

# Black Feminism on Capitol Hill: Shirley Chisholm and Movement Politics, 1968–1984

## Abstract

Shirley Chisholm (1924–2005) conducted a long political career in the service of black feminist ideas. Her 1972 run for President is the most famous of her efforts, but she also served fourteen years in Congress (1969–1983), serving Brooklyn, New York. As a holder of national elected office at the same time that black feminists were institutionalizing their activism into organizations, Chisholm bridged grassroots and local activism with the national state. She also bridged the ongoing black freedom struggle and women's movements, though not without complication and controversy. This essay uses Chisholm's writings and speeches, as well as government documents, newspaper archives, and interviews to demonstrate Chisholm's dual engagement with the antiracist and antifeminist movements of her time within the context of legislative politics.

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At the time of her election to the United States Congress in 1968, Shirley Chisholm (1924–2005) was the first black woman in the House of Representatives and the first black woman to win a national elected office. Although she is most famous for being the first black person and first woman to run for a major-party nomination for United States President (in 1972), this litany of firsts at times obscures her larger political and intellectual significance. Most notably, Chisholm's black feminism exercised a profound influence on her political interests, and she was unique among

black feminists for enacting the movement's objectives from within electoral and party politics. Coming to national elected office at the same time that institutionalized black feminism came of age, Chisholm interwove antiwar, civil rights, women's, and poor people's movement issues into her political priorities. However, unlike other black feminists, Chisholm sought transformation from within the heart of the Democratic Party and Capitol Hill politics.

In Chisholm's case, the term "black feminism" represents an intersectional approach to wielding political power. Chisholm's own feminist analyses reflected her interlocking concerns with the effects of poverty, sexism, and racism within the United States. Yet such an approach was difficult—even isolating—at times. She experienced complicated and sometimes contentious relationships with the movements she identified with most closely. The book that this article is based upon will document how Chisholm's black feminist political theory translated into a practical approach to her office as a legislator (Curwood in progress).

Chisholm's subject position as a black woman lent her a distinctive lens through which to view the political institutions and movements in which she participated: she was a duly elected member of the House, but she experienced both racism and sexism from her white and/or male colleagues; she was both black and a woman, but she had complicated relationships with both the black freedom struggle and the women's movement; and she was a lone black feminist whose activism took the form of electoral politics until 1973, when Barbara Jordan joined her in the House. Patricia Hill Collins has theorized that black women often find themselves as "outsiders within," that is, in spaces that exclude their perspective. In many white- or male-controlled spaces, black women are not welcomed as full insiders, but their "marginality provide[s] a distinct angle of vision" on the proceedings (Collins 2000, 12). Collins and others have also identified the abilities of black women to read power arrangements. Chisholm's congressional career bears out both observations (Ransby 2001, 370–71).<sup>1</sup>

As a black feminist at the intersection of movements, Chisholm didn't belong to any one easily intelligible identity, movement, or group, and as such she was difficult for her contemporaries to categorize. Without a black feminist framework, it is also difficult to fit her into the existing historical narrative. She was an "in-between" figure, a historical actor across racial, ethnic, and movement lines. However, seeing her as a bridge between

multiple movements on the left and between social movements and the state opens up our understanding of late twentieth-century politics. Indeed, one commonality among the very heterogeneous black feminists who were her contemporaries was their capacity for what Belinda Robnett has called “bridge leadership,” or connecting people on the ground within movements to the traditional leadership at the top (in Springer, 2005, 13). In reaching national prominence after the pre-1965 civil rights movement and during the height of second-wave feminism and the Vietnam War, Chisholm came of age politically just as black women began to institutionalize their feminism within a series of organizations active from 1968 to 1980.<sup>2</sup> And, like other black feminists, she had uneasy relationships with white feminism and the black freedom struggle at times.

This essay builds on the work of historians who have, in recent years, begun the task of documenting Chisholm’s politics and career. Since 2005, several scholars have traced Chisholm’s early career in New York City Democratic politics and analyzed her presidential campaign in 1972 (McClain, Carter, and Brady, 2005; Gallagher 2007a; 2007b; 2012; Winslow 2014). Others have recognized her adoption of an intersectional black feminism in the late 1960s and 1970s and in her presidential campaign in particular.<sup>3</sup> Using archival sources<sup>4</sup> documenting her arguments about intersecting discriminations and her strategies within United States political institutions, government documents, newspaper archives, and oral history interviews, this article deepens analysis of her black feminist thinking and her relationships with antiracist and antisexist contemporaries.

Chisholm retains a somewhat mythological and under-examined status in American history. She was a magnetic and catalytic figure. Although small in stature, she had a big presence, seeming taller than her barely five-foot height. Her fashionable suits, which would become even more modish and colorful during her tenure in office, clothed a powerful public speaker and charismatic political personality. Her habit of bluntness meant that listeners often found themselves surprised when the former schoolteacher with a slight lisp spoke truth to power and touched politically taboo subjects. Impeccably dressed, and often present on the streets of her district, Chisholm seemed fearless and willing to tackle anyone who stood in her way. She acquired the nickname “The Fighting Shirley Chisholm,” and took as her congressional and presidential campaign slogan, “Unbought and Unbossed,” a strong assertion that she stood apart

from widespread cronyism in the Democratic establishment and a powerful statement of her personhood as a black woman. She often invoked “the people” as her highest authority. As a result, she developed a numerically small but unswervingly committed following during her congressional career and historic presidential run, particularly among youth and some feminist and civil rights activists (Chisholm 1970, 93–94).

