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# Women in the Federal Service



U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



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# Women in the Federal Service



By LUCILLE FOSTER McMILLIN  
*U. S. Civil Service Commissioner*

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## FOREWORD

Many inquiries are received at the United States Civil Service Commission concerning the history of women in the Federal service. This booklet has been prepared to answer such questions.

It is hoped that it will also serve to show the increasingly vital part that women are taking in the varied Federal activities. The progress made by women in government during the last century, and particularly since the World War, represents an interesting and important chapter in American social and economic life.

*Lucille Foster McMillin*

LUCILLE FOSTER McMILLIN,  
U. S. Civil Service Commissioner.

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# I

## History of Women in the Federal Service

IT IS GENERALLY believed that the employment of women outside the home is a recent development, part of the system of modern ideas which has appeared with the twentieth century. Yet women have been working for wages, in employments outside their homes, for the past century and a half—since the beginning of that social and economic movement known as the Industrial Revolution, which commenced at about the same period as did the Government of the United States.

While the Government service has been much slower than private industry in making any widespread or general employment of women, there were isolated instances of their employment by the Federal Government before the adoption of the Constitution itself. However, there have been so many periods when there were no women working for the Government, and women as a class have been so long in gaining recognition of their ability from the Government, that several women who entered the service many years later than 1789 have been designated at various times as "the first woman Government employee."

The varied character of Government work may be one reason for the number of claimants to this title. Occupations ranging from unskilled laborer to highly trained specialist and administrator are included in the range of Government employment. As women have gained entry into one after another of the grades of this range, they have seemed at each step to be making an initial entrance, so that the pioneer women in these advances have often been given the title of "first."

Not all the names of the early women employees nor even a full list of the types of work which they performed can now be discovered from a search of the records. Too many early records have been destroyed or lost, and those which have survived are not always very satisfactory from a research standpoint. Early pay rolls were not kept according to any one system nor were they filed in any central place. Even when they have been preserved and are still available,

the anonymity of a surname preceded by one or two initials makes it impossible to determine whether the employee was a man or a woman.

Personnel records other than pay rolls are very scarce, but they give more complete information. Such records consist of an occasional letter to or from a Congressman concerning the welfare of one of his proteges, or a letter from a field office to its Washington headquarters about an appointment or dismissal. These letters are scattered through old files, tucked away in warehouses, basements, and other storage spaces in Government buildings throughout the Eastern States.

However, there is enough evidence to show that the progress of women in the public service has roughly paralleled their progress in private industry. As they have increased in numbers in private employment, their presence has come to be accepted by public opinion. They have then increased in numbers in the Government service. When viewed over a long period of years, it can be seen that the increase in the numbers of gainfully employed women in the United States has been both continuous and large. Nevertheless, there have been periods when recurrent waves of anti-feminist feeling, generally with an economic basis, have caused minor setbacks, so that the number and ratio of women in industry and in the Government service have shown some decreases as well as increases.

These fluctuations are more marked in public employment because it is relatively more responsive to changes in public opinion. Public offices have always been considered public property, but not always public trusts. The question of who ought to have offices and upon what conditions has not always been very clearly decided in the public consciousness. The eleemosynary view of public employment has long been a part of American political thought. The question of who has the "right" to a public job, rather than who can best do the work involved, has been one of the factors limiting the employment of women in the Government. Even today this factor still looms large in the thinking of some persons about public employment. The periods when it was thought that women had less "right" to work than men—that is, less need to earn a living and support dependents—saw a corresponding decrease in the percentage of women employed in the Federal Government. When economic pressure let up, and the employment situation eased, women were again accepted as workers. When a labor shortage arose, as during a war period, the Government even became anxious for their services, so that during the World War more women than men were appointed to the departmental service.

The story of women's gradual progress, generation by generation, from their first subordinate, uninteresting, underpaid jobs forms an important chapter in the economic and social history of the past century and a half. When, with the advent of the Industrial Revo-

lution, it became customary to employ women away from their homes, factories were the first places opened to them. As early as 1769, a Massachusetts textile factory was established with the avowed purpose of offering employment to women and children, "many of whom would otherwise be useless, if not burdensome to society."<sup>1</sup> This sort of employment, neither lucrative nor interesting, constituted the bulk of women's employment for many years, in both Europe and America, in private industry and in public service. The American Industrial Revolution in its early stages seems not to have used women's labor to the extent that was practiced in England, but there were notable exceptions, such as the textile factories, which prospered in the early 1800's by taking advantage of the lower wage scale of women.

In the Federal Government, also, women entered the lower-grade work long before they were admitted to the higher ranks. The factory-type occupations at the Philadelphia mint were opened to women at an early date. Later, the arsenals, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and the Government Printing Office employed women in certain types of light shop work. Women exclusively were recruited as printer's assistants in the early days of the Civil Service Commission, and even as late as 1910 these formed by far the bulk of the jobs to which women were appointed. In the case of clerical work, the lower grades, such as copyist positions, were opened to women about 1850, at a lower salary than that paid to men.

