman for president?
refusal to identify herself as such does not appear to have hindered her in her campaign efforts.
Conclusion

Since Shirley Chisholm’s election bid in 1972, five other women have campaigned for the presidency under major party tickets and arrived at the convention, all with differing levels of success: Patricia Schroeder (1987), Lenora Branch Fulani (1988), Elizabeth Dole (2000), Carol Moseley Braun (2004), and Hillary Rodham Clinton (2008 and 2016).123 Hillary Clinton’s 2016 campaign, in which she received the Democratic nomination and ran against Donald Trump in the general election, was the closest a woman has ever come to the White House. Yet despite the shift in the country’s likelihood to vote for a female president, little has changed in terms of media bias and representation. As Maria Braden states in her book Women Politicians and the Media, “the media has done a better job of speculating about potential women presidential candidates than of actually covering the campaign of those who dared enter the race”.124 When not presented as a novelty in the race, as were Margaret Chase Smith and Shirley Chisholm125, female presidential candidates are described as emotional, non-serious candidates, picked apart for everything from their professional careers and family choices down to their physical appearance, speaking style, and age. And this if they were even covered at all. Margaret Chase Smith received roughly a third of the press coverage received by her male counterparts, and in 1972 there were 50 percent more stories written about Senator Harry Jackson than about Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, and the articles were 25 percent longer.126 Senator Smith’s

123 Falk, Women for President: Media Bias in Nine Campaigns, 7.
124 Braden, “Ms. President?,” 184.
125 Falk, Women for President: Media Bias in Nine Campaigns, 35.
126 Ibid., 108, 110.
age was of particular interest during her campaign, with the Senator herself remarking “I am 66 years old as the people have been reading. Each story starts out, the 66 year old Senator from Maine. I don’t know that I ever see them write about the men that way”\textsuperscript{127} Age was of similar concern during Hillary Clinton’s campaigns, with emphasis on now being a grandmother during her second presidential race in 2016. Chisholm was described as angry for her direct speaking style, using such words as ‘fiery’, having ‘l lung power’, ‘crusader’, and a ‘militant feminist’.\textsuperscript{128} Women are also more likely to be described as ‘emotional’ to detract from their other qualifications. On average, women received four emotional descriptions per 10,000 words written about them, whereas men received just 1.8\textsuperscript{129}, and women were more likely to have their honorary titles dropped in favor of ‘Mrs’ or ‘Ms’, roughly 32 percent of the time in the races of Smith, Chisholm, Schroeder and Moseley Braun in comparison with 11 percent for men.\textsuperscript{130} Despite the extensive qualifications women may possess, considerable effort is taken to discredit them in an attempt to prevent them from becoming elected.

While this trend of diminishing female candidates’ abilities has continued with subsequent candidates, they still continue to run for elected office, and each finds it easier than her predecessors. When asked why she decided to run for president, Margaret Chase Smith declared

“I would be pioneering the way for a woman in the future-to make her more acceptable-to make the way easier- for her to be elected President of the

\textsuperscript{127} Margaret Chase Smith, From the People.

\textsuperscript{128} Falk, \textit{Women for President: Media Bias in Nine Campaigns}, 71.

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., 56.

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., 62.
United States. Perhaps the point that has impressed me the most on this argument is that women before me pioneered and smoothed the way for me to be the first woman to be elected to both the House and the Senate—and that I should give back in return that which had been given to me”.131

There is no doubt that these women contributed significantly to future female presidential campaigns; Carol Moseley Braun cited Shirley Chisholm’s campaign as the first African American to run for president to be inspiration for her own 2004 bid. Hillary Clinton built on the momentum created by these women to become the first woman to accept a major party’s nomination and advance to the general election on the national ticket. Although unsuccessful in her attempt, the glass ceiling of women in the highest elected office now has a few cracks in it. The time when a woman will be elected President of the United States is not far off; hopefully the statement given by Senator Smith at the Centennial Celebration of the University of Denver proves true:

“It is my hope that by 2064 every individual citizen will have so accepted his or her responsibility in a free society that a woman can, and will have been, elected President of the United States in tearing down one of the last barriers of prejudice”.132

131 Margaret Chase Smith, Speech Announcing Presidential Candidacy.

132 Margaret Chase Smith, “Statement for the University of Denver Centennial Celebration.”
Appendix

Appendix A: Education differences over time in willingness to vote for a woman for President, reporting for the years 1958, 1967, and 1972.

Table 3

| Educational Differences over Time in Willingness to Vote for a Woman for President |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Percentage Answering "Yes"      | 1958                           | 1967                           | 1972                           |
| College graduate                |                                |                                |                                |
| Men                             | 58%                            | 63%                            | 79%                            |
| Women                           | 56                             | 55                             | 92                             |
| High school graduate            |                                |                                |                                |
| Men                             | 59                             | 68                             | 70                             |
| Women                           | 55                             | 56                             | 76                             |
| Less than 12 years              |                                |                                |                                |
| Men                             | 54                             | 61                             | 65                             |
| Women                           | 51                             | 51                             | 59                             |

Appendix B: Differences over time in anti-feminism by age and education among women, chronicling the mean unwillingness to vote for a woman for the years 1958, 1967, and 1972.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differences over Time in Anti-Feminism by Age and Education among Women</th>
<th>Mean Unwillingness to Vote for a Woman*</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>College graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-65</td>
<td>College graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note that the effect size for education for these age groups in 1972 is roughly twice that for age (15 vs. 8).
### TABLE 6

*Interattitudinal Consistency: Negro for President—Woman for President Items*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Year</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>1958</th>
<th>1967</th>
<th>1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Yes&quot; to item on blacks and &quot;Yes&quot; to item on women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>83%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Yes&quot; to item on blacks and &quot;No&quot; to item on women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;No&quot; to item on blacks and &quot;Yes&quot; to item on women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;No&quot; to item on blacks and &quot;No&quot; to item on women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>56</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix C: Change in attitude regarding likelihood to vote for a woman or African American for president, reporting for the years 1958, 1967, and 1972.
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