Her pre-Congress life has been summarized elsewhere (Chisholm 1970; Brown 2008; Guild 2009; Gallagher 2012), but a rough outline bears repeating here. Chisholm shared second-generation immigrant status with many of her Brooklyn constituents (Brown 2008, 1015–17). She was born in Brooklyn in 1924 to Barbadian parents: seamstress Ruby Seale and Charles St. Hill, a textile worker and follower of Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican black nationalist and leader of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). As Winston James has shown, the generation of Caribbean migrants who arrived during the interwar period was more likely to engage in radical politics, and Charles was quite sympathetic to such activism (James 1998). The couple had moved independently to New York in search of economic mobility, where they married and had four daughters, but before the fourth was born they decided to send the three older girls back to Barbados to be raised by Ruby’s mother and younger sister. The sisters lived there from 1928 to 1934. Chisholm’s Barbadian grandmother Emmeline Chase Seale, she recalled, was her most influential childhood mentor. Emmeline’s bold self-carriage and modeling of fearlessness were “where I got my nerve,” in Chisholm’s own words (Chisholm 2000, 32). Later, Chisholm credited her grandmother and the Barbadian public education system for developing her early academic promise and excellent reading and writing skills (Chisholm 1970, 20–22; 1978a). Once back in Brooklyn at age ten, Chisholm became very close to her father, who introduced her to UNIA and labor union politics (Chisholm 2000, 32; 2003, part 3, 15–16). She attended the mostly white Girls’ High School and then Brooklyn College, eventually part of the City University of New York system, graduating in 1946. As an undergraduate, she founded the institution’s first black women’s student group, IPOTHIA, an acronym for “In Pursuit of the Highest in All,” discovered her talents for debating and speechmaking, and contemplated a career in politics for the first time (Chisholm 1970, 23–37).

After graduation, she married Conrad Chisholm, a private investigator who had emigrated from Jamaica, and began both her political and

educational careers. The couple had no children. Chisholm completed her master's degree in early childhood education at Columbia's Teacher's College in 1951 while working at a nursery school in Harlem. She eventually worked her way up into school administration, taking the directorship of the Hamilton-Madison Childcare Center in Manhattan and serving in the Bureau of Child Welfare (Felder 2003, 255). Simultaneously, she became involved in local politics, first in tenants' rights in public housing and then in a grassroots campaign, led by her mentor Wesley McDonald Holder, to get a black civil court judge elected in Brooklyn. She subsequently became vice president of the group that formed in the aftermath of that campaign, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League. She also became involved in Democratic Party politics, first through the existing Seventeenth Assembly District Democratic Club and then through the insurgent Unity Democratic Club. It was with the backing of the latter that she ran for and won the Seventeenth District seat in the New York State Assembly in 1964 (Guild 2009, 252–53).

In the Assembly, Chisholm began to engage problems faced by poor and working-class women, as well as nonwhite men and women. Women organizers and voters had been crucial to Chisholm's victory in the election, and in Albany she introduced legislation that both benefited women and addressed issues important to the women activists who had supported her. She not only submitted bills to provide day care for working women and those on welfare, to protect senior teachers on maternity leave, and provide unemployment benefits to domestic workers; she also sought unemployment benefits for farm workers and hospital employees, civil rights training for police, an increase in the minimum wage, affordable public housing, and a program (still in existence today) that allowed low-income students to go to college. In 1967, she successfully co-sponsored a bill to outlaw discrimination on the basis of sex, and also co-sponsored an unsuccessful bill to legalize so-called therapeutic abortions statewide. Chisholm's legislative priorities were those that empowered poor, nonwhite, and female constituents (Madden 1967; Gallagher 2012, 166–67; Chisholm 1965; 1966; 1968). This would remain the case throughout her political career.

It was in her first Congressional campaign that Chisholm's complicated relationship with the civil rights establishment became manifest. In 1968, she won a new, majority-black, congressional seat in Brooklyn over Republican challenger James Farmer, former national head of the Congress on

Racial Equality (CORE). The local activism that had brought about the newly drawn 12<sup>th</sup> Congressional District made her election possible. The 12<sup>th</sup> District consolidated black voters' electoral power and was formed as the result of a court battle led by the New York Liberal Party in the aftermath of the United States Supreme Court's "one man-one vote" ruling in 1964.<sup>5</sup> Although Farmer had participated in the national campaign for voting rights and Chisholm had no national profile, Chisholm had deeper roots in the community, having participated in multiple local organizations that sought to empower black citizens. She also had greater support from women in the district, a strategically cultivated position that also resulted from her direct advocacy on women's behalf. By approaching organizations made up mostly of women, from bridge clubs to the Parent-Teacher Association, Chisholm was able to tap into a large network of voters (Chisholm 1984a). Thus the Chisholm–Farmer race cut across both northern and southern divisions within civil rights and across gender lines.

The 1968 campaign also brought Chisholm into direct contact with a prominent, pioneering black feminist. The gendered component of the congressional race did not escape the notice of New York lawyer, writer, and onetime New York City Council candidate (and NOW founding member) Pauli Murray. As a self-supporting and ambitious intellectual, Murray had encountered both sexism and racism in her activist and legal career. She had been advocating for gender equity and racial equity since at least 1945 and called the various manifestations of sexism "Jane Crow." In 1964, she had written about the similarities between justifications for excluding women and black people, and the necessity to wage "both fights simultaneously" (Murray 1964). She was one of the first feminists to grasp and articulate the significance to black women of the Civil Rights Act's Title VII, and marshaled a letter-writing campaign to all members of Congress, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and Lady Bird Johnson in support of keeping the word "sex" in Title VII (MacLean 2006, 119–21; Scott 2006, 35, 144). In 1965, she and fellow lawyer Mary O. Eastwood expanded on the inseparability of antiracism and antisexism, writing that "the rights of women and the rights of Negroes are only different phases of the fundamental and indivisible issue of human rights" (Murray and Eastwood 1965).

Always attuned to the tandem manifestations of racism and sexism, Murray wrote to Chisholm in the thick of the 1968 congressional campaign. The *New York Times* had rather patronizingly referred to Chisholm as

“Woman” in its headline on an article about the race in the 12<sup>th</sup> District: “Farmer and Woman in Lively Bedford-Stuyvesant Race.” It echoed the thesis of the 1965 Moynihan Report, or *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, that “Negroes, particularly militant males, are reacting to generations of ‘matriarchal dominance.’” Farmer’s literature capitalized on this reaction, it said, by asserting the need for a ‘strong male image’ and ‘a man’s voice in Washington” (Knifer 1968b; Berg 1968; Brownmiller 1969).<sup>6</sup> Murray was outraged at the campaign’s sexist overtones and urged her contacts to support Chisholm in the race. Chisholm’s reply does not survive, but her continued outspokenness about eradicating both sexism and racism suggests that she shared Murray’s perspective.