An exception to this general rule of lower-grade jobs, however, may be found in the two women who were probably the first women ever employed by the Federal Government. They were Mrs. Elizabeth Cresswell, postmaster at Charlestown, Md., under the Continental Congress in 1786-87, and Miss Mary K. Goddard, postmaster at Baltimore, Md., who had been holding that office for 14 years when the Constitution was signed. Miss Goddard, who was also editor of the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser during this period, was placed in charge of the Baltimore Post Office in 1775 and continued to hold the position until late in 1789, some months after the adoption of the Constitution.

Other women in the early years of the nation also worked for the Postal Service, including Mrs. Rebecca Morton, postmaster at Warwick, Md., from 1798 to 1799, and Mrs. Ann Blount, post rider between Edenton and Indiantown, N. C., from 1794 to 1796. Mrs. Blount may not have actually performed the duties of post rider, however, but may have contracted for a substitute to do this work, a practice not uncommon in all sorts of Federal positions, as civil service reform investigations later disclosed.

But these few women were exceptional, and as a rule women did not receive either titles, responsibility, or salaries of this sort. One

of the arguments most used by the advocates of the employment of women by the Federal Government was their lower wage scale and the resulting economy to taxpayers. No thought of the abstract justice of equal pay for equal work disturbed the minds of the officials who praised this practice. Neither did the male workers in those days realize the danger to their own salaries from the underbidding by the women's scale.

The first statutory recognition of the employment of women by the Federal Government, March 14, 1864, established a maximum salary of \$600 a year for women clerks. Until the beginning of the present century, the term "clerk" was limited to the higher-paid positions. Lower-salaried personnel were known as "employés." By an act of 1854, salaries for the four clerk classes had been set at \$1,200 to \$1,800.

In June 1864, women clerks received a raise to \$720, and in 1866 to \$900. The latter figure remained the legal maximum for women for many years, as is shown by the following provision in the Revised Statutes of 1878:

To the women employed in duties of a clerical character, subordinate to those assigned to clerks of the first class, including copyists and counters, or temporarily employed to perform the duties of a clerk, nine hundred dollars.<sup>2</sup>

The duties outlined in this clause correspond more nearly with the popular conception of government employment as white collar jobs than do the factory occupations at the mint and the printing establishments. Therefore this act represents another stage in the progress of women. The copyist work was a forerunner of the stenographic and typing work which today forms the largest occupation for women in the Government service. These clerk-copyists were employed before the invention of the typewriter to make "fair copies" of letters and official documents.

It is known that in 1854 there were three women among the clerk-copyists in the Patent Office. They were Clara Barton, later founder of the Red Cross, a Mrs. Thompson, and a Mrs. Cook. At a congressional investigation of charges against the Commissioner of Patents in 1863 this testimony, which affords an interesting glimpse of public personnel practices before the passage of the Civil Service Act, was offered:

These ladies were employed as temporary clerks, and copied the papers of the office at their respective places of residence. . . . There is a lady, Miss Barton, whose name stands at the head of the list. Mrs. Thompson comes next.

Mrs. Cook's work is done by another person at half price. It is divided; she receives one-half and the other party receives the



other half. . . . Mrs. Cook and Mrs. Thompson were appointed without reference to their political opinions or sympathies and simply from their destitute and necessitous situation.<sup>3</sup>

The "ladies in the Patent Office" had rather a stormy time of it, with at least one departmental order (in 1855) for their dismissal. But they somehow managed to cling to their places, though forced at times to perform their duties in a rather secret and clandestine manner.

Clara Barton is said by her biographers to have been promoted from copyist to a position of considerable trust and responsibility in the Patent Office and to have been given charge of one of the confidential desks. She herself wrote that she believed she was the first woman ever to be appointed to a full clerkship on the same terms with men and at a salary of \$1,400. However, no record has been preserved of such an appointment. The only remaining evidence of Clara Barton's employment possessed by the Department of the Interior consists of vouchers for payments to "Miss C. H. Barton" for copying services during 1855-57 and 1860-65. Clara Barton held her copyist position throughout the War between the States, paying for a substitute to perform her Patent Office duties while she served as nurse at the battle front. The Patent Office salary, however, was the only one she drew from the Government during this period.

To Gen. Francis E. Spinner, Treasurer of the United States, has often been given the credit for employing the first woman in the Government service. According to this story, the first woman was Jennie Douglas, whom Spinner hired in 1862 to cut and trim paper currency. This work, which was then a hand operation, had hitherto been done entirely by men. Spinner was so pleased with his experiment that he remarked that the first day Miss Douglas spent on her job "settled the matter in her behalf and in woman's favor." Subsequently, Spinner appointed many other women to various positions in the Treasury.

