

All the President's Women: Barbara Hackman Franklin's Womanpower in the Nixon White House, 1971-1973

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During the 1960s and 1970s, the women's liberation movement broadened the scope of women's issues in the United States. President Nixon took office in the midst of this 'new consciousness,' and his administration responded to the struggle for women's equality.<sup>1</sup> The Nixon Administration was among the first to recognize the burgeoning role of women in government, the paid labor-force and the electorate. Primarily, this administration furthered women's rights by expanding women's opportunity in government.<sup>2</sup> Prior to this administration, women in both political parties were consigned to the "housework of government," clerical and support staff positions which sustained the institution but afforded little esteem.<sup>3</sup> Between 1966 and 1969, only 1.7 percent of senior level positions in the federal government (GS-16 and above) were held by women. Yet, almost eighty percent of all full-time federally employed women served in clerical, aid or support staff positions (GS 1 through 6).<sup>4</sup> In the early 1970's, as the women's movement prompted new opportunities for political participation, women deserted their auxiliary roles in government. By 1973, the number of women in high-level federal jobs tripled, and women's participation in government began a fundamental transformation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The women's liberation movement was an alliance of feminist thinking women in the United States and other developed countries during the 1960's and 1970's. The term "women's liberation" gained wide-spread national use in 1971.

<sup>2</sup> Dean J. Kotlowski, *Nixon's Civil Rights Politics, Principle, and Policy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001, 223.

<sup>3</sup> Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006, 189.

While Rymph's analysis of the "housework of government" is discussed primarily within the Republican Party, my research indicates both parties were slow to expand the role of women.

<sup>4</sup> "Study of Employment of Women in the Federal Government," U.S. Civil Service Commission Bureau of Manpower Information Systems, 1969.

GS, or general schedule, is a classification standard that covers civilian white-collar federal employees.

For a more quantitative examination of women in the federal government, see:

Kathryn Dunn Tenpas. "Women on the White House Staff: A Longitudinal Analysis, 1939-1994." In *The Other Elites: Women, Politics, and Power in the Executive Branch*, edited by MaryAnne Borrelli and Janet M. Martin. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997.

<sup>5</sup> Lee Stout. *A Matter of Simple Justice: The Untold Story of Barbara Hackman Franklin and a Few Good Women*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Libraries, 2012, 98, 99.

During a presidential press conference in 1969, presswoman Vera Glaser challenged the president's commitment to gender equality, pointedly describing the administration's paucity of women appointees.<sup>6</sup> In the fall of 1969, President Nixon responded to this criticism by creating the Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. By December 1969, the task force published a report entitled, "A Matter of Simple Justice." This report issued recommendations to achieve a more equitable ratio of men to women and encourage women's leadership in the federal government.<sup>7</sup>

On April 21, 1971, President Nixon publicly announced a three-pronged initiative to increase women's role in the federal government. First, he issued a departmental directive requesting each cabinet secretary and agency head to create an action plan for hiring and advancing women in their department. Second, he hired Jayne Baker Spain to oversee the advancement of women in the career civil service as Vice Chairman of the Civil Service Commission. Third, the president appointed Barbara Hackman Franklin as a Staff Assistant to the President in the White House Personnel Operation (WHPO). In this position, Franklin built a bipartisan talent bank of women, monitored the progress of departmental action plans, recruited and placed highly qualified women in policy-making positions.<sup>8</sup>

Franklin's program reformed imbalanced federal hiring practices from within and infiltrated the government with highly qualified women. While the presidential directive implied the full support of the White House, Franklin still had to confront her colleagues' prevailing assumptions on women's limited capabilities. H.R. Haldeman, Chief of Staff, and John

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<sup>6</sup> Stout, 14.

<sup>7</sup> "A Matter of Simple Justice" The Report of the Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. April, 1970.

<sup>8</sup> Memo; Office of the White House Press Secretary: Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies; 21 April 1971; folder Internal BHF Memos [1 of 6]; box 2; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs oversaw the predominately male White House hierarchy. While Haldeman marshalled the administrative flank of the White House, Ehrlichman served as the principle architect of domestic policies. Counselors to the President, Donald Rumsfeld and Robert Finch oversaw Franklin's office.<sup>9</sup> Fredric Malek, head of the WHPO and Franklin's direct superior, held a subordinate position within the White House hierarchy, and served in a bureaucratic function under Haldeman's direction. While Franklin's position sat on the administrative side of the White House, she frequently traversed into the policy oriented milieu of the Executive Branch. As Franklin expanded her efforts, she frequently clashed with President Nixon's implacably conservative senior advisers such as Pat Buchanan and Charles Colson.<sup>10</sup> These influential and instinctively patriarchal advisers firmly clung to traditional gender roles while they responded to the escalating women's movement.<sup>11</sup>

This paper examines the role of Barbara Hackman Franklin as Staff Assistant to the President in the WHPO, and her numerous adjunct functions within this political maelstrom. On the frontier of women's rights, Franklin championed women in government and more broadly reformed the Republican party's position on women. This scholarship challenges the foremost study on Franklin's role in the White House, Lee Stout's book *A Matter of Simple Justice*. While Stout's text highlights the quantity and diversity of Franklin's appointments, this study presents a new concentration on Franklin's multifaceted function within the White House. Moreover, this paper more critically analyzes the Nixon Administration's pervasive male chauvinism and its

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<sup>9</sup> Barbara Franklin, "President Richard Nixon: The Unlikely Champion of Advancing Equality for Women," *Barbara Franklin Enterprises*, March 2010, <http://bhfranklin.com/speeches/President%20Richard%20Nixon%20-%20The%20Unlikely%20Champion%20of%20Advancing%20Equality%20for%20Women%203-30-10.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup> Kotlowski, 226.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 247, 248.

effect on Franklin's program.<sup>12</sup> Through an investigation into the previously unexamined Staff Member and Office Files of Barbara Franklin, this paper serves as a departure from the existing historical narrative of Franklin's tenure in the White House. These files are housed at the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library and Museum and consist of roughly 28,800 documents. Franklin's documents remained unprocessed until August 2013, when they were finally opened to the public.

An examination of Franklin's role in the White House reveals the cultural and structural inequalities which pervaded American society, and were personified by White House power brokers.<sup>13</sup> These members of senior White House staff answered demands for equal opportunity without abandoning their own sexism. This paper uncovers how sex discrimination operated within the federal government to thwart Franklin's office and exposes chauvinist attitudes perpetuated by Franklin's male colleagues.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, this research reveals Franklin's interactions with her male colleagues, both cooperative and adversarial, which demonstrate how Franklin flexed political muscle outside of her immediate job description and, by increasing her own visibility in the White House, transformed attitudes regarding the capability of women in government.

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<sup>12</sup> By male chauvinism, I refer to the reflexive rejection of departures from traditional gender norms. While some White House staffers were consciously ideologically aligned with male chauvinism, others exhibited non-conscious ideological responses to Franklin's program as it attempted to expand women's rights and responsibilities.

<sup>13</sup> Cultural discrimination refers to exclusion, restriction or hate that is directed toward a person or group of people on the basis of perceived or real difference in cultural beliefs or values. Structural discrimination refers to rules, norms, or patterns of attitudes in institutions that present obstacles in achieving equal rights or opportunities.

<sup>14</sup> Memo; A Partial List of Existing Discriminations against Women in the United States; 4 June 1969; folder Women's Affairs: Women's Rights/Memorandums; box 170; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Leonard Garment; Nixon Presidential Library.

Sex discrimination, according to the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is defined as: "treating someone (an applicant or employee) unfavorably because of that person's sex. Sex discrimination also can involve treating someone less favorably because of his or her connection with an organization or group that is generally associated with people of a certain sex."

"Sex-Based Discrimination." Sex-Based Discrimination. Accessed February 9, 2015.  
<http://www.eeoc.gov/laws/types/sex.cfm>.