Chisholm soundly beat Farmer in the general election, largely because of women’s votes and her local ties, and she was on her way to Washington in January 1969. She would serve fourteen years in Congress, during which she mounted her famous 1972 campaign for President. She was elected in the same year as Richard Nixon, and would battle the rise of the New Right throughout her career. Those years were also the same ones that saw the development of black feminist groups and consciousness.<sup>7</sup>

## Chisholm’s Black Feminist Thought

At the moment Chisholm was elected to Congress, she joined a national effort by black feminists to unify the intersecting concerns within the black freedom struggle and second-wave feminism. Chisholm joined other black feminist thinkers from her time and throughout the history of black feminist thought. Chisholm advanced her agenda in Congress and published her first memoir, with its series of essays on feminist issues, *Unbought and Unbossed*,<sup>8</sup> alongside the work of Flo Kennedy, Frances Beal, Mary Ann Weathers, Linda LaRue, Pauli Murray, Michele Wallace, Toni Cade Bambara, the National Black Feminist Organization, the Combahee River Collective, bell hooks, and Audre Lorde.<sup>9</sup> Like them, she grasped and sought to explain the inextricable linkages between black women’s issues and other social justice concerns, but unlike contemporary black feminists, she pursued those issues from within the halls of the national legislature.

Black feminism, emerging from multiple sources within the black freedom movement, coalesced as white women activists from the New Left

and Chicana feminists from Chicano activism built their movements in the late 1960s and 1970s. Nearly simultaneously, welfare recipients organized into a national movement in 1967. All had distinct sources, but all shared the common goal of women's self-determination.<sup>10</sup> Some of the energy driving this developing collective consciousness was a necessary response to the report written by then Labor Department official Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. The Moynihan Report, as it was called, argued that family structure and the lack of black men's economic opportunity was the primary impediment to racial equality. It cited "matriarchal," female-led households as the major feature of a "tangle of pathology" that held black Americans back in the aftermath of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Moynihan 1965). At the same time, black nationalist activists took a masculinist turn, hoping to bolster the power and authority of black men vis à vis their families. For their part, liberal national legislators mandated programs for employment opportunities directed toward black Americans that disproportionately benefited men. White feminists were of little help, either. The most well-known and well-connected feminists advocated for women's rights beyond the family, pushing for individuals' equal opportunity in the workplace without regard to class or race privilege. But black women faced multiple structural barriers to successful careers—personal safety, transportation, health care, child care—and racism as well. Neither black men on the defensive nor white women took up black women's needs for financial independence. In response to increased masculinism from black freedom struggle activists and indifference from white feminists and legislators, black feminists developed a collective voice just as Chisholm, already a strong critic of racism and sexism, was elected to the House of Representatives (White 1999, 198–201; Kessler-Harris 2001, 268–70; Roth 2004, 84–86).

Working within multiple spaces and across social movements, Chisholm developed her own anti-oppression agenda. In this, she echoed other black feminists. Intersecting oppressions define black feminist thought, as do seeing—and ending—multiple forms of oppression simultaneously. Early in her congressional career, she published "Women and Their Liberation," an essay in her memoir *Unbought and Unbossed* that insisted on the necessity of seeing all oppressions as interconnected and on confronting oppression through appealing to the common humanity of all:



In the end, antiblack, antifemale, and all forms of discrimination are equivalent to the same thing—antihumanism. The values of life must be maintained against the enemies in every guise. We can do it by confronting people with their own humanity and their own inhumanity wherever we meet them, in the streets, in school, in church, in bars, in the halls of legislatures. (Chisholm 1970, 167)

As Collins points out, black feminist thought emerges from the multiple oppressions that black women face. “Social theories expressed by women emerging from [colonized populations] typically do not arise from the rarefied atmosphere of their imaginations,” Collins writes. “Instead, social theories reflect women’s efforts to come to terms with lived experiences within intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, and religion.” Black women are no exception. The particular constellation of oppressions that they have faced in the United States and internationally has directly shaped the thought of black feminist intellectuals (Collins 2000, 9, 12). Black feminist thought also poses that the particular constellation of oppressions that black women face makes their concerns distinct from those of both white women and black men. Furthermore neither racism, sexism, nor any of the other forms of oppression that black women experience can be seen in isolation from the others (Guy-Sheftall 2005, 2). Finally, black feminist thought has a long tradition of acting not merely on behalf of black women but also for advocating for black men and children (White 1999; Jones 2007).

Chisholm acknowledged the particulars of her experience as a black woman but, as a politician, she emphasized possibilities for coalition across movements. She adopted a critique of politics that advocated for an expansive recognition of common needs and interests, while still recognizing the specific issues facing members of various groups. Her activism parallels what Ula Taylor has called “community feminism”: the idea that black women not only must seek self-determination but also justice and empowerment for their larger community (Taylor 1995; 2000; 2002). Chisholm also applied her career to what Kimberly Springer has named “interstitial politics”—that is, a politics “between race and gender but cognizant of both” (Springer 2005, 44). Chisholm’s words and actions embody a black feminist praxis of coalition-building in the service of shifting power relationships.

Chisholm never confined her black feminist ideas and actions to the agenda designed by any one organization. Nevertheless, activists and organizations shaped Chisholm's feminist outlook. As Susan Hartmann has shown, looking only at organizations inside the women's movement misses the broader origins and enactments of feminism. Indeed, Hartmann has noted, feminism outside of NOW or radical feminism "sometimes moved parallel with or even ahead of organized feminism" (Hartmann 1998, 4–6). Chisholm's advocacy demonstrates this phenomenon. Like women in Hartmann's study, Chisholm's prior commitment to civil rights, plus her identity as a black woman, led her to support feminism alongside the black freedom struggle.

Although Chisholm did not often explicitly apply the label "feminist" to herself, her beliefs, language, and alliances aligned neatly with the arguments feminists across the color line were engaged in building.<sup>11</sup> In 1967, she was named a vice president of the New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), although her position was largely symbolic. After her election to Congress, Chisholm's growing visibility in New York and national politics led to more sustained contact with the women's movement, and she continued to collaborate with feminist groups. Women Strike for Peace published a display ad approving of Chisholm's first congressional floor speech, in which she decried cutbacks in social programs while the Vietnam war budget and military spending increased (Women Strike for Peace 1969). Months after being sworn in for her first term, Chisholm reintroduced the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), a bill that had been introduced by multiple legislators as far back as 1923. In the accompanying remarks, she made her first of many public statements that she had experienced more discrimination based on gender than race within politics, and she informed her colleagues that sexism was just as unacceptable as racism, a rhetorical strategy that likely pleased her feminist allies as much as it might have angered or perplexed her black male colleagues.<sup>12</sup>