His belief that he had been the first Government official to employ women is quite inexplicable, in view of the fact that we know other officials had adopted the practice many years before. However, he was probably the first official to solve the Government's usual war-time problem of greatly increased work and shortage of labor by employing women. About 1907 the women of the Treasury erected a statue of him which is now in Myer Park, Herkimer, N. Y. On the pedestal is a quotation from General Spinner:

The fact that I was instrumental in introducing women to employment in the offices of the Government gives me more real satisfaction than all the other deeds of my life.

FRANCIS E. SPINNER.

In the same year in which Jennie Douglas entered the employ of the Treasury, the Dead Letter Office of the Post Office Department, authorized to hire 25 additional clerks, gave 8 of these positions to women. A production sheet for the month of February 1863 shows that the average output of the women was as great as that of the men, although a number of the women were much newer at the work than were the men and had not yet gained much experience in the task of deciphering illegible handwriting and redirecting wrongly addressed letters.

In a little more than a year the Post Office Department had doubled the number of women employed, yet the salaries of the 16 "ladies of the Dead Letter Office," who are carried on a separate roll in the Register of Post Office Employees for 1863, were much below those of the men clerks. The women received from \$400 to \$700 (only one woman had the latter salary), while the men received from \$600 to \$900, with most of the men receiving \$800.

That allowing women to have minor and underpaid clerkships might some day enable them to make real careers of Government service apparently never occurred to the people of the midnineteenth century. They looked upon a self-supporting woman as a "decayed" female, who toiled away her days in that poverty of which she perforce made a virtue. The periodicals of the day echo this attitude, in such articles as this survey of Washington working women printed in the November 9, 1867, issue of the New York Round Table:

The profession of teaching is sympathetic to womanhood, and gives a worthy occupation to the mind. But the task of the female copyists in the departments, and the quasi-factory duties of the girls in the printing bureau, are of a far less elevating character, and produce rather a bad than a good influence. However, if women are overtaken by poverty in Washington, there is little choice between keeping a boarding-house or going to the Treasury or poorhouse.

The attitude of public officials of the period is given in a report made by Representative Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island to Congress on May 14, 1868, on his survey of the possibilities of retrenchment in the executive service and of the economies which could be effected by introducing a merit system.

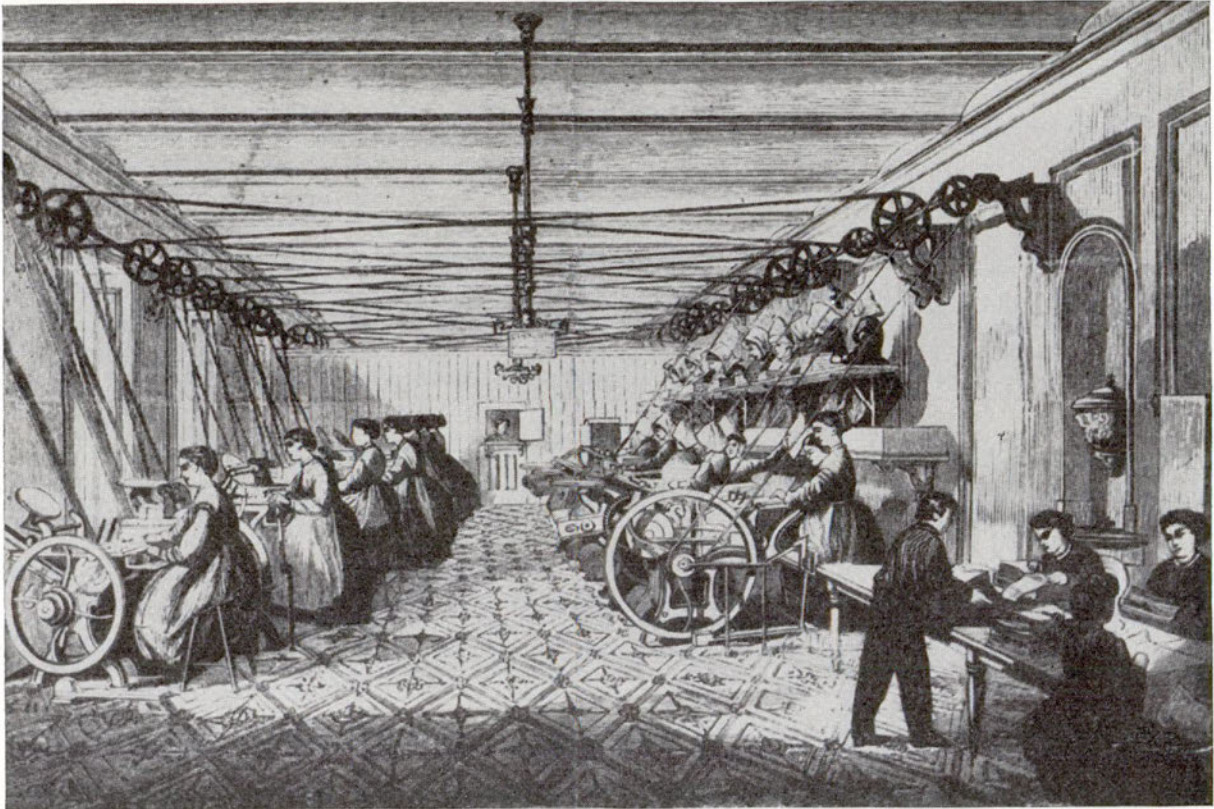
Jenckes included in his report the answers to a questionnaire sent to officials stationed both in Washington and in other cities. Question No. 36 read thus:

Are there any females among your subordinates? If so, state what proportion their compensation bears to that of males for the same service, and whether they compare favorably or not with males for diligence, attention, and efficiency.



Gen. Francis E. Spinner





Women Workers in the Treasury, About 1868

The replies to this question show much about the employment conditions of women and the varying attitudes of their supervisors. The report gives only extracts from the replies and so cannot be taken as a complete picture of the Federal service at the time, but we do learn that there were 20 women clerks in the Treasury, at salaries of \$900, as compared with a minimum of \$1,200 for men performing the same work; that there were 4 women working for the Superintendent of the Coast Survey; and that there were 3 women employed by the Boston Post Office and 8 by the postmaster at Detroit.

Attitudes of supervisors varied from extremely pro-feminist to just as extremely anti-feminist. Isaac W. Smith, assessor of internal revenue at Manchester, N. H., is recorded thus:

Female clerks are more attentive, diligent, and efficient than males, and make better clerks, and I intend very soon to have none but female clerks in my office.

Of the opposite opinion was the assessor in the twenty-ninth New York district, evidently a man of many troubles:

. . . if the nerves and firmness of a man can rarely be found to withstand the wily exactions of dishonest taxpayers, I doubt the experiment of filling their places with females.

The collector of internal revenue at Kalamazoo, Mich., concurred in this opinion:

I do not think that the service of females could be made efficient in the collecting department or brought within the range of propriety.

Many of the officials stressed the point that the Government could save money by hiring women because they could be paid lower salaries. No one raised any question about the fairness of this procedure. Only the Division of Printing of the Treasury claimed to subscribe to the equal pay principle. The chief of this division, asked whether there were any women in his office, answered:

There are; compensation half that of males, but they do not perform same class of work. But where service is same, pay is equal.

The opposite attitude was taken by the Librarian of Congress:

No females as yet employed. Under competitive tests, I think half the number here employed might usefully be women, and that the resulting economy to the government would be great. For example, I know of educated and practically industrious women, who could do all that assistant librarians receiving \$1,200 to \$1,800 now do, and who would think themselves well paid at \$1,000 per year.

Yet, only 2 years after the publication of the Jenckes Report, the principle of equal pay for equal work was written into the statute books. This principle was not always, nor even often, carried into practice, for the law was permissive, not mandatory, but at least the principle was thus given formal official approval. The law read:

Women may, in the discretion of the head of any department, be appointed to any of the clerkships therein authorized by law, upon the same requisites and conditions, and with the same compensation, as are prescribed for men.<sup>4</sup>

The wording of this statute leaves the adoption of the principle of equal pay to the decision of the individual department. That the principle was not usually accepted may be discerned by reading between the lines of this statute of 1876:

. . . Whenever, in the judgment of the head of any department, the duties assigned to a clerk of one class can be as well performed by a clerk of a lower class or *by a female clerk*, it shall be lawful for him to diminish the number of clerks of the higher grade and increase the number of clerks of the lower grade within the limit of the total appropriation for such clerk service.<sup>5</sup>

Apparently, the lawmakers still considered women capable of holding only minor positions, so that "female clerk" was to them synonymous with "lower class." While the formal establishment of special low-salaried clerkships for women gradually ceased, the practice of paying women lower rates continued in many departments until the passage of the Classification Act of 1923.

Their lower wage scale gained for women their first Government clerkships, but a more creditable factor has been the cause of their permanent retention in these positions. When mechanical office devices began to be introduced into clerical work in the last years of the nineteenth century, it was found that women were especially skillful in the operation of these machines. So many women entered the occupations created by the new inventions that in the United States the 2,000 women in clerical occupations in 1870 had increased to 2,000,000 by 1930.

Chief among the new office appliances was the typewriter, which has become so nearly the exclusive property of women that the 1930 Census found that over 95 percent of all stenographers and typists in the United States were women. The Census of 1870 listed only seven women stenographers, and their number was not much augmented for nearly a decade.