On April 22, 1971, responding to the report from the Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, President Nixon appointed Franklin to the WHPO.<sup>15</sup> In alignment with the task force's recommendation to, "appoint more women to positions of top responsibility in all branches of the Federal government."<sup>16</sup> President Nixon directed Malek to hire a woman to spearhead the effort to recruit other women in government and achieve a more equitable ratio of men and women in the White House.<sup>17</sup> Franklin was distinguished as Malek's first choice for this new White House position. He explained:

I did not mount a nationwide search. I sat back and said I know just the person for this job. It was my old classmate, Barbara [whom] I had been impressed with at Harvard and who had a solid, substantive career following Harvard Business School and who I had stayed in touch with... I thought she was ideally suited for it and that I would be lucky if I could get her.<sup>18</sup>

Franklin, one of the first women to attend Harvard Business School, was one of twelve women to graduate from Harvard's MBA program in 1964. Impressed with her work at the Singer Company, and the First National City Bank as Assistant Vice President for Corporate Planning, Malek recruited his fellow Harvard alumnus.<sup>19</sup> Despite Malek's recruitment procedure being ironically symptomatic of the very 'old boys network' Franklin was hired to disrupt, the preliminary goals of Franklin's office were ambitious. She sought to double the number of women at civil service rank GS-16 and above from twenty-six to fifty-two, appoint women to vacancies on presidential and departmental advisory boards toward an eventual goal of women filling twenty-five percent of these posts, considerably increase the amount of women in ranks

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<sup>15</sup> Memo; Outline of Proposed Publicity Timeline; folder Women- Memos; box 28; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Robert Finch; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>16</sup> "A Matter of Simple Justice," The Report of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Stout, 57-58.

<sup>18</sup> Stout, 57-58.

<sup>19</sup> Barbara Franklin interviewed by Jean Rainey, October 23, 1998. *Hon. Barbara Hackman Franklin Interview Transcript* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Penn State University Libraries site: [http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar\\_title\\_psul](http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar_title_psul)

GS-13 to 15, and compel each civil service department and agency to launch a strategy for increasing the responsibilities of women throughout the federal government.<sup>20</sup>

In tandem with Franklin's appointment, President Nixon announced the first presidential effort to place women in the federal government. On April 21, President Nixon declared his women's initiative during a cabinet meeting. Later that same day, he issued a presidential directive to all federal departments and independent agencies requesting action plans for the advancement of women in the government. Cabinet secretaries and department heads submitted their action plans to Franklin for her assessment and approval.<sup>21</sup> Franklin monitored the progress and received reports from each department.

Prior to Franklin's appointment, President Nixon urged his cabinet to initiate independently organized women's advancement strategies. This request was not effectively carried out until Franklin's managerial effort began. Nonetheless, the weight of presidential support was crucial to Franklin's success. Franklin shared,

The fact that the President of the United States took it upon himself to decide he wanted to advance women in the federal government and set an example, in effect, for the rest of the country was really quite an important step. Not everybody agreed with this, and there were those in the White House that didn't either. When the president wants something, that really helps.<sup>22</sup>

The president placed pressure on cabinet secretaries and department heads to meet these goals. For example, if the cabinet secretaries or department heads succeeded in their stipulated efforts, the president sent a note of congratulations. However, if they missed a target, the president issued a reprimanding note. Franklin drafted these memos and forwarded them to the president for

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<sup>20</sup> Memo; Office of the White House Press Secretary: Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies; 21 April 1971; folder Internal BHF Memos [1 of 6]; box 2; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>21</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Lester Barrer; 24 April 1972; folder Women Statistics General [7 of 12]; box 19; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>22</sup> Barbara Franklin, interviewed by Cathleen R. Buzan, February, 17, 2015.

distribution. Franklin attributed the success of this program to President Nixon's clear support of her office and its efforts.<sup>23</sup> The combination of President Nixon's outspoken support and Franklin's managerial effort proved essential for the program.

In this way, Franklin performed a multifaceted role: recruiting women, stationing them in available positions and overseeing departmental initiatives on women's advancement. To accomplish these goals, Franklin generated a bipartisan talent bank of qualified women her office could consult when presented with a vacant position. For this task, she divided the country into ten regions. Franklin not only sought out qualified women individually, but also garnered support from bipartisan women's organizations to continually pursue candidates and replenish the talent bank with new names. Franklin worked with women in both parties as she filled both partisan and non-partisan political and career appointments.<sup>24</sup> Quickly, Franklin was inundated with work, pursuing women in all corners of the United States. Pendleton James, the chief recruiter in Malek's WHPO, recalled, "She had a parade of women come in and out of that office every day. And I was just astounded at this parade that I would see coming down the hall for an appointment with this Barbara Franklin."<sup>25</sup> Clearly, the breadth of Franklin's search astonished many of her colleagues. After this, Franklin reached out to her stunned personnel colleagues and other departments to find vacancies for these women.

Still, as Franklin coordinated the full efforts of the White House, involving government recruiters and personnel liaison officers with her recruitment goals, she encountered a formidable environment of chauvinism. Franklin remembered, "As you can imagine this was quite a cultural clash. All the liaison officers and the recruiters but one... were male... The cultural change was

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Stout, 68.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted by Stout, 69.

quite severe. [These men would say]—‘these come-uppity women... what in the hell are they thinking? What’s enough here? Nothing’s ever enough.’... This office culture sort of reflected that.”<sup>26</sup> The attitudes of her colleagues shaped the reality of Franklin’s day to day work in the White House. Moreover, this environment of chauvinism affected Franklin’s ability to effectively function as a White House recruiter. In one example, Franklin shared, “These guys got mad at me every so often. One, Stan Anderson, was forever hanging up on me when I called him on the intercom. Then I’d go down to his office and say, ‘Oh, Stan, you didn’t mean to do that.’ He’d say, ‘Stop bugging me with this women stuff,’ but in the end Stan delivered.”<sup>27</sup> Anderson’s insouciant response suggests her role was mistakenly considered as inconsequential in the scheme of the White House. Despite these collisions, Franklin forged workable alliances with these men, referring to both Malek and Anderson as eventual ‘allies.’ The White House culture of chauvinism was so pervasive that even White House recruiters she considered allies would occasionally dismiss Franklin’s work as insignificant.

Beyond her immediate network of colleagues, Franklin lacked support from higher ranking Nixon officials. Despite the weight of Nixon’s April 21st presidential directive legitimating her work in the White House, Franklin’s position remained unwelcomed by some. Charles Clapp, Special Assistant to the President on Domestic Affairs, identified the characteristic attitudes of the men in the administration. Clapp communicated, “I think that within the White House there was opposition to some of the recommendations, because [some men] didn’t want anything to happen, you know, the old Ehrlichman crowd, those people.”<sup>28</sup> The more staunchly conservative members

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<sup>26</sup> Stout, 71.

<sup>27</sup> Barbara Franklin interviewed by Jean Rainey, October 23, 1998. *Hon. Barbara Hackman Franklin Interview Transcript* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Penn State University Libraries site: [http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar\\_title\\_psul](http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar_title_psul)

<sup>28</sup> Stout, 31.

of the White House, such as John Ehrlichman, resisted the progress of Franklin's office. As the policy director, John Ehrlichman and his staff set the tone for the administration. Clapp later continued,

[T]he government is full of male chauvinists, as... many of us were... Barbara had to be an advocate. She had to go up against us and fight against us, because we would have candidates of the male gender for these posts.... She's undaunted; she has the courage of her convictions. And it took somebody like that to... take on this charge against all types of male chauvinist opposition, overt or subtle, and really battle her way against us.<sup>29</sup>

Still, some of Franklin's colleagues hotly opposed her resolve in accomplishing the goals set by President Nixon. She recalled an incident between herself and Charles Colson, Special Counsel to the President. Franklin shared, "One time, I do remember that Chuck Colson wrote a memo to Fred Malek saying that he thought [I] was getting a little out of hand and why didn't he shut [me] up. Fred, to his credit, didn't respond to it. He just sent it along to me with an 'FYI.' So in effect, I was doing my job better than some people wanted it done."<sup>30</sup> While officials like Colson viewed Franklin as a silent token appointment to placate the intensifying women's movement, she was in reality a juggernaut for greater representation of women within the federal government.

Franklin endured a fair amount of teasing, demonstrating a dearth of support, but this often-witty workplace banter also indicated collegial acceptance of her person and presence. Just as no nation-wide consensus existed on women's rights, many White House staff members rejected the expansion of women's role in the federal government. While Franklin found key allies among Finch, Malek and Anderson, she knew certain colleagues would never contribute to her efforts. For Rumsfeld, Franklin recalled her work was "not his cup of tea."<sup>31</sup> In a memo to

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 71.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 72.

<sup>31</sup> Barbara Franklin, interviewed by Cathleen R. Buzan, February, 17, 2015.