She also accepted the honorary presidency of the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL). Chisholm's analysis of her alliance with NARAL demonstrates her intersectional analysis of women's issues and her independence from both the civil rights establishment and mainstream feminism. In the New York State Assembly, Chisholm had supported expanding the medical grounds for abortion and simplifying

the process for obtaining approval. She had also helped coordinate NOW's campaign to write abortion rights into the New York State Constitution in 1967. By 1969, when NARAL approached her to become President, she had decided that laws should leave the decision to end a pregnancy entirely up to a woman and her doctor. She came to this position early in the pro-choice movement and despite the indifference or hostility of civil rights leadership toward reproductive freedom. Chisholm's stated reason for her evolving thinking revealed her perception of how feminist concerns intersected with racism and poverty, and echoes the work of other black women. First, she personally knew women who had been harmed by illegal abortions; second, black and brown children would benefit from being raised by prepared and willing parents; and third, poor people had little access to education about birth control (Chisholm 1970, 114–16).<sup>13</sup>

Chisholm's actions on the ERA and abortion rights cut across the sometimes strained relationship between feminism and the black freedom struggle by bringing black women's issues to the forefront. Black women had not been served by white feminists who had focused exclusively on the Equal Rights Amendment in the years since 1920 at the expense of economic and racial justice. But Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which included sex as well as race in its proscription of discrimination, had changed the balance of this relationship. It joined racial and gender equality in the language of the legislation and in efforts to enforce it. Although tension still existed, in particular when some activists ignored black and working-class women's concerns about the ERA, many black women found themselves in accord with the equitable employment issues that feminism was addressing. Those who allied with both movements tended to be professional black women who needed good wages, good jobs, and child care (MacLean 2006, 117–18, 147–53).

Chisholm's analysis, especially earlier in her congressional career, at times vacillated between seeing the black freedom struggle and feminism as parallel and seeing them as intersecting. For example, when testifying about sexism before her congressional colleagues in 1970, she asserted unequivocally that she had experienced more obstacles related to sexism than to racism in her career.<sup>14</sup> Although modern scholars of intersectionality might take exception to her ranking of oppressions, and contemporary civil rights activists might do so as well, it's possible that she used this rhetoric to convince men of the impact of sexism. As Springer reminds us,

black feminism did not transform from an either/or framework of understanding racism and sexism to a both/and framework in one isolated moment (Hartmann 1998, 178; Springer 2005, 26). Chisholm's evolution paralleled this assessment. Despite her rhetoric, she took on a set of issues that targeted multiple forms of oppression simultaneously: law enforcement's targeting of black power groups; women's equal opportunity in education; equal pay for women; universal child care; and legal representation for poor citizens.<sup>15</sup> Her political priorities were reflected in the national following she acquired, which contained an eclectic mix of women, black people, poor people, and youth.

By 1973, the same year that the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) was founded, Chisholm had begun to argue explicitly that black women were in a unique position to assess social justice for many groups because of their vantage point at the intersection of multiple oppressions. She, most likely with the help of staffers in her office, created a speech about the intersectional concerns of black women that she delivered in multiple forms over the next five years. It shows how Chisholm saw black women's problems as overlapping with other social justice concerns but as unique, too. She referred to this intersection as "twin jeopardy" (Chisholm 1973b).<sup>16</sup> As Murray had articulated the concept of Jane Crow, drawing both racism and sexism into one term, Chisholm sought to explain how multiple oppressions worked together. Observing that neither the black movement nor the women's movement addressed black women's concerns adequately, Chisholm also noted that black women often face class discrimination. "Both races of women have traditionally been limited to performing many brainless tasks," she admitted, but "the minimal involvement of black women exists because they have been systematically excluded from the political process, and they are members of the politically dysfunctional black lower class. Thus, unlike white women, who escaped the psychological and sociological handicaps of racism, the black woman's political involvement has been a most marginal role." She then pointed to the current politically active role that black women were claiming for themselves in order to reverse their political disempowerment (Chisholm 1973b).

Chisholm's language of "twin jeopardy" was also influenced by Frances Beal's essay "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female" (1970/1995). Chisholm directly quoted Beal on at least two occasions (Chisholm 1974; Chisholm 1978b). Beal had maintained that black women were part of an

overarching system of oppressions in which all humanity was caught, and that all “revolutionaries” in the struggles against oppressions must be regarded as equals, regardless of sex. She addressed both black men, who feared that black women would aggrandize power to themselves or even undermine men, and white women, who did not understand that they must fight racism and economic exploitation in order to eradicate the roots of sexism. In sum, she argued, all forms of oppression must be destroyed, not just one or the other (Beal 1970/1995, 146–56). Chisholm changed Beal’s language from “double” to “twin,” perhaps wishing to emphasize the similarities between sexism and racism. Her congressional caseworker recalls that Chisholm often invented her own language to suit her rhetorical purposes (Holmes 2010).

Chisholm supported the growing black feminist movement by delivering a speech at the inaugural conference for the NBFO in New York City in November 1973. In front of the 250 women gathered there, she critiqued the matriarchy thesis advanced by the Moynihan Report, published eight years earlier but still holding much rhetorical power. She pushed back, asserting that it did no good to focus on divisions between black men and women. Both black men’s and women’s strengths and intellects were needed in ongoing movements. Black women ought to shed the “albatross” of racial and sexual stereotypes and participate fully in contemporary movements for change (Williams 1974).

Chisholm also acknowledged suspicion from black men of black women’s desires to speak for themselves. Because of white sociologists and policy writers (meaning Moynihan), she told the NBFO and several other audiences, black women had been labeled “matriarchs,” who desired to usurp power from black men. On the issue of reproductive freedom, though she was aware that some black nationalist leaders had labeled birth control and abortion for black women “genocide,” she pointed out that black, brown, and poor women were generally in favor of access to birth control and abortion, and were disproportionately affected by lack of access to legal abortions. Black women did have the desire and ability to contribute to black liberation struggles alongside, not behind, black men. Black women’s concerns and desires centered on simple survival for themselves and their families. They were not interested in being admitted to a men’s-only bar on Wall Street or whether they were called Ms. or Mrs., Chisholm reassured, but were instead desirous of fair wages and adequate

care for their children. Black women's activism was directed toward helping all black people, and their talents should be utilized as fully as possible (Chisholm 1970, 114; 1974; 1978c).