The first widely used typewriter was invented by Christopher L. Sholes in 1866. It was manufactured by Remington, the gun makers, and was first sold about 1873. By 1883, when the Civil Service Commission was established, the typewriter was in fairly common

use in the Government departments. From its earliest months, the Commission gave tests for both men and women for typist positions. By 1894, women were receiving about 14 percent of such appointments; in 1904, 21 percent; and in 1914, about 25 percent. In 1936, women received 77 percent of all appointments to the four grades of stenographer and typist positions. By 1940, however, this had dropped to 56 percent; women received 79 percent of the stenographer positions and 44 percent of the typist positions.

With the establishment of the Civil Service Commission and its introduction of a system of competitive examinations into all departments, women gained a chance to demonstrate their proficiency in a concrete and easily measured fashion, by taking the same tests as men in order to qualify for the same positions.

These advantages of the merit system were set forth in the Commission's First Annual Report, which also, with commendable frankness, pointed out the difficulties in the way of the appointment of women to places in the departments:

Nowhere on the part of the Commission or its subordinates is there any favor or disadvantage allowed by reason of sex. Only under free, open, competitive examinations have the worthiest women the opportunities, and the Government the protection, which arise from allowing character and capacity to win the precedence and the places their due. The need for political influence or for importunate solicitation, especially disagreeable to women, for securing appointments in the classified service exists no longer.

Rule 16, Clause 3, controls the certification of women for appointment so completely that the Commission has no discretion on the subject. The law in force before the passage of the Civil Service Act gave the heads of Departments authority to decide when women are required or can be accepted. Both the Civil Service Act and the Rules leave that authority unimpaired.

In order to prevent disappointment we ought to add that, perhaps because the examinations naturally appeal to the hopes and ambitions of women, a greater number of them, in proportion to the places treated by the Departments as open to their sex, have been examined, and hence the number of women waiting to be certified is large in like ratio.

It may be that, despite the warning in the last paragraph, these words aroused too much ambition in the women candidates, for in its next annual report the Civil Service Commission noted that "the female appointees thus far have been less than one-sixth the number of males." Its section on women in the service was written with more condescension and considerably more caution:

It is now generally recognized that women can successfully perform the duties of many of the subordinate places under the Government. In many cases they have shown eminent fitness



for the places they have held and high qualities in their work. There is simple justice in allowing them to compete for the public service, and to receive appointments when, in fair competition, they have shown superior merit.

Even with this moderate encouragement, women had made their way into the Federal service in the first 10 years of the operation of the Civil Service Act so far that in 1893 there were 3,770 women employed in the departments at Washington, as compared with 8,377 men. In 1892, one in every four appointments throughout the service was given to a woman. Enough women had won promotions to cause the Civil Service Commission to comment on the fact and point out that these promotions had been made on the basis of efficiency records kept by the departments.

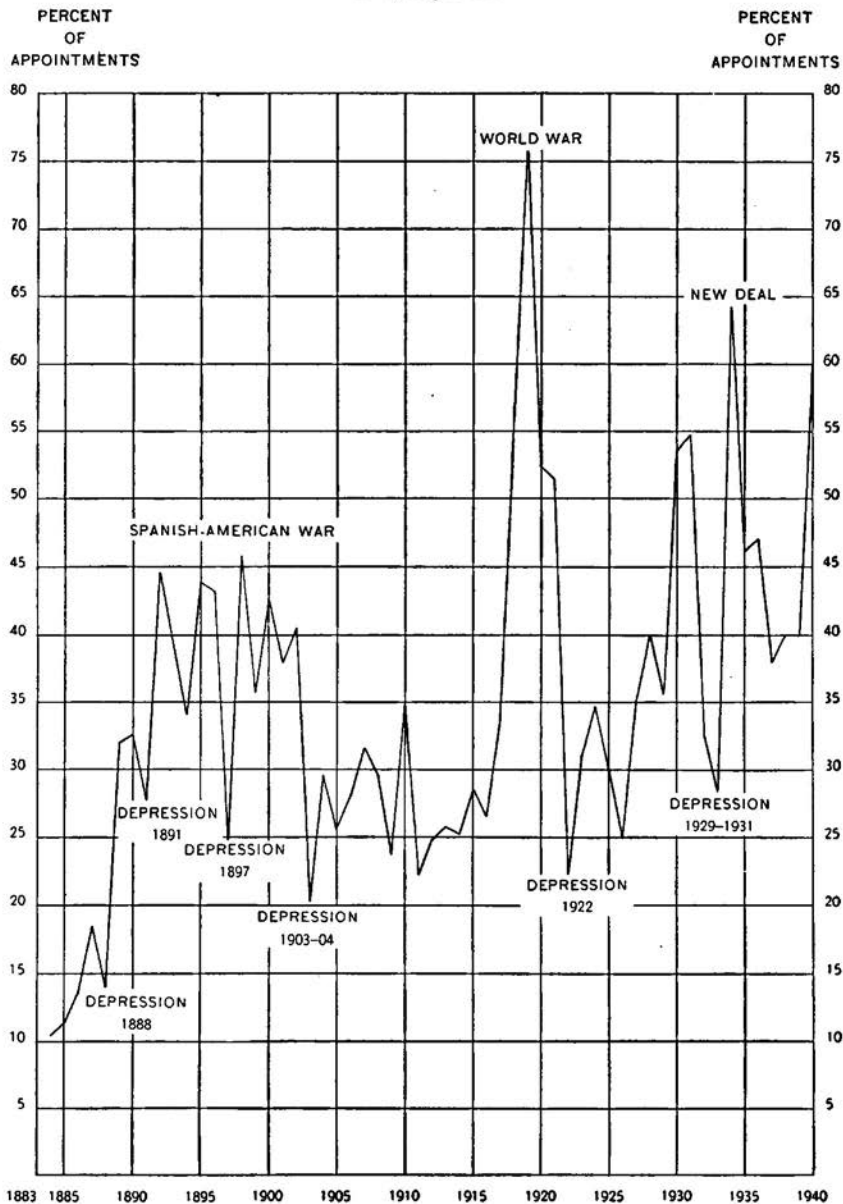
In the next year, however, began one of those temporary outbreaks of anti-feminist feeling which every so often in the history of women's progress have caused them to lose ground. These occurrences were apt to happen in the days before woman suffrage when policy-making offices came into the hands of men who used them to carry out their own personal prejudices. Sometimes, as during periods of economic depression, when there is extra pressure on the part of men to gain places in the Government service, these anti-feminist prejudices become particularly strong, although the person who is exhibiting them may not be aware of the economic basis which underlies his feeling.