Rumsfeld, Franklin attached an article on women in the 1972 election written by Rumsfeld's acquaintance Marianne Means. Franklin wrote, "Your friend Marianne Means has zapped up!" Rumsfeld responded, "She's yours, not mine- women scare me."<sup>32</sup> This ribbing, while consistent with Rumsfeld's low prioritization of Franklin's appointments, indicates a level of camaraderie Franklin enjoyed with White House staffers regardless of their support for women's rights. Similarly, Pat Buchanan also held reservations on women's rights. In a memo, Buchanan shared, "Incidentally, I see where two more states gave a goosing to the ERA; you may be sure we are watching this closely."<sup>33</sup> Franklin fearlessly drafted incendiary memos to her colleagues responding to Buchanan with, "And here's hoping the ERA geoses you one of these days. I'll plan to be a witness!"<sup>34</sup> For Franklin, it was not these inimical statements that obstructed her duties. Instead, Franklin communicated, "The ones who were more difficult were the ones who would never say anything, but who would be in opposition or would have two men to fill every seat that came up."<sup>35</sup> Franklin strategically employed humor in order to highlight the farce of those who refused to support women's rights. Unyielding to the intimidation of her male co-workers, Franklin pushed her agenda forward, marking her disagreement with chauvinist attitudes in a clear albeit comedic manner.

Beyond the verbal jousting among her and her colleagues, Franklin protested chauvinism with the help of Susan B. Anthony. In 1971, The Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities donated a bronze bust of Susan B. Anthony to the White House.<sup>36</sup> Intended

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<sup>32</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Donald Rumsfeld; folder Women-Statistics-General [4 of 12]; box 18; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>33</sup> Memo; Pat Buchanan to Barbara Franklin; 5 March 1973; folder Memos to WH Staff Members [1 of 10]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Barbara Franklin, interviewed by Cathleen R. Buzan, February, 17, 2015.

<sup>36</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Anne L. Armstrong; 26 March 1973; folder Memos to WH Staff Members [1 of 10]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

as a symbol of progress, this bust acknowledged women's range of involvement in government and recognized Franklin for her advocacy in the White House.<sup>37</sup> While the statue was not formally presented until 1973, until then, the bust resided in Franklin's office on the third floor of the Executive Office Building (EOB). Franklin recalled,

If someone said something that was derogatory about women, Susan B. would steal out of my closet in the dead of night and appear the next morning in the office of the guilty party to underscore her point. Then, of course, I had to come and rescue her and bring her back to the closet. She was heavy. But it was known that the bust and the spirit of Susan B. Anthony roamed the White House on occasion at night.<sup>38</sup>

One frequent recipient of Susan B. Anthony's night visits included White House Press Secretary, Ronald Ziegler, reputed to be a notorious misogynist.<sup>39</sup> Franklin repurposed this gift, confronting the rampant White House chauvinism and emphasizing her commitment for equality. Franklin addressed her colleagues when she saw they needed correction and confidently asserted herself in a hostile work environment. Franklin tactically chose to fight these setbacks with humor expressing, "I got pushback, but I had to rise above it. I had a job to do."<sup>40</sup> Franklin could not get bogged down in rivalries. She continued, "You don't want to get angry, and you don't want to get upset, and you don't want to let them getcha."<sup>41</sup> In order to subvert negative stereotypes surrounding women's abilities, Franklin used humor to combat chauvinism in the White House.

This adversarial atmosphere manifested in material ways. Notwithstanding her tremendous undertaking, the White House failed to provide Franklin with the institutional

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<sup>37</sup> Stout, 73.

<sup>38</sup> Barbara Franklin interviewed by Jean Rainey, October 23, 1998. *Hon. Barbara Hackman Franklin Interview Transcript* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Penn State University Libraries site:

[http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar\\_title\\_psul](http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar_title_psul)

<sup>39</sup> Kotlowski, 226.

Barbara Franklin interviewed by Jean Rainey, October 23, 1998. *Hon. Barbara Hackman Franklin Interview Transcript* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Penn State University Libraries site:

[http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar\\_title\\_psul](http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar_title_psul)

<sup>40</sup> Barbara Franklin, interviewed by Cathleen R. Buzan, February, 17, 2015.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

support required for a functioning office. James continued “[Franklin] really did a very large outreach, I think with a minimum of staff, [she] really did develop a huge talent bank.”<sup>42</sup> Initially, Franklin’s staff was non-existent. Franklin recalled, “. . . as I look back on this, I am astonished. There was no structure there, not even a secretary. I brought a secretary from Citibank on loan just to help me sort the mail. We were getting volumes of that. . . . There was no one even to answer the phone.”<sup>43</sup> However, this chief obstacle did not deter Franklin during the creation of this new White House function. Before she assembled a staff in July of 1971, Franklin succeeded in recruiting ten women to positions GS-16 and above.<sup>44</sup> Franklin shared, “As I recall, I went to Fred Malek and said, ‘We’re getting all these letters and resumes. What are we going to do? I feel that they should be answered.’ [Malek’s] response was, ‘Oh, forget it.’ I did not agree because I did not think we could go public and say, ‘We’re looking for women,’ be outreaching, and then not answer the mail.”<sup>45</sup> Again, even those who supported Franklin did not expect her to be an integral member of the White House. This recollection indicates that even Franklin’s supporters in the WHPO dismissed her work and were unconcerned with the ultimate success of the program for women appointees. Devoting a meager third of her time to recruiting women appointees, Franklin realized the bulk of her efforts were exhausted on clerical work. Once a high-powered banking executive, Franklin was reduced to attending to her own typing. While the men in her office were supplied with staff and secretaries, Franklin was expected to be her own secretary. This oversight perpetuated the sex typing of women’s work and the gender division of labor in the federal government which Franklin tried to combat.

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<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Stout, 69.

<sup>43</sup> Barbara Franklin interviewed by Jean Rainey, October 23, 1998. *Hon. Barbara Hackman Franklin Interview Transcript* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Penn State University Libraries site:

[http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar\\_title\\_psul](http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar_title_psul)

<sup>44</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 1 December 1971; folder Malek Memoranda [1 of 6]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

Despite the absurdity of one woman attempting to build a talent bank, find vacancies within the federal government, scout potential openings on advisory boards and fundamentally shift the ratio of men to women in middle management, it was clear the White House did not expect Franklin to develop a staff. However, a strong support staff was crucial to the success of Franklin's program. With this in mind, Franklin restructured her position, refocusing on meeting the president's recruiting goals. As a result of this restructuring, Franklin brought on a team of women: Sharon Shay as secretary, Judy Cole as staff assistant in charge of recruiting, and Judy Kaufman as staff assistant for communications and event planning.<sup>46</sup>

Once Franklin hired her staff, these women were immured by the meager ten-by-ten foot office space. In Malek's memo to Jon Huntsman, Special Assistant and Staff Secretary to the President, Franklin's supervisor advocated for her "space issue." Malek wrote, "There are currently four people with two desks... Barbara Franklin's space problems are desperate. Two of these people are threatening to resign unless the situation is alleviated right away. But the more overriding concern is that the situation precludes each person from operating at optimum efficiency."<sup>47</sup> Beyond the administration's failure to provide support staff, Franklin's diminutive office indicated White House officials never expected Franklin to develop the robust staff necessary for accomplishing the president's goals.

While contention surrounded more overt forms of discrimination, other concerns plaguing Franklin indicated the White House was simply out of touch with women. Franklin's initial title, for example, proved controversial. Franklin revealed, "My original title was Staff Assistant to the President for Executive *Manpower*. I'm not sure who dreamed that one up, but it

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<sup>46</sup> Stout, 66.

<sup>47</sup> Memo; Fred Malek to Jon Huntsman; 2 December 1971; folder Internal BHF Memos [3 of 6]; box 2; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

got changed very quickly, after my first press conference.”<sup>48</sup> Two weeks after Franklin’s appointment, a press conference was organized in the Roosevelt Room with prominent women journalists. Immediately, the journalists bombarded her with questions regarding the veracity of Franklin’s ‘manpower’ title when she was appointed to recruit women. Franklin shared, “I must admit that I was too inexperienced at the time to understand how insensitive that title was. But the man (or men) who dreamed it up did not understand either.”<sup>49</sup> Yet, as Franklin settled into her position, another dispute regarding her title arose. When Franklin expressed a preference to be referred to as ‘Ms.,’ Rose Mary Woods, President Nixon’s secretary, informed her the White House only used ‘Mrs.’ or ‘Miss.’<sup>50</sup> While this can be construed as a seemingly innocuous misnomer, once again, her colleagues, ensconced in the White House, could not keep up with the pace of change.

Whereas some White House resources were deliberately denied to these women, access to the full powers of the White House remained crucial to Franklin’s success. Fred Malek clearly apprehended such privileges as essential to Franklin’s recruitment goals. Almost immediately following Franklin’s appointment, Malek remedied the “severe” matter of Franklin’s inadequate mess privileges. In a memo, Malek claimed, “The responsibilities of my staff also argue strongly for mess privileges. In recruiting, we are generally fighting an uphill battle to persuade important executives to join the Administration. This makes it necessary to use every tool possible to attract them, and a White House luncheon can be quite persuasive.”<sup>51</sup> By enticing prospective women appointees with the trappings of the White House, Franklin could cajole powerful private

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<sup>48</sup> Barbara Franklin interviewed by Jean Rainey, October 23, 1998. *Hon. Barbara Hackman Franklin Interview Transcript* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Penn State University Libraries site:

[http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar\\_title\\_psul](http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar_title_psul)

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Stout, 68.