Chisholm urged black feminists to forge coalition with white feminists, even as she acknowledged distrust on both sides. She had already observed cross-racial coalition in the welfare rights movement (Nadasen 2008). She specifically exhorted black women to make common cause with white women over the ERA, which she had introduced in 1969 and was passed by the House and Senate in 1971 (115<sup>th</sup> Cong. Rec. 13,341 (1969); Hartmann 2010). The ERA, Chisholm said, directly affected all women, regardless of race. It was not solely a law to benefit middle-class white women, as many assumed, but would also affect black women, who worked for wages in great numbers in service jobs:

Often the supervisors for these jobs are men, despite the fact that women who have been employed in these areas know more about how the job should be done than their male superiors. ERA would give such women a legal cause of action to obtain supervisory positions for which they are qualified. Sex could no longer be used as a barrier to promotion with the ratification of [the] ERA (Chisholm n.d. a; emphasis hers).

She reminded black women that feminism applied to them, too. Despite not having racial identity in common, she implied, black women and white women had coinciding interests concerning expanding employment opportunities. "You must evaluate your relationship to the activities of white women in your community to determine how you can benefit from the initiatives they may have taken and see that minority women walk through any doors that are opened by the feminist movement," she recommended to an audience of black businesswomen in the late 1970s. "It is my contention that you have the right to benefit from all events and activities that can further your own personal and community development," she told them (Chisholm n.d. b). Later, speaking to Spelman undergraduates at the end of her career about allying with white feminists behind the ERA, she put it thus: "[i]f we take it upon ourselves to say we want to be removed from any kind of struggle that will help us to move just a half step upward, it means that . . . the white women, who have been pushing the ERA, decide what the final outcome is going to be. And if we have not been inside observing and making our contributions, we can't go

around wringing our hands and complaining, ‘What they done did to us again.’” She went on to say that she had experienced conflict with white feminists because, as a black woman, she refused to allow them to define her priorities, but that she stayed connected to white feminists so that she could be on the inside of advocating for change. “Remember, black sisters,” she exhorted them, “. . . God helps those who help themselves. We have to look out for ourselves. It doesn’t mean that you’re anti-black, anti-male or anti-anything” (Chisholm 1984b). She was not alone in urging cooperation across gender lines. Bambara had called for “nonsexist coalitions” among black men and women in 1970 (Taylor 1998, 250).

Indeed, Chisholm and other black feminists took pains to emphasize that fighting sexism was not working against black men. As noted above, she further pointed out sexism within black politics, by stating that she felt that she had encountered more discrimination against her as a woman from black male leaders than she had because she was African American. She implied that neither form of discrimination trumped the other. “In fighting against sex discrimination as women,” she said to one group of black women,

we are not in opposition to black men. We are smart enough to realize that black men are not in control of the power structure and are not responsible for setting the parameters for discrimination in this country. However, that does not mean that we as black women must step aside for black men or anyone else. We are talented human beings who have a contribution to make to this society. We can best do that in an environment which tolerates no forms of discrimination. (Chisholm n.d. a)

She also talked political strategy. When Chisholm spoke to the Independent Black Women’s Caucus in 1978, she told black voters to take advantage of the political power that they had shown in the 1976 elections and to support “candidates—be they Democrat or Republican—who have something to offer us in return for our votes.” She reminded her audience that power is usually not given but is assumed by those who hold it. “We have the ability by our sheer numbers to elect or defeat candidates,” she reminded her audience. “We are not ignorant, we are not weak, and we are not cowardly. We will no longer be cheated or kicked around. And the only running we are going to do is running toward the power that must be seized and held to control our destinies” (Chisholm 1978c; emphasis hers).

Her work continued after she left Congress. In 1984, she cofounded the National Congress of Black Women, a nonpartisan PAC that sought to support black women candidates in “key political races” across the country, and also served as its first national chair until 1992 (*New York Times* 1985; *off our backs* 1986).

## Making Coalitions Across Movements

Making alliances did not ensure smooth relationships between movements, however. Chisholm advocated risk-taking and making connections across movement lines anyway. Recognizing that, as black freedom struggle activist and musician Bernice Johnson Reagon would say in 1981, “we’ve pretty much come to the end of a time when you can have a space that is ‘yours only,’” Chisholm sought alliances with people who did not necessarily mirror her own identity as a black woman. Reagon points out that sometimes safe spaces are needed for “Xs or Ys or Zs” only, but that such spaces can become either “nurturing” or “destructive.” In order to succeed as nurturing spaces, safe, isolated spaces must be temporary only. Eventually, members of that space must develop the skills to deal with those who are not like them, and this necessarily brings discomfort (Reagon 1983).

Chisholm, embracing coalition as a strategy for long-term change, attempted with varying success to use coalitions to leverage the power of people who were subject to the same oppressive forces. She likely would have agreed with Collins that “black feminist thought fully actuated is a collaborative enterprise” (Collins 2000, 38). As her presidential campaign manager in California, Wilson Riles, put it, Chisholm taught that “you really don’t have any permanent friends or permanent enemies in politics. It ought to be the issues and about what you need to do in order to move the issues forward. In order to help people make social change happen [sic]” (Riles 2003, 38).

Chisholm observed that sometimes coalition worked, and sometimes it did not. Coalition “is not a comfortable kind of political action for its leaders,” she cautioned, “because it involves creativity, innovation, change, and commitment to the people instead of to personal advancement.” In order to achieve such a coalition, leaders would have to offer power and real representation to “in-groups,” “out-groups,” and genuinely “broaden the base” for political decision-making (Chisholm 1970, 139–43). The



“hard work” of coalition politics contrasts with the ease of political hierarchies, “with the leader, his lieutenants, their sergeants and the rank and file at the bottom. But a democratic movement is not an army; it exists only for the sake of the ordinary people who make up its body, and the most important consideration is to organize it so it responds to their needs and seeks to fulfill them” (Chisholm 1973a, 153; her emphasis). However, although she herself was often able to forge alliances, connecting different groups to each other was a more difficult task.

Chisholm did her best to bridge feminism and the black freedom struggle, taking on in the political realm a task that other black feminists had taken on in new grassroots organizations. Both were responding to limits imposed on women by sexism in the black freedom struggle and to increasing masculinism within black movements. In public speeches, Chisholm urged black men and black women to work for common cause, even though such intersectional cooperation was difficult at times. She explained the necessity of black men and women working together on an equal footing. “The black woman who is educated and has ability cannot be expected to put said talent on the proverbial shelf when she can utilize these gifts side by side with the black man,” she pointed out to one audience. So-called black women’s issues were also of concern to black men; for example, she argued that establishing national day-care centers and reforming welfare would directly benefit black families, which included men, and sympathized with New York welfare rights activists (Chisholm 1978c).