Contemporary accounts do not mention the "hard times" of Cleveland's second administration as the reason for the sudden drop in the number of women appointed and for the cessation of women's promotions. Instead the writers blame an anonymous "appointment clerk," who is said to have declared that no woman could be worth more than \$1,200 a year; sometimes they blame the Secretaries of the Interior and Treasury under Cleveland, to whom they attribute the same remark. At any rate, the Department of the Interior employed 1,500 women and 2,100 men in 1893, and by the next year had decreased the number of women to 800, at the same time increasing the number of men to 2,600. In the departmental service as a whole, the number of women decreased about 500, while the number of men increased 200.

Similar decreases in the ratio of women to men may be seen during the depression periods of 1897, 1903, 1922, and 1929. The depression just before the World War was of so short duration and was immediately followed by so great an increase in Governmental activity, even before the actual entry of the United States into the war, that no apparent decrease occurred. These depression decreases may be seen in the accompanying chart, based on the annual reports of the United States Civil Service Commission, which shows the ratio of men to



## Wars Increase, Depressions Decrease, Women's Chances of Employment



During war or other emergencies, the proportion of appointments given women tends to increase. During depressions a sharp decrease may be seen. This chart, which shows the percent of the total appointments received by women to the departmental service at Washington, is based on the Annual Reports of the United States Civil Service Commission.

By AUTHORITY of the CONGRESS.

# RICHARD BACHE, ESQ;

Appointed POST-MASTER-GENERAL, of the UNITED STATES of NORTH-AMERICA.

TO ALL to whom these Presents shall come, sends GREETING: KNOW YE, That I, the said RICHARD BACHE, having received good Testimony of the Fidelity and public Spirit of *Mary Katharine Goddard of Baltimore in the State of Maryland*, and reposing great Trust and Confidence in the Knowledge, Care and Ability of the said *Mary K. Goddard*. . . . . to execute the Office and Duties required of a Deputy Post-Master, have deputed, constituted, authorized and appointed, and by these Presents do depute, constitute, authorize and appoint the said *Mary Katharine Goddard*. . . . . to be my lawful and sufficient Deputy, to execute the Office of Deputy Post-Master of *Baltimore in said State*. . . . . to have, hold, use, exercise and enjoy the said Office, with all and every the Rights, Privileges, Benefits and Advantages, to the same belonging, from the *Tenth* - - - Day of *August*. for the Term of three Years, or until he shall receive a new Commission, or until the present be superseded under such Conditions, Covenants, Provisoes, Payments, Orders and Instructions, to be faithfully observed, performed, and done, by the said Deputy, and Servants, as *he* or they shall, from time to time, receive from me, or by my Order. In Witness whereof, I, the said RICHARD BACHE, have hereunto set my Hand, and caused the Seal of my Office to be affixed: Dated the *Tenth* - - - Day of *August*. - - - 1779



Mary Katherine Goddard's Certificate of Appointment as Postmistress of Baltimore

women appointed each year to the departmental service at Washington.

In spite of these temporary setbacks, women always immediately resumed their gains, even after the early depression of 1894, not only in their numbers in the Government service, but also in the responsibility and importance of the positions to which they were appointed. Some of the lower-grade professional and scientific positions were being held by women by 1897. An article on the subject in one of the newspapers of the day tells of the appointment of a woman "agrostologist" or grass expert to the Department of Agriculture at \$900 per year. The article also lists:

. . . women botanists, women ethnologists, and women experts in crabs and lobsters (attached to the Smithsonian Institution), while the most accurate living artist in the representation of insects is attached to the Bureau of Entomology at Washington.