<sup>51</sup> Memo; Fred Malek to Jon Hunstman; 30 April 1971; folder Reading File- April 1971 (1 of 5); box 12; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Fredric V. Malek; Nixon Presidential Library.

sector executives to enlist as civil servants. Moreover, Malek keenly recognized Franklin's dependence on perceived power to do her job. Malek continued, "In addition to the above, we have a special situation with Barbara Franklin. She is being given great visibility in her role of recruiting women. You must remember that women in general and the women of the press corps in particular are going to be ultra-sensitive to the status accorded to her. Because of this, I think we really must afford her mess privileges."<sup>52</sup> According to this memo, Malek placed Franklin as the top personnel staff priority for mess privileges. In fact, Malek argued Franklin's perceived clout as a higher priority than Bill Marumoto's, the minority recruiter, or Stan Anderson's.<sup>53</sup> Granting Franklin such privileges elevated her status in the White House, and in doing so, illustrated to potential appointees that the Nixon Administration recognized women as vital partners in governance.

Beyond women appointees' perception of Franklin, her perceived clout proved vital for her survival in the White House. As position vacancies arose, Franklin competed with male colleagues to fill these postings. Many of Franklin's male colleagues sought to procure political favor or allies by filling these vacancies. Franklin conceded her job, "required a pretty good nose to know when a position was coming available, to anticipate it and get there first to target a job and hope to get a commitment for a woman. Otherwise, somebody else in the political process would get there first with another candidate, usually a man."<sup>54</sup> In order to contend with her colleagues in this patronage race, it was crucial for Franklin to appear as an influential and

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Barbara Franklin interviewed by Jean Rainey, October 23, 1998. *Hon. Barbara Hackman Franklin Interview Transcript* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Penn State University Libraries site: [http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar\\_title\\_psul](http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar_title_psul)

valued member in the White House. With these privileges, Franklin's colleagues had to acknowledge this newcomer as an important member of the White House.

Despite these challenges, Franklin's program succeeded impressively. By December 1971, Franklin not only met but exceeded her initial goal of doubling the number of women in top level policy making positions. Franklin continued her work, making recruiting trips to electorally crucial states like California, Florida, Illinois, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maine, Missouri and Louisiana.<sup>55</sup> By April 1972, the first anniversary of the recruitment program, Franklin reported record numbers of women appointments and the talent bank boasted more than three-hundred qualified women.<sup>56</sup> Franklin targeted three categories of federal positions. First, Franklin identified breakthrough appointments never before filled by women. These breakthrough appointments were significant in reflecting the shifting attitudes toward women's capabilities. At the top level, more than half the appointments were breakthroughs. Next, Franklin focused her hiring efforts on federal positions GS-16 and above, advocating for women in policy making positions. Beyond this, Franklin tripled the number of women in policy-making positions from thirty-six to one hundred-five. By this time, more women were appointed to full-time policy-making positions in the federal government under the Nixon Administration than ever before. Finally, Franklin placed women in mid-level bureaucracy positions, ensuring the longevity of women's influence in the federal government. In these mid-level positions, GS 13 through 15 paying \$18,000-\$28,000 annually, women were poised for promotions. By recruiting women to the mid-level positions, Franklin ensured that women would continue to enter the

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<sup>55</sup> Briefing Book; Issues of Concern to Women; November 1972; folder Speaker's Kit on Women [1 of 2]; box 53; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Anne L. Armstrong; Nixon Presidential Library. Memo; Fred Malek to Bob Finch and Donald Rumsfeld; folder Figures [1 of 3]; box 13; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>56</sup> Stout, 77.

ranks of top-level federal jobs without the intervention of her recruiting efforts. Franklin placed nearly 1,100 more women in midlevel positions GS 13-15, particularly significant given the cutbacks in federal employment during this period.<sup>57</sup> Franklin's program placed more than four times as many women than the Johnson Administration and more than six times as many women as the Kennedy Administration.<sup>58</sup>

Continuing the manifold political negotiations essential to her recruitment program, Franklin functioned as a liaison between women appointees and male colleagues. In doing so, Franklin ensured these women were not only successfully placed in government positions, but also treated equitably. Vera Brown, in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, wrote, "Commiserations because, Barbara, your job must be an untenable one! On one hand you recruit women, and on the other hand you must mop up after boo-boos committed which involve women."<sup>59</sup> By arbitrating conflicts, Franklin expended her influence to ensure the just treatment of women in government. Furthermore, Franklin demonstrated this facet of her position to John Ehrlichman, forwarding Brown's note to him to expose impudent attitudes toward women appointees.<sup>60</sup> Simply placing women in the government would not secure the broader purposes of Franklin's program. In addition to her women's recruitment effort, Franklin strove for the equitable treatment of these women.

In order to remain informed about the status of women appointees, Franklin built a coalition of support for women in government. Franklin organized informal meetings among

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<sup>57</sup> Briefing Book; Issues of Concern to Women; November 1972; folder Speaker's Kit on Women [1 of 2]; box 53; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Anne L. Armstrong; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>58</sup> Objectives; folder Executive Women in Government; box 29; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Anne L. Armstrong; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>59</sup> Memo; Vera Brown to Barbara Franklin; 26 October 1972; folder Memos to WH Staff Members [4 of 10]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library

<sup>60</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to John Ehrlichman; 1 November 1972; folder Memos to WH Staff Members [4 of 10]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

women appointees in the Roosevelt Room. These gatherings served as opportunities to discuss work, experiences with discrimination and the role of women in the federal government. As the number of women appointees steadily grew, Franklin sought larger venues to convene these meetings. Support for these women also came from unexpected advocates. Shelley Buchanan, wife of Pat Buchanan, worked as a White House receptionist. Shelley championed Franklin's program and an overall expansion of women's activity in the Republican party. Members of senior staff frequently received tickets to the President's Box at the Kennedy Center when the president was unable to attend performances. When these tickets were given to the Buchanans, Shelley regularly passed them along to Franklin who would then select one of her appointees to attend as her guest. Franklin used this low level patronage to build support among women in the White House. In this attempt to counteract the old boy's network, Franklin developed her own informal system of support to empower women and discuss matters of importance to women in the federal government. These informal circles of influence were institutionalized in the organization known as Executive Women in Government.<sup>61</sup> This group continues to mentor women for senior leadership positions in the federal government.<sup>62</sup> While Franklin only served in the White House for three years, her work left an enduring legacy for women's equality in government.

When women appointees experienced discrimination, Franklin sought to rectify these inequalities. One issue involved Libby Koontz, head of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor. Although Franklin did not recruit Koontz, she still endeavored to retain the status and power of all women within the federal government. Franklin informed Malek that Koontz was

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<sup>61</sup> EWG Bylaws; folder Executive Women in Government Bylaws; box 18; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Anne L. Armstrong; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>62</sup> Barbara Franklin, interviewed by Cathleen R. Buzan, February, 17, 2015.

excluded from meetings and silenced in deliberations on the reorganization of the Women's Bureau. Franklin shared, "The Women's Bureau's functions are being diffused and even downgraded...I understand that Libby is on the verge of quitting... I think it would be unfortunate if your highest-ranking black woman appointee were to leave under these circumstances."<sup>63</sup> While Malek disregarded Koontz's objections, Franklin understood her recruitment program was inoperable if existing women appointments were prevented from effectively functioning in their positions. Moreover, Franklin grasped the broader implications of bypassing women in government. Franklin added, "Rumors like this give credence to what many women believe: this Administration doesn't care about women."<sup>64</sup> The discriminatory treatment of women in government cost presidential support from women. Later, Franklin advocated for Koontz by coordinating with the Department of Labor to upgrade her position to Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor.<sup>65</sup> This anecdote represented the larger issue afflicting the Nixon Administration, and Franklin was politically deft enough to outmaneuver those who attempted to circumvent women.