In an effort to unite the women’s movement in political strategies, Chisholm joined black and white feminists Gloria Steinem, Bella Abzug, Betty Friedan, Dorothy Height, Fannie Lou Hamer, Beulah Sanders, and Eleanor Holmes Norton to found the National Women’s Political Caucus (NWPC) in July of 1971.<sup>17</sup> Conceived as the political arm of the women’s movement, the NWPC sought to promote feminist reforms and candidates in electoral politics. It took on the task of enforcing party rules for women at both parties’ conventions, and its efforts, for example, helped bolster the participation of woman delegates at the Democratic National Convention from thirteen percent in 1968 to forty percent in 1972 (Carroll 2010, 276–78).

It was the same intersectional impulse to unite women across the country, as well as multiple social movements, through electoral politics that helped drive Chisholm’s decision to run for President in 1972. She was supported by a diverse coalition, including the Black Panthers in Oakland,

the National Welfare Rights Organization, and her black male congressional colleagues Ron Dellums and Parren Mitchell. Betty Friedan ran unsuccessfully as a pledged delegate on Chisholm's behalf in New York (Hennessee 1999, 168–71). Flo Kennedy and the Boston chapter of the Feminist Party supported Chisholm's candidacy by urging Massachusetts voters to vote for her in the primary. They believed that Chisholm would bring "feminist values . . . into the major areas of American life." Those values would transform the country from one at war to one at peace. They reminded voters that gender hierarchy in society easily became racial, ethnic, and religious hierarchies. And they wanted to bring the strategy of consciousness-raising into politics. They typed up information sheets telling people what the ballot would look like and how to vote for Chisholm (Feminist Party 1972).

But her hopes for wider coalition-building between movements were dashed somewhat during the campaign. Chisholm had not expected to win the Democratic nomination, but her strategy was to bring delegates to the Democratic National Convention and have a bargaining chip to influence the party's planks, particularly those on abortion, welfare rights, and capital punishment. Her unabashed representation of those who were usually unrepresented sought to bring to bear some power from those populations (Friedan 1972). She theorized "that if we all bind together, we don't necessarily have to agree with every little point in the agenda. But if we bind together, numbers are important. We will become a force to be reckoned with at the convention" (Chisholm 2003, part 1). But neither women nor blacks supported her unequivocally, and Chisholm lamented that her both/and status as black and female brought out conflict between movements. "See, if it was a black man that was running, I think it would be different," she recalled. "If it was a white woman that was running, I think that would be different. But here, a woman and a black person running, it just couldn't come together." An intersectional coalition of delegates did not come together over her candidacy, and she mourned so much about the failure of this coalition that she lost weight during the campaign (Chisholm 2003, part 1, 36; part 4, 5, 7).

Perhaps no occasion better indicates the difficulty of maintaining a unified feminist front than the 1972 Democratic National Convention. Chisholm was the most warmly greeted presidential candidate at a 400-strong meeting of the Women's Caucus there, but this did not mean that

all of the women delegates cast their votes for her. After the speech, all of the women cheered loudly, even though fewer than twenty-four were actually voting for her. One Michigan woman explained: “that’s why I’m clapping so hard . . . I’m clapping out the guilt. But this is politics and she’s not going to win” (Goodman 1972, 35). White feminists had wrestled with what to do about Chisholm’s candidacy. One writer said that she could not “adore” Chisholm, as she did Bella Abzug, because of Chisholm’s lisp, wigs, and exhortative speaking style. She even alluded to a “very real possibility that she might be unhinged.” But this writer, Vivien Leone of *Off Our Backs*, grudgingly came around to Chisholm, acknowledging Chisholm’s relative legislative effectiveness when compared with Abzug’s, and the fact that merely running as a serious candidate was a huge step. Still, Leone acknowledged that it was easier for women at the Democratic National Convention to see McGovern as a “realistic candidate” because of his maleness. After reading this assessment, Gloria Steinem wrote in, relieved, saying that Leone had put into words exactly what Steinem was thinking (Leone 1972; Steinem 1972).

From 1973 on, Chisholm did not actively participate in meetings of NOW or the NWPC, even though she was a member of both and communicated with their leadership. After the founding of the NWPC, because of her travel schedule and the lukewarm support that she felt she had received from the organization, she chose to send her legislative aide to meetings instead of attending herself (Downs 2012).

Chisholm, as a public supporter of the NBFO and of black feminism in general, would become something of a lightning rod for white feminists’ resentments of black feminists’ independence. Perhaps this was because one of the lines from her NBFO speech had been, “if we are going to become an unconquerable race we need the sisters and brothers together holding each other up.” White feminists were quick to assume that such racial rhetoric signified a lack of commitment to or understanding of feminism. For example, Rita LaPorte, the last president of the Daughters of Bilitis, professed sympathy with the idea of intersecting oppressions when she said, “the white lesbian and the black heterosexual woman [she did not address black lesbians at all] have something in common, namely, a vicious oppression that in a sense competes in the soul with the oppression of racism.” But she then dismissed black feminists by asserting that their concerns for black men were “amusing” and that they had “suspicion of or hatred for the white feminist movement.” And she claimed that Chisholm

“courted black votes rather than women’s votes” and thus deserved to be written off (LaPorte 1974).

White feminists also questioned her on the beliefs of black feminists. In an interview, after Chisholm explained that nonwhite women had a different set of priorities from those of the largely white feminist leadership, an interviewer for *Off Our Backs* asked, “do you feel there has been much of an attempt on the part of minority women to understand the position of white women?” Chisholm, attempting to answer patiently, stated that she thought black women had indeed made such an attempt, and that black women saw much that was positive within the women’s movement. But she re-emphasized that black women were far less invested in combating the feminine mystique and an adversarial relationship with men than they were in full political inclusion. Black women’s problem with white feminists was that, for all of white feminists’ language about “sisterhood,” the relationship did not seem to be mutual. Black women were not included in all activities, and their concerns were not reflected in white leaders’ priorities and rhetoric, yet black women were often called upon to support those same leaders. It was these conditions that had led to the founding of the NBFO (Chisholm and Dell 1974).