Women were also being employed as translators, as librarians, and as teachers in the Indian Service.

Although the Bureau of Education believed women could endure the hardships of the frozen North, amid the hectic violence of the Klondike gold rush, and appointed four women as teachers to go to Alaska at \$80 a month, other departments were at this time using the excuse of women's physical frailty to keep from appointing them in Washington. Both the War and Navy Departments refused to appoint women who seem to have been otherwise well qualified for positions as translators because the ladies could not climb ladders for books. One intrepid young woman is said to have offered to wear bloomers, but this bold remark must have shocked the appointing official. She did not get the job.

In the summer of 1899 a story was copied from paper to paper across the country, beginning with the Boston Herald and spreading gradually to San Francisco and Texas, that the Government would henceforth bar women from its service. Officials were quoted as saying that women were not adaptable and that they were "inclined to insist on having all the privileges in the way of vacations and sick leave to which they are entitled." However, as the newspaper editorials pointed out, another reason for the discrimination at this time may have been the pressure to provide for those Spanish War veterans who had been unable to resume their usual civilian occupations.

By 1902 the Civil Service Commission was finding itself unable to supply the departments with qualified men stenographers, while at the same time it had on its lists the names of many women stenographers who had passed the tests with high marks, but who could not be certified, since the departments requested men. A memorandum made up by the certification section of the Commission analyzed the

situation and called the attention of the departments to the very good material available from the female lists. There was some change in the personnel policy of the departments, bringing the Government practice more in accordance with that of private business, where women already constituted 75 percent of all stenographers. In the Federal service they were not to gain a comparable monopoly for another 20 years.

When the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1910 announced it would hire no more women stenographers, clerks, or telegraph operators, there was rejoicing among those who believed women's place was in the home. The railroad supported its action by declaring that its statisticians had discovered women stenographers did 30 percent less work than men. At the same time the Civil Service Commission announced a stenography examination for men only. The New York Press devoted a half-page spread in its Sunday section to the two stories and prophesied:

No doubt there are tens of thousands of good women clerks, just as there are tens of thousands of good men clerks. Women could not have made such tremendous inroads into the realm of business if as a class they were not fitted for some branches of the work. But the action of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the ukase of the Government makes one fact plain. That is: Women do not measure up to the men in capability or in business value, even at the present difference in compensation. Woman will continue to be a big factor in the business field, but the limit of her expansion has been reached. There probably will be a radical readjustment.

Man is likely to regain some of the ground he lost. If he regains a good deal, America may in time have some native cooks.

A similar manifestation of this attitude may be found in the wide publicity given in the next year to a statement attributed to the President of the Civil Service Commission, Gen. John C. Black, that the Government would no longer hire women stenographers because blondes were "too frivolous" and brunettes "too chatty."

These movements to oust women are in themselves evidence that by 1910 women had made so much real progress in both private business and Government service that they were beginning to attract attention. While the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was proving by mathematics that women were 30 percent less efficient than men, individual women were proving by performance that they were quite as efficient, and that in some cases, when they had specialized training and abilities, they could not be replaced advantageously by men. While the Civil Service Commission was finding it difficult to persuade departments to hire women stenographers, one woman, Mrs. Leona M. Wells of Wyoming, had made herself so valuable as assistant clerk

of the very important Senate Committee on Appropriations that she was receiving \$4,500 a year, which was in 1911 the highest salary paid any woman by the Federal Government.

In war or in peace time, the largest amount of any government's budget is spent for military activities and for those activities made necessary indirectly by military operations, such as veterans' care and pensions. The first effects of the increase in governmental activity caused by a modern war were noticed by the Civil Service Commission in June 1916, when the Mexican campaign made it necessary to fill many new positions in the field service of the War Department and to replace in all departments those members of the National Guard who had left their jobs to go to Mexico.

In the next year the Commission felt the effect of the huge preparations for the entrance of the United States into the World War. In addition to the many vacancies left by the men who resigned to enlist in the Army, there were created about 100,000 new positions which also had to be filled, and as rapidly as possible. The Commission gave examinations not only in the daytime, but also at night. Everyone who could meet Civil Service standards and pass the Civil Service tests was almost certain of finding a job.

Under such conditions, women who could do the work found themselves readily accepted even by those departments which had been traditionally loath to employ them. In the 1918 Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission, the Chief Examiner, George R. Wales, later Civil Service Commissioner, writes of the effect of the World War:

The most notable change in Government personnel brought about by the war is in the employment of women. They are everywhere, and offices which formerly insisted on men employees are now acceding to the Commission's recommendation that their examinations be open to women applicants. . . .