Koontz's struggle exemplifies the intersection of racial politics and the women's movement within Franklin's program. Koontz's race, gender and high rank within the federal government rendered her a politically crucial appointee. In the summer of 1971, the administration sought to broaden its demographic support by reaching out to minorities. Accordingly, Fred Malek announced a new focus on minority recruitment in the WHPO and, as a result, Franklin's office exhibited a new emphasis on recruiting women of color.<sup>66</sup> That July, at

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<sup>63</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 14 October 1971; folder Women's Bureau; box 21; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 2 March 1972; folder Malek Memoranda [2 of 6]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>66</sup> Memo; Fred Malek to Bruce Kehrli; 2 July 1971; folder Fred Malek July 1972; box 82; White House Special Files: Staff Member and Office Files: H.R. Haldeman; Nixon Presidential Library.

the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs' (NFBPWC) conference in Cleveland, Franklin adjusted her speech on women appointees to better recognize the efforts of black women in government. Specifically, Franklin penciled in the names of seven black women who served as high level federal employees.<sup>67</sup> Additionally, within Franklin's speech text, references to women were changed to "black women" or "women- all women, be they black or white."<sup>68</sup> Franklin also inserted a section calling upon the NFBPWC to incorporate black women for the talent bank. Franklin wrote, "I have come here to ask you- directly and specifically- for your help in recruiting black women."<sup>69</sup> Before Malek's prioritization of minority appointments, Franklin's recruitment efforts did not explicitly recognize a need for women of color in government. This oversight unfortunately paralleled the women's movement's implicit focus on white women. While larger structural barriers such as racial discrimination, poverty and access to education restricted the pool of qualified black candidates for appointment, the paucity of black women appointees exposes how racial discrimination and sex discrimination operated simultaneously within the White House. This clear shift targeting black women and other women of color, highlights the women's movement and the administration's concentration on equal opportunity for white women.

Adept at the politics of women appointees and wary of the administration's reputation on women's rights, Franklin revitalized an insufficient public relations strategy that debilitated the effectiveness of her office. Previous scholarship criticized Franklin's visibility and interpreted her program's public relations approach as a scheme from upper echelon White House staffers to

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<sup>67</sup> These women included Dr. Helen Edmonds, Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, Dr. Zelma George, Ersal Poston, Sallyanne Payton, Dr. E. Corinne Brown Galvin and Jewel Lafontant.

<sup>68</sup> Speech; Barbara Hackman Franklin before NFBPWC Convention; 28 July 1971; folder Outside Women's Organization File- [NFBPWC 1 of 4]; box 63; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Anne L. Armstrong; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

placate supporters of women's liberation without substantively changing women's advancement in the White House.<sup>70</sup> However, a closer examination of Franklin's White House papers demonstrates that Franklin not only reconstituted a broken public relations strategy, but also improved the White House's reputation on women's rights.<sup>71</sup>

Before Franklin's appointment, no functioning structure existed for heralding key hires. Instead, three offices haphazardly coordinated with Franklin to highlight her recruitment efforts: Herb Klein, the Director of Communications; Ronald Ziegler, White House Press Secretary; and Chuck Colson, Counselor to the President.<sup>72</sup> Franklin's superiors debated, without conclusion, on whose office was accountable for a communications strategy on women's rights and responsibilities. Malek complained, "The public relations executives in the administration leave much to be desired. Most of the top people have no concept of how to plan or execute a broad and imaginative public affairs program or how to program the top departmental officials to be effective salesmen."<sup>73</sup> While Franklin's program marked a significant change in the role of women in government, no functional communications strategy conveyed her accomplishments.

Franklin fashioned a clearer communications strategy to publicize the substantive role of women in government. When a colleague recommended a brief "rap-session" among newly appointed women and the president, Franklin critiqued this trivial opportunity and highlighted the administration's inability to overhaul their shoddy reputation on women's rights.<sup>74</sup> She argued, "First, I am against the idea of having a group of women meet with the President, just for

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<sup>70</sup> Janet M. Martin, *The Presidency and Women: Promise, Performance & Illusion*. College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 2003, 148-156.

<sup>71</sup> Report; Public Relations Effort on Women's Appointments; 21 June 1971; folder Malek Memoranda [5 of 6]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>72</sup> Barbara Franklin, interviewed by Cathleen R. Buzan, February, 17, 2015.

<sup>73</sup> Memo; Fred Malek to Bob Finch; 31 March 1971; folder Reading File- March 1971 (1 of 8); box 12; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Fredric V. Malek; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>74</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 12 May 1973; folder Malek Memoranda [6 of 6]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

the sake of a meeting... it will look contrived and would be interpreted by the press and others as another of our public relations gimmicks.”<sup>75</sup> Franklin detailed a need for change:

Instead, what we really need is a well thought out, well-coordinated and well executed program to deal with the major issues of concern to women. Currently, we appear to be dealing with these issues in a piecemeal fashion. It’s time—given the growing concern and restlessness of women across the country plus the upcoming 1972 election—to deal with these issues in an integrated way.<sup>76</sup>

The absence of a comprehensive strategy was abundantly clear.<sup>77</sup> In the next month, Franklin restructured the communications strategy and negotiated more substantive meetings between the president and her appointees.<sup>78</sup> Once Franklin took on a full staff, she effectively enacted this public relations effort. In October, Franklin recommended Judy Kaufman as the full-time project manager for her office’s public relations effort.<sup>79</sup> Franklin understood the political implications of her office and identified how the administration’s strong public support for women’s equal employment opportunities could garner serious support from women voters. Franklin pushed for substantive efforts to promote women appointees and publically underscore this administration’s efforts on women’s rights.

Moreover, Franklin improved the administration’s bungled reputation on women’s rights by promoting a cohesive strategy to emphasize her program’s advancement of women. Although President Nixon organized Franklin’s office to secure women’s equal employment opportunities

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

Martin, 146. While Janet Martin’s text *The Presidency and Women* attributes this memo to Malek, my research indicates it was, in fact, Franklin who assessed the political bearing of these meetings.

<sup>77</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 21 June 1971; folder Malek Memoranda [5 of 6]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>78</sup> Report; Public Relations Effort on Women’s Appointments; 21 June 1971; folder Malek Memoranda [5 of 6]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library. Memo; Fred Malek to Herb Klein and President Nixon; 12 August 1971; folder Presidential Meeting Brief; box 40; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Anne L. Armstrong; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>79</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 27 October 1971; folder Malek Memoranda [4 of 6]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

in the federal government, few of her colleagues could effectively communicate her program's achievements to the public. For example, Malek confronted Bob Hampton of the Civil Service Commission for writing a highlights page on federal employment, "in a tactless but quotable manner."<sup>80</sup> This report showed a 7,067 net decrease of white collar federally employed women. Malek continued, "Our opponents have been using this against us ever since—even though this sentence doesn't tell the whole story."<sup>81</sup> In fact, in a less noticeable section of the report, Hampton demonstrated that an overall reduction of federal staff accounted for the net decrease of female employees, particularly affecting women in clerical positions. The highlights page also stipulated that women in senior level positions increased by 470 (6.6 percent) to 7,539.<sup>82</sup> Despite overall spending cuts curtailing traditionally "female" jobs, Franklin's work had opened up top-level policy jobs for women appointees. While Franklin greatly exceeded the goals of her office, few of her colleagues could attest to her triumphs. For this reason, Franklin generated a general two-page fact sheet with commentary and statistics on her office's progress, and distributed it to senior White House staff and the cabinet. As Franklin understood it, "This [fact sheet] would enable all of them to respond in the best possible manner to questions that are raised and would also be an inducement for them to use this material in press conferences, TV appearances, and the like."<sup>83</sup> As Franklin educated her colleagues on the statistics of her recruitment program, she urged these men to highlight the administration's advancement of women to the public. These materials clarified Franklin's accomplishments and could be used to indicate presidential support

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<sup>80</sup> Memo; Fred Malek to Robert E. Hampton; 3 March 1972; folder Malek Memoranda [4 of 6]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 18 June 1971; folder Reading File- June 1971 (2 of 5); box 12; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Fredric V. Malek; Nixon Presidential Library.

for women's rights. Franklin restructured her office's ineffective public relations strategy and used her achievements to improve the president's reputation on women's rights.

Beyond her typical presidential appointments, Franklin consulted her talent bank to contribute a short list of potential women to fill Supreme Court seats. Thereby, Franklin endeavored to expand the responsibilities of women in the judicial branch. In the fall of 1971, Justices John M. Harlan and Hugo Black retired from the Supreme Court. Searching for women to fill these vacancies, Franklin compiled a list of half a dozen eligible women. This undertaking challenged Franklin as there were few eligible women in the judiciary. Fewer than three percent of United States lawyers were women, and even fewer women in the judiciary considered themselves philosophically aligned with the president's strict constructionist perspective of the Constitution.<sup>84</sup>

In mid-October 1971, the Nixon Administration leaked a list of six potential nominees. Mildred Lillie, a state appellate court judge from California, was the first woman recommended to fill a Supreme Court seat. Ultimately, the American Bar Association considered her 'unqualified' and the president removed her name from contention. Some observers suggested labeling Lillie as unqualified masked a general discomfort with a woman serving on the highest court.<sup>85</sup> While these accusations were discredited, conversations between Attorney General John Mitchell and President Nixon clearly indicate little confidence in a woman on the Supreme Court. Moreover, these conversations indicate a growing anxiety around women in power and departures from traditional gender roles.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Stout, 78, 79.