Chisholm’s experience with black activists and male colleagues was similarly mixed. This article has already shown the gendered discourse surrounding her campaign against Farmer in 1968. In Congress, too, Chisholm faced lukewarm support from her black male colleagues. Chisholm was part of the coalition of black members of Congress that called itself the Democratic Select Committee from 1969 to 1971. In 1971, in response to the growth and increased race-consciousness of its members, as well as Nixon’s civil rights conservatism, the group formalized into the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). Chisholm’s Congressional Black Caucus colleagues, with the exception of Mitchell (D-MD) and Dellums (D-CA), made no move to support her. Dellums, who had supported Chisholm’s campaign from the start, had wanted to nominate her on the floor of the Democratic National Convention. He was unable to speak because of bronchitis, however, and so could neither nominate her nor address the floor in support of her candidacy. Her former Assembly colleague and Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton did so instead. Eventually, once the party platform was established and Chisholm’s candidacy could no longer sway its contents, Dellums endorsed McGovern. Chisholm’s and Dellums’s relationship survived the convention intact,

although some of Chisholm's supporters, perhaps unaware of Dellums's illness, were angry that he had not made the nomination speech (Hixon and Rose 1972; Chisholm 1973, 31, 50, 73–74, 101; Dellums 2003, part 1, 20–25; Riles 2003, 29–30, 38; Dellums n.d., part 2, 16).

Chisholm was also able to build support for her presidential campaign within the Black Panther Party. The Party had begun to develop a political arm as early as 1968 and would run an electoral campaign in 1973, putting forward Elaine Brown and Bobby Seale as City Councilor and Mayor of Oakland, respectively, and assisting with get-out-the-vote efforts in that state's general election (Brown 1992, 321–27). Party cofounder Huey Newton formally endorsed Chisholm, explaining that "Sister Chisholm has a simple platform: survival," that directly echoed the Black Panther Party's "survival programs" of providing food, shelter, education, and other necessities to poor black people. Seale and Newton even held a fundraiser for Chisholm in Newton's Oakland penthouse, attended by Black Panthers, the "black bourgeoisie," and white liberals (Newton 1972; Lee 2003, 7, 24; Riles 2003, part 2, 7; Seale 2003, 24).

But on the other hand, Chisholm's presidential campaign strained her relationships with black male political leaders. Some felt that she had circumvented the proper political channels when she independently declared her candidacy in early 1972. An effort to have members of the civil rights movement run a candidate had not yet come to a decision, and Chisholm leapfrogged over movement members to begin her own campaign. She further irritated other black leaders when she decided not to attend the National Black Political Convention in March 1972. Held in Gary, Indiana, the loosely conceived convention seated 3,500 delegates from fifty states. Its leaders, which included her colleagues in the House, Charlie Diggs and Walter Fauntroy, plus the Rev. Jesse Jackson and writer Amiri Baraka, were somewhat divided between nationalist and integrationist goals, and between endorsing a presidential candidate or not. Chisholm heard that the organizers of the convention had wanted a black male candidate to run and intended to discredit her. In addition, Chisholm saw little possibility of coalition between those who advocated separatism and integrationists (like herself) who hoped to demand racial and economic justice from within the political system. Finally, she suspected hidden, corrupt alliances of black convention participants with white politicians (Chisholm 2000, part 1; 1973c, 13–14). Observers wondered whether it was sexism that kept the convention

from endorsing Chisholm, or Chisholm who was “foolish [as] the only announced black [presidential] candidate to stay away from the gathering in the face of implied repudiation” (Payne 1972; Jaffe 1972). But the snub was not limited to the Gary Convention.

Chisholm would leave office in early 1983. She had divorced Conrad Chisholm and had married liquor-store owner and former New York State Assembly colleague Arthur Hardwick, Jr. in 1977. Hardwick had been permanently injured in an automobile accident, and after her seventh term Chisholm decided not to run for office again. Although her stated reason was to spend more time with her husband, she very likely had experienced fatigue and burnout after fourteen years in Congress. Like other black feminists who wearied in the context of the Reagan–Bush era, she was aware that the tide of the New Right was flowing against her efforts (Springer 2005, 139–40). She took a post as a distinguished visiting professor at Mt. Holyoke College in February 1983. After her husband’s death, she moved to Florida. She continued to lecture occasionally until her death in 2005 (Barron 2005).

Chisholm’s relationships within and across the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s were always complex and frequently fraught. But the very complexity of those relationships demonstrates her ability to bridge multiple categories of oppression and social activism. Furthermore, her theory and praxis represent an important moment of black feminist visibility and voice within national politics. As black and feminist activists moved “from protest to politics” in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Chisholm participated in that shift and challenged their leaders to approach social change from an intersectional perspective (Rustin 1965). She sought to bring transformations in social justice from the streets to the halls of national government, and with the widest scope possible. Though her ideas were not unique within the black freedom struggle, the women’s movement, or even among black feminists, her decision to work within the heart of national politics on Capitol Hill sets her black feminism apart.

#### NOTES

1. In Congress, Chisholm served alongside one other woman of color: Japanese-American Patsy Mink. She was eventually joined by black women Barbara Jordan (D-TX) and Cardiss Collins (D-IL) in 1973. Kimberly Springer has identified the common thread between Chela Sandoval’s “oppositional consciousness,” Collins’s “subjugated knowledge,” Gloria

Anzaldúa's "la facultad," and even W. E. B. Du Bois's "double consciousness" that black feminists possess while reading power relationships. (Springer 2005, 14).