Many of the examinations for technical and scientific positions which in past years have been limited to men may now be taken by women; and the departments are appointing women to these positions. Among the general examinations which war conditions have opened to women are elevator conductor, messenger, junior chemist, computer, bookkeeper, and minor positions in the Ordnance Service at Large.

The encouragement the first half of the Chief Examiner's statement gave to feminists is contradicted by an analysis of the last half. Elevator operator and messenger are lower-grade occupations in which private industry had hired women for many years prior to 1918. To put women inspectors in munitions factories of the Ordnance Service was only an adaptation to war needs of a long-established industrial practice. Women bookkeepers in commercial offices were no novelty

even before the World War. It may also be noted that only one professional examination is specifically mentioned as being opened to women because of the scarcity of men.

Such facts more accurately indicate the progress of women in the Government service up to 1918 than does the picture of the immense numbers of women who were brought into Washington to work at clerical tasks in the long rows of beaverboard temporary buildings. In the two years of the war period, more than 40,000 women were appointed to the departmental service at Washington. The problem of housing them in decency and safety became so acute that the Government Hotels for women covered all the grassy spaces of the huge Union Plaza. But this condition was temporary and passed rapidly away. Presently there were no more girl clerks living in these refined barracks, which were torn down after the disbanding of the army of women who had been recruited for the paper work necessitated by a modern war.

The gains of women in the clerical field were consolidated and publicized by the war. In almost no work of this type was their ability again questioned. But in the higher paid and more desirable occupations, the war had given them few real or permanent footholds.

For reasons of economy and convenience, there had grown up a practice among State and Federal civil service commissions of limiting an examination to applicants of one sex if the department requesting the examination had indicated it would appoint only persons of that sex to the position. When an examination was once held, however, the resulting register of eligibles had to be used to fill similar positions in other departments, some of which might have been willing to take men or women, as the case might be, if they had not been barred from the examination.

The early practice of barring women from the "general education" or clerical test when there were already more women on the list than could possibly be appointed was discussed frequently in the years immediately after 1883 by the Civil Service Commission in its Annual Reports and in the Minutes of its proceedings. In order to spread the Commission's funds a little thinner and not to raise hopes that could not be fulfilled, it was often decided not to examine women applicants.

This was fair enough in the days when there were only a few kinds of examinations and these were given at frequent intervals. The number of positions under the jurisdiction of the Commission was so small, and they were so similar in character, that it was easy to predict what the probable needs of the service would be for a considerable period in the future.

But with the expansion of the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission, the increase in the variety and scope of the Government's



activities, and their ever-changing character to meet the exigencies of modern times, there has been a great increase in the number of examinations for specialized positions. It is not, therefore, possible to hold each examination so frequently as was done 50 years ago. Sometimes a register, for which the normal life is 1 year, is renewed for 2 years, 3 years, or even longer.

Difficulties arose from this old practice of limiting examinations and registers to one sex. When the Department of Agriculture asked for a man to collect statistics on market conditions, it automatically barred women from entering such positions in other departments until a new examination should be held, perhaps several years later. When the newly established Women's Bureau asked for a woman investigator of labor conditions, it thereby barred men from occupying labor investigation positions in other bureaus.

That this was the practice of nearly every State and municipal civil service commission, as well as of the Federal commission, was brought out in a survey conducted by a member of the staff of the New York City commission, who said in her paper read before the Assembly of Civil Service Commissions of the United States and Canada at Rochester, N. Y., in June 1919:

It would seem that the privilege of examination granted by a state to its citizens should not be abridged or denied except for certain valid reasons which should be carefully and impartially considered and set forth by the Commission in its minutes, and that a like procedure should govern the division of lists for the purpose of certification by sex.

But this is not the case. Even in equal suffrage states where women are citizens and voters, with the privilege of nomination to the highest offices of the state, they have been denied, on account of their sex, the privilege of examination for positions for which they possessed all other preliminary requirements, in fields in which they have proved their eminent fitness. This has been true even in time of war, when the dearth of male applicants was such that the lists would close with a totally inadequate number of applicants, sometimes with none.

The Assembly without a dissenting vote passed a resolution recommending that the civil service commissions adopt the procedure advocated in the first paragraph of the above quotation.

In September 1919 the Women's Bureau began a survey of the Federal service to discover the status of women employed therein. The Bureau reported that during the preceding 6 months women had been excluded from 60 percent of all examinations announced and from 64 percent of all examinations in the professional and scientific service. All but seven of the numerous clerical examinations had been open to women.

On November 5, 1919, the Civil Service Commission in its Minutes prescribed the following regulation, which is still in force:

*Admission of Women to Examinations.*—The following will be inserted in all announcements of examinations:

“Both men and women, if qualified, may enter this examination, but appointing officers have the legal right to specify the sex desired in requesting certification of eligibles.”

Wherever the