Briefing Book; Issues of Concern to Women; July 1972; folder Issues of Concern to Women; box 14; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>85</sup> Barbara Franklin, interviewed by Cathleen R. Buzan, February, 17, 2015.

<sup>86</sup> William L. Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's*. Chicago, Illinois: Quadrangle Books, 1971, 199.

Nixon: Are you getting along with the woman?...

Mitchell: [Lillie's] got a good personality...People will see she's not one of these frigid bitches, you know?

Nixon: That's right, I know the terrible ones.

Mitchell: Yeah.<sup>87</sup>

In the wake of feminist resurgence, a backlash against feminism characterized supporters of women's rights as calculated man-haters. Beyond the male chauvinism that directly confronted Franklin, she had to challenge new assumptions surrounding women. In a related conversation:

Nixon: Oh, you said you've talked to the Chief Justice.

Mitchell: He's not anxious to have a woman up there.

Nixon: I understand that. No more anxious than I am. I don't want them to zero in too much on Lillie. See I always handle the woman with a smile. Nobody thinks I'm going to do a woman. Until this story. Send up a half a dozen more names, would you? Just to keep it confused?<sup>88</sup>

The personal remarks of the president complicate our historical understanding of Lillie's endorsement. Ultimately, Justices Lewis Powell and William Rehnquist were confirmed to the Supreme Court. In the wake of these confirmations, Haldeman assigned Barbara Franklin to work with Presidential Counsel John Dean to develop and circulate a list of top women attorneys for future judicial nominations.<sup>89</sup> Among this list, Franklin named Sandra Day O'Connor who, at that time, served in the Arizona State Senate. While it would be another ten years until President Reagan nominated O'Connor as the first woman Supreme Court justice, Franklin was the first to recommend O'Connor to an associate justice position on the Supreme Court. Franklin's shortlist operated as a watershed moment for women in the federal government and marked the first serious consideration of a woman justice to the Supreme Court.

Similarly, Franklin endeavored to contribute to the 1972 State of the Union address. The State of the Union message sets forth the president's national policy agenda, and Franklin

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<sup>87</sup> Oval Office; 588-2B; 11 October 1972; White House Tapes; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>88</sup> Oval Office; 596-14; 19 October 1972; White House Tapes; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>89</sup> Quoted in Stout, 80.

impressed upon her colleagues the importance of setting a strong precedent for equal opportunity for women in the president's address to congress. In the 1971 State of the Union, President Nixon failed to explicitly mention women. Instead, among his domestic priorities he stated,

We must adopt reforms which will expand the range of opportunities for all Americans. We can fulfill the American dream only when each person has a fair chance to fulfill his own dreams. This means equal voting rights, equal employment opportunity, and new opportunities for expanded ownership.<sup>90</sup>

This ambiguous posture characterized much of the administration's approach to women's issues, and President Nixon faced criticism for his abstruse stance on women's issues.<sup>91</sup>

In 1972, Franklin strongly recommended the State of the Union address include a section on equal opportunity for women, an endorsement of the ERA and a statement of progress on appointing women. She corresponded with Lee Hueber, an author of the 1972 State of the Union message and sent him a drafted section of support for women's equality. Franklin wrote, "This Administration recognizes that women are often denied equal opportunity in society today. We understand that while every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes—and have an equal chance to pursue it."<sup>92</sup> Again, the president's statement before congress made no explicit mention of women. However, in a written message to congress, the president included a more detailed proposal on equal rights for women quoting, almost directly, from Franklin's writing. President Nixon wrote:

This administration will also continue its strong efforts to open equal opportunities for women, recognizing clearly that women are often denied such opportunities today. While

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<sup>90</sup> Briefing Book Issues of Concern to Women; March 1972; folder Women- Statistics- General [8 of 12]; box 19; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>91</sup> Kotlowski, 258.

<sup>92</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Lee Hueber; 18 January 1972; folder State of the Union [2 of 2]; box 17; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes—and an equal chance to pursue it.<sup>93</sup>

The president concluded his section on women's rights stating, "Our vigorous program to recruit more women for Federal service will be continued and intensified in the coming year."<sup>94</sup> While Franklin's input failed to incorporate women in the president's televised address, her work clearly contributed to President Nixon's written address to congress. Moreover, her recruitment program served as the cornerstone of the president's promotion for women's rights. Franklin viewed the State of the Union address as an essential opportunity to demonstrate President Nixon's commitment to equal opportunities for women.

As the 1972 presidential election approached, Fred Malek and Jeb Magruder, deputy directors of the Committee to Re-elect the President, identified the women's electorate as crucial to the campaign.<sup>95</sup> As the re-election campaign began, Franklin's White House function shifted yet again. While she remained in the White House and possessed no official title with the Committee to Re-elect the President, Malek and Magruder frequently consulted with Franklin on campaign matters. Franklin performed a strategic role discovering new means to tap into the women's vote. In this position, Franklin continued to advance the role of women in politics. She recalled, "The closer I got to the election of 1972, the more clout I had in terms of getting anything done, be it appointments or be it interjecting into the campaign... I had more clout than I should have, given the location of my position in the White House hierarchy, but that's politics."<sup>96</sup> Even with these new responsibilities, Franklin's devotion to increasing women's role

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<sup>93</sup> Written Message to Congress; folder State of the Union- Women 1972 [1 of 2]; box 17; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Memo; Frank Herringer to Barbara Franklin; 27 June 1972; folder Campaign- Weekly Reports (1 of 2); box 13; Committee for the Re-election of the President: Fredric Malek; Nixon Foundation.

<sup>96</sup> Barbara Franklin interviewed by Jean Rainey, October 23, 1998. *Hon. Barbara Hackman Franklin Interview Transcript* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Penn State University Libraries site: [http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar\\_title\\_psul](http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar_title_psul)

in Republican politics persisted. Now, in the arena of a national presidential campaign, Franklin was considered a top woman strategist.<sup>97</sup>

Franklin rehabilitated the president's reputation on women's issues and organized a distinct strategy to garner women's votes. Magruder expressed, "I am convinced that more yet needs to be done to attract the woman voter, and I intend to give continuing attention to this crucial area."<sup>98</sup> In the past, support from women proved inconsistent. During Nixon's 1960 run for the White House, he received greater support from women than men. However, between 1960 and his election in 1968, Nixon lost support among women voters. As a result, campaign staffers intensely targeted this constituent group in 1972.<sup>99</sup> In fact, Clark MacGregor, Chairman of the Committee to Re-elect the President, considered the women's vote as crucial for victory. He warned the president, "In a close election, a decisive segment of women voters would make their choice on a candidate's attitude toward women as a group and an interest in certain issues common to them."<sup>100</sup> The campaign's financial plan heeded this warning, and the Women's Voting Bloc budget ranked second largest totaling \$230,000.<sup>101</sup> Top campaign strategists recognized women's growing political consciousness, and identified women's votes as essential to victory in 1972. While the women's movement surged, the administration failed to coordinate a strong stance on women's rights.<sup>102</sup> Franklin endeavored to bolster the president's weak position on women's issues.

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<sup>97</sup> Memo; Fred Malek to Dwight Chapin; 2 August 1972; folder Chron File- July/August (2 of 2); box 9; Committee for the Re-election of the President; Fredric Malek; Nixon Foundation.

<sup>98</sup> Memo; Jeb Magruder to the President; 3 January 1972; folder (JSM) The Women's Vote [3 of 5]; box 28; Committee for the Re-election of the President; Jeb Stuart Magruder; Nixon Foundation.

<sup>99</sup> Martin, 145.

<sup>100</sup> Progress Report; Clark MacGregor to the President; 5 July 1972; folder Campaign Progress Records; box 12; Committee for the Re-election of the President; Jeb Stuart Magruder; Nixon Foundation.

<sup>101</sup> The only voting bloc budget which exceeded the women's citizen group was the youth vote's. In 1972, under the twenty-sixth amendment, the voting age changed from twenty-one to eighteen.

<sup>102</sup> Kotlowski, 257.