2. Springer has documented the founding of six black feminist organizations in the years between 1968 and 1980: The Third World Women's Alliance (formerly the Black Women's Liberation Committee within SNCC, 1968), the Black Women's Alliance (1969), Black Women Organized for Action (1973), the National Black Feminist Organization (1973), the Combahee River Collective (1974), and the National Alliance of Black Feminists (1976) (Springer 2005, 8–9).
3. These scholars have pointed out that Chisholm expanded her vision beyond her own identity to advocate for people whose interests were seldom served by legislative politics. Tammy Brown notes that Chisholm was able to reconcile "seemingly contradictory philosophies of racial, ethnic, and feminist pride with humanist and universal ideals to win over a broad spectrum of voters" (Brown 2008, 1014). I take Brown's argument one step further by suggesting that it was her feminism itself that enabled her to do the work of coalition. Joshua Guild has identified Chisholm's status as a "pioneer in developing an intersectional black feminist praxis" in her campaigns, and argues that it was her embrace of feminism in the late 1960s that radicalized her (Guild 2009, 250, 257-258). Concurring with Guild's assessment, I engage more closely with her activities while she held office at the national level.
4. Compared to that of other members of Congress, Chisholm's representation in the archives is small. However, there are two major collections of materials by and about her: the Shirley Chisholm Papers at Special Collections and Archives, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey; and the Shirley Chisholm '72 Collection, Brooklyn College Archives and Special Collections, Brooklyn, New York. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of the staff at both repositories for their invaluable assistance, and the Director of the Shirley Chisholm Project on Brooklyn Women's Activism at Brooklyn College, Barbara Winslow.
5. Although *Cooper v. Power*, brought by former UDC member Andrew Cooper, has been cited (Dawkins 2012, 52–54) as the decision that brought about redistricting, it was actually *Wells v. Rockefeller*, decided by the United States District Court, Eastern New York, on May 10, 1967 and upheld by the United States Supreme Court on December 18, 1967. See *Cooper v. Power*, *Wells v. Rockefeller*, and *Rockefeller v. Wells*.
6. Farmer had tried to enter the race as a Democrat but had been told, he said, that the county-level Democratic Party would not give him permission to run. Chisholm was originally the favorite to win the 12<sup>th</sup> District, but with strong support from CORE and the Governor, Farmer was a real threat. Chisholm would capitalize on suspicions that Farmer was a "carpetbagger" since he actually lived in Manhattan, and she also suspected that white liberals had

- picked him to run in Brooklyn because they thought he could beat “a little black woman.” She credited her oratorical skills at two debates with giving her the edge over Farmer. Farmer himself would say that there were irregularities in the election, though, at least in hindsight, he did not blame Chisholm for them. Instead, he blamed the Democratic machine in Brooklyn for being unable to allow the democratic process to work, even though their candidate would likely have won without interference. (Farmer 1985, 311–14; Kifner 1968a; Payne 1968).
7. Murray sent her letter to Irene Barlow, Catherine East, Dr. Gardiner C. Means, Caroline F. Ware, Patricia R. Harris, Mary Gresham, Mildred Fearing (Murray’s sister), Maida Springer-Kemp, Aileen Hernandez, Marchette and Joy Chute, Eva Schindler-Rainman, Mary Eastwood, Caroline Bird, Eleanor Rawson, Laura Bornholdt, Phineas Indritz, Dorothy Kenyon, Marritt and Ann Hedgeman, Morag Simshak, B. Ruth Powell, Edna and Gene Rostow, Dorothy Haener, Marie Rodell, and Henry and Ruth Morgenthau (“sent Jim Farmer contribution early in his campaign but were shocked at the news story”). It is unclear whether Murray and Chisholm ever met; a September 15, 1969 letter from Murray to Chisholm suggests that they had not yet met at that point (Murray 1968a; 1968b; 1969).
  8. Chisholm’s essays were: “The Speech against the War”; “How I View Congress”; “Facing the Abortion Question”; “The Lindsay Campaign and Coalition Politics”; “Black Politicians and the Black Minority”; “A Government that Cannot Hear the People”; “Women and Their Liberation”; and “Youth and America’s Future” (Chisholm 1970).
  9. After its first published articulations in the 1830s, black feminist thought had continued to develop in the United States. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, black feminism reconceived itself within the context of the civil rights movement and second-wave feminism. Several scholars in addition to Kimberly Springer and Benita Roth have traced this development. Joy James and T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting have documented transformations within black feminism since the 1830s, and have noted a “transformative black feminism” marked by engagement with black women’s sexuality, intersectionality, and political, economic, and social roles in the late 1960s and early 1970s. See their “Editor’s Introduction” (James and Sharpley-Whiting 2000, 3–4). Deborah Gray White has documented the transformations across and within black feminism since the turn of the twentieth century and the emergence of the NBFO (White 1999). Beverly Guy-Sheftall similarly observes “the beginning of a clearly defined black women’s liberation movement” signaled by Toni Cade Bambara’s *The Black Woman* antisexist, antiracist, and antiimperialist anthology (Bambara 1970; Guy-Sheftall 1995, 14–15; Taylor 2000, 234–53).
  10. For the development of black feminism, see Taylor 1998, 245–46; Breines 2004; and Roth 2004. For demands and strategies of welfare rights activists, see Pope 1989; Orleck 2005, 108–15; and Nadasen, Mittelstadt, and Chappell 2009.
  11. When directly asked if she was a feminist, Chisholm replied in the affirmative (Chisholm and Dell 1974, 9).



12. 115 Cong. Rec, 13380–81 (1969). Chisholm revised these remarks into the essay “Women and Their Liberation” (Chisholm 1970, 178).
13. Hartmann has argued that (middle-class) black women were more likely to cross class lines and advocate for causes that were not solely applicable to them, such as poverty (Hartmann 1998, 191).
14. *Discrimination against Women: Hearings on 91 H.R. 16098, Day 1, Before the Committee on Education and Labor. House; Special Subcommittee on Education (1970)* (statement of Shirley Chisholm) <http://louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/ref/collection/pr20701coll25/id/128364> (accessed May 14, 2015).
15. Chisholm collaborated with fellow New York City Congresswoman Bella Abzug, who had been elected in 1970, on the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971. Having shepherded the bill through both houses on Capitol Hill, Chisholm and Abzug were stymied by Richard Nixon. He vetoed the bill and delivered a speech written by Pat Buchanan, arguing that the bill amounted to “a radical piece of social legislation” (MacLean 2006, 137).
16. She also appears to have given versions of this speech in 1974 and 1978 (Chisholm 1974; 1978c).
17. All were elected to the Policy Council and named as “Convenors” except Hamer, who was on the Policy Council only and Norton, who was named just as a “Convenor.” See “Women’s Political Caucus,” 117 Cong Rec 24519 (1971); Gallagher 2007b, 404, 405).

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#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Anastasia Curwood** is Assistant Professor of History and African American and Africana Studies at the University of Kentucky. She has written *Stormy Weather: Middle-Class African American Marriages Between the Two World Wars* (North Carolina, 2010) and is currently at work on *Aim High: The Life and Times of Shirley Chisholm*.