Throughout the campaign, Franklin sought to overhaul President Nixon's reputation on women's equal rights and opportunity. To begin, Franklin skillfully analyzed the demographics of the women's voting bloc. In her report, Franklin recognized not all women could be swayed with a single strategy. Instead, Franklin identified a specific demographic of women who could be influenced by this new campaign tactic. According to Franklin, the potential woman Nixon voter was: twenty-five to sixty-four years old; white; married or had been married; lived in suburbs and/or cities in key states; may be in the labor force and had at least a high school education.<sup>103</sup> Zeroing in on this demographic, Franklin stipulated conditions of support for women voters. In her March report "Plan—To Reach Women" Franklin issued a strategy to "change the President's image on issues of particular concern to women... [and] to influence as many women as possible to vote for Richard Nixon in November."<sup>104</sup> Franklin warned her colleagues about the consequences of staying silent on women's rights, pointing out a 1971 Gallup poll which indicated fifty-one percent of Republican women surveyed said they would re-register as Democrat. Once again, Franklin highlighted Republican women's prodigious support for women's rights, and pushed for a Republican feminist policy agenda. Franklin conveyed,

Clearly the women's movement is fast gaining momentum... more women are becoming politically conscious and active, and 1972 will probably be a record year for voter participation among women. It could mark the first time some women vote as an identifiable bloc. Our conclusion is that winning women's votes in November will be an uphill battle... Currently, we are not positioned well on several issues of special concern to women, and our general image is one of 'not caring' about women.<sup>105</sup>

In order to attract women constituents and improve the president's stance on women's rights, Franklin exerted her political influence to expand the role of women in the campaign.

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<sup>103</sup> Memo; Fred Malek to Clark MacGregor; 10 July 1972; folder Chron File- July/August (2 of 2); box 9; Committee for the Re-election of the President: Fredric Malek; Nixon Foundation.

<sup>104</sup> Report; Plan to Reach Women; folder [Plan to Reach Women]; box 42; Committee for the Re-election of the President: Fredric Malek; Nixon Foundation.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

Party reform on women's rights in 1972 galvanized an emerging group of Republican feminists, including Franklin.<sup>106</sup> At this time, women's rights was not a strictly partisan issue, however outspoken men and women in the Democratic party dominated the spotlight on these issues. During this election, the Democratic party also faced criticism for its paucity of participation on women's rights. In an interview with the *Washington Post*, Gary Hart, George McGovern's campaign manager, admitted he still possessed "male chauvinist pig qualities."<sup>107</sup> Chauvinism was not the exclusive purview of the Nixon Administration. Similarly, women were scarce in the higher echelons of the McGovern campaign staff. Hart described, "[Women] don't have the political experience or the ability to organize. We are looking for people but do you lower your standards in the midst of a campaign like in the midst of brain surgery to try and equalize social ills?"<sup>108</sup> Clearly, this election presented an opportunity for Republicans to take charge of women's rights as a campaign issue. During the early 1970's, an ideological space existed in the Republican party for feminist leadership and it appeared briefly that Republican feminism might be a real political force with Franklin at the helm promoting women in the campaign.<sup>109</sup>

Franklin organized her women appointees to assist in this vital change. She shared, "My feeling was that women's issues had been controlled almost completely by the Democrats; that

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<sup>106</sup> Rymph, 197.

News clipping; *The Miami Herald* "Aide Says: 'Nixon's Done Well by Women'"; folder Final Report- Appearances by Women Appointees (1 of 4); box 42; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Fredric V. Malek; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>107</sup> News clipping; Excerpt from *The Washington Post* "Gary Hart: 'Nice Guys Needn't Finish Last'"; 7 August 1972; folder Women- Statistics- General [4 of 12]; box 18; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Memo; Fred Malek to Harry Flemming; 10 July 1972; folder Chron File- July/August (2 of 2); box 9; Committee for the Re-election of the President: Fredric Malek; Nixon Foundation.

Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 18 June 1971; folder Malek Memoranda [5 of 6]; box 1; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

Rymph, 190.

Republicans didn't have anybody with the pedigree or the credentials to lead in these matters.... [Women appointees] certainly would give Republicans a larger voice in these issues and more exposure, and it would not be so much the sole province of the Democratic Party.”<sup>110</sup> In order to increase the profile of women's rights in the presidential campaign, Franklin structured the Women's Surrogate Program. This program organized speaking events and interviews for teams of three surrogates: an appointee; a cabinet wife; and a White House wife or the spouse of a local politician.<sup>111</sup> The surrogate program persuaded women to vote for the president and demonstrated the active involvement of women in the campaign. Malek emphasized the significance of this program sharing, “In my mind, the surrogate plan should be the most effective public relations tool at your command. It, therefore, deserves priority attention.”<sup>112</sup> Active in this program, Franklin established the women's surrogate budget and identified particular events, forums, and media opportunities for the surrogates.<sup>113</sup> As a result, teams of administration women campaigned across the country, generating favorable press coverage for the president. Women's surrogates exhibited a new level of participation for women in the presidential campaign.

In their efforts to persuade women voters, a promotion of Franklin's work was crucial in changing the president's reputation on women's rights and responsibilities. The surrogate materials highlighted Franklin's recruitment efforts. The materials emphasized, “The President believes it is essential for every woman to have the freedom to choose whatever career she

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<sup>110</sup> Stout, 27.

<sup>111</sup> Stout, 91.

<sup>112</sup> Memo; Jeb Magruder to Dwight Chapin; 29 August 1972; folder Women Surrogate Program (PP) [1 of 2]; box 28; Committee for the Re-election of the President: Jeb Stuart Magruder; Nixon Foundation.

<sup>113</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 19 June 1972; folder Campaign- Surrogate Speakers (2 of 3); box 12; Committee for the Re-election of the President: Fredric Malek; Nixon Foundation. Women's Surrogate Schedule; folder Campaign- Surrogate Speakers (1 of 3); box 12; Committee for the Re-election of the President: Fredric Malek; Nixon Foundation.

wishes—and an equal chance to pursue it. He firmly believes women should have equal opportunities to seek and obtain employment.”<sup>114</sup> Then, using Franklin’s federal employment record, the surrogate program cast President Nixon as a strong advocate for women’s rights. The materials suggested, “To bring about the needed changes, [the president] has launched accelerated programs for attracting women into top and middle management positions throughout the federal government. He has brought Barbara Franklin onto his staff to be the first White House ‘womanpower’ recruiter in history.”<sup>115</sup> Franklin’s innovative and well received surrogate program led twenty-seven surrogates to make three hundred seventy-three appearances in thirty-nine states.<sup>116</sup> As the poster girl for women’s rights and responsibilities, Franklin produced campaign materials designed to shift attitudes concerning the president’s women’s rights record.

Franklin’s recruitment program proved divisive for women voters. In a letter to Franklin, Ann Sayre, national coordinator of Republicans in the National Organization of Women, forwarded a feature in *Cosmopolitan* magazine entitled “Bachelors.” Sayre highlighted the segment from Jeffrey Donfeld, Staff Assistant to the President in Domestic Affairs.<sup>117</sup> In his interview, Donfeld was asked about his ‘turn-offs,’ which comprised, “Whining women and women who flaunt their intelligence in front of men.” Donfeld shared, “[I am] repelled by the

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<sup>114</sup> Fact Sheet; Equal Opportunity for Women; 2 March 1972; folder Barbara Franklin- Report on Appearances by Women Appointees, 1972; box 35; White House Central Files; Staff Member and Office Files: Anne L. Armstrong; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>115</sup> Speech; Speech Insert: Women; 2 March 1972; folder Speaker’s Kit [2 of 2]; box 16; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>116</sup> Stout, 91.

Martin, 156 and 157.

<sup>117</sup> Letter; Ann Sayre to Barbara Franklin, Anne Armstrong and Bob Dole; 17 September 1971; folder Gen HU 2-5 Women 10/01/71- 12/31/71; box 22; White House Central Files: Subject Files: Human Rights; Nixon Presidential Library.

mid and Women's Lib. I'm a male chauvinist pig and proud of it."<sup>118</sup> Sayre, incensed by this brazen demonstration of misogyny, expressed, "I would like to inform you, as a Sustaining Member of the Republican Party... that all this Administration's wordage on appointments of women [on] MONDAY and the recent PARTNERS are in vain if this type of hypocrisy is allowed to continue. This boy can be replaced by a good woman."<sup>119</sup> Sayre, adroitly understood Franklin's efforts were futile if these women were beleaguered by chauvinism and discrimination once they arrived at the White House. Sayre's vehement riposte continued, noting, "Furthermore, if this kind of clown is permitted to proliferate in the White House, you and Mr. Nixon can just forget about his 51% vote from women in the past, because a lot of us will just not vote in 1972."<sup>120</sup> Franklin commended Sayre for her letter expressing, "Your message is crystal clear!"<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, Sayre forwarded this letter to Anne Armstrong and Senator Bob Dole, the co-chairs of the Republican National Convention.<sup>122</sup> For Republican women such as Sayre, the bigoted conduct of White House men and the viability of Franklin's appointees were crucial in the intra-party struggle over women's rights.

Beyond her recruitment program's function in the campaign's argument over issues, Franklin served as an outspoken coordinator of the August 1972 Republican National Convention in Miami. Franklin demanded greater representation of women at the convention. She recalled, "I started to get very upset about the lack of women anywhere and the lack of

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<sup>118</sup> News Clipping; *Cosmopolitan* "Bachelors"; folder Gen HU 2-5 Women 10/01/71- 12/31/71; box 22; White House Central Files: Subject Files: Human Rights; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>119</sup> Letter; Ann Sayre to Barbara Franklin, Anne Armstrong and Bob Dole; 17 September 1971; folder Gen HU 2-5 Women 10/01/71- 12/31/71; box 22; White House Central Files: Subject Files: Human Rights; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Letter; Barbara Franklin to Ann Sayre; 19 October 1971; folder Gen HU 2-5 Women 10/01/71- 12/31/71; box 22; White House Central Files: Subject Files: Human Rights; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>122</sup> Letter; Ann Sayre to Barbara Franklin, Anne Armstrong and Bob Dole; 17 September 1971; folder Gen HU 2-5 Women 10/01/71- 12/31/71; box 22; White House Central Files: Subject Files: Human Rights; Nixon Presidential Library.

consciousness about it.”<sup>123</sup> In a memo to Stan Anderson, who served on temporary duty at the Committee to Re-elect the President, Franklin advised, “The convention is a unique opportunity to project in a variety of ways the president’s record on women’s rights as well as his genuine concern for women and their need for equality. It is crucial that throughout the convention we have women involved in important, substantive roles.”<sup>124</sup> For example, Franklin suggested Anne Armstrong as the first woman keynote speaker at any party’s national convention. Franklin recognized the Republican National Convention as a critical opportunity for the visible transformation of women’s role in the political process. Additionally, Franklin’s recommendations increased the presence of women’s issues on the Republican party platform. Specifically, Franklin proposed a separate section on the platform tackling women’s rights and responsibilities. As a result of Franklin’s recommendation, the section entitled Equal Rights for Women appeared on the party’s platform.<sup>125</sup> Similarly, Franklin recommended women serve as chair on four or more platform subcommittees. Without strong representation of Republican women, the party faced potential criticism. Franklin argued, “This representation of women is absolutely vital! (Only one woman subcommittee chairman will be labeled ‘tokenism’).”<sup>126</sup> While Franklin was promised three of the seven sub-committee chairs would be women, the subcommittee organizers overlooked this opportunity for women’s leadership. Franklin wrote:

The sub-committee chairmen [were announced] on Monday, and there is only one woman chairman. This is a stupid move—particularly when there are more than enough good and capable women on the Platform Committee. We had fed in a lot of names.

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<sup>123</sup> Barbara Franklin interviewed by Jean Rainey, October 23, 1998. *Hon. Barbara Hackman Franklin Interview Transcript* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Penn State University Libraries site:

[http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar\\_title\\_psul](http://afgw.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/afgw/bios/franklin/franklintranscript.html#openpar_title_psul)

<sup>124</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Stan Anderson; 23 June 1972; Internal BHF Memos [1 of 6]; box 2; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>125</sup> Memo; Ed Harper to Clark MacGregor; 25 July 1972; folder [Draft- 1972 Republican Platform] (1 of 4); box 15; Committee for the Re-election of the President: Fredric Malek; Nixon Foundation.

<sup>126</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Fred Malek; 26 July 1972; folder Convention (1 of 2); box 13; Committee for the Re-election of the President: Fredric Malek; Nixon Foundation.

Instead, most committees have women co-chairmen. Here we go again! Women are sick and tired of being co-chairmen of everything!<sup>127</sup>

While Franklin recommended many capable women for these positions, Republican women were once again relegated to less important governmental responsibilities.

Beyond Franklin's more substantive contributions to the convention, she found it necessary to discourage churlish behavior from her fellow Republicans. Franklin implored, "Additionally, we should do all we can to minimize inadvertent and unconscious comments and activities which could undo the image we are trying to project i.e., great commotion when a woman speaks, men making jokes about 'women's lib,' and so on."<sup>128</sup> Despite Franklin's success advancing the role of women in government, a fundamental lack of respect for these women remained. Nixon's landslide victory in 1972 masked these underlying problems within the party. Ultimately, President Nixon won sixty-two percent of women's votes.<sup>129</sup>

Franklin's role changed dramatically after President Nixon's second inauguration, on January 20, 1973. In February, Bob Finch, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, approached Franklin with a seat on the Consumer Product Safety Commission. In October 1972, the Consumer Product Safety Act passed to protect the public against unreasonable risks of injuries associated with consumer products.<sup>130</sup> The President nominated Franklin to serve as one of the first Consumer Product Safety commissioners. However, Franklin was reluctant to leave her position in the White House. She recalled, "When I left my White House position... I had mixed emotions. I felt good about what we had accomplished for women but knew there was still

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Memo; Barbara Franklin to Stan Anderson; 23 June 1972; Internal BHF Memos [1 of 6]; box 2; White House Central Files: Staff Member and Office Files: Barbara Franklin; Nixon Presidential Library.

<sup>129</sup> Stout, 168.

<sup>130</sup> Barbara Franklin, interviewed by Cathleen R. Buzan, February, 17, 2015.

so much more to do.”<sup>131</sup> Following this offer, Franklin sought advice from her former employer Walter Wriston, CEO of First National City Bank. Franklin remembered his warning, “Well, if that’s what they want you to do, you better do it or you better get out of the country, because that’s just that way the world works down there.”<sup>132</sup> Franklin recollected, “I was not sure whether I wanted to do that.”<sup>133</sup> While Franklin reluctantly left her position, the choice became easier as the growing scandal of Watergate transformed the White House into a noxious environment. In May 1973, Franklin was confirmed by the Senate and sworn into her new position on the Consumer Product Safety Commission. Franklin was the last member of the Nixon Administration to be confirmed in a new position by the Senate.<sup>134</sup>

As Franklin transitioned into this new position within the federal government, no member of the White House staff assumed control of her recruitment efforts. The president appointed Anne Armstrong as Counselor to the President and the first head of the Office of Women’s Programs. However, no one replaced Franklin in the WHPO. While Armstrong brought on Nola Smith as White House federal woman’s recruiter to the Office of Women’s Programs, none of Smith’s documents have surfaced at the Nixon Presidential Library. Franklin’s departure in 1973 and the collapse of her vastly effective recruiting efforts resulted in a diminished enthusiasm for the advancement of women in the federal government. A definite stagnation of women’s progress followed Franklin’s appointment to the Consumer Product Safety Commission.<sup>135</sup>

Still, Franklin’s political participation in government was far from over. She was sworn in as Vice Commissioner of the Consumer Product Safety Commission on May 14, 1973, and

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<sup>131</sup> Stout, 198.

<sup>132</sup> Quoted in Stout, 97.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, 97.

<sup>134</sup> Barbara Franklin, interviewed by Cathleen R. Buzan, February, 17, 2015.

<sup>135</sup> Stout, 98.

served on that commission for seven years. Later, President Reagan appointed Franklin to the President's Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations. Franklin also chaired the Task Force on Tax Reform under Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush, and in 1991, Franklin served as a member of the negotiating team for the North American Free Trade Agreement. On February 27, 1992, Franklin was sworn in as Secretary of Commerce. She was the thirteenth woman to serve in the United States cabinet.<sup>136</sup>

Franklin's White House papers demonstrate her fortitude in the face of hostile colleagues. Confronted with chauvinism, Franklin continued to recruit record numbers of women to top-level White House positions. Moreover, she enacted departmental programs to guarantee the future promotions of women in the White House and the greater federal government. Franklin expanded her role in the White House building networks of support for women appointees, recommending a women's rights section within President Nixon's 1972 State of the Union address, identifying qualified women judges for the Supreme Court and promoting the profile of women's rights within the Nixon Administration. Franklin shaped a campaign strategy to garner support from the women electorate, transforming the Nixon Administration's reputation on women's rights and successfully securing the majority of women's votes. Franklin substantively changed the role of women in the 1972 Republican National Convention and contributed a women's section to the party platform thereby mobilizing support for women's rights in the Republican Party. By transforming the gender demography of the White House and fundamentally altering perceptions of women's capabilities, Franklin made way for new generations of women's leadership.

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<sup>136</sup> Stout, *Afterward*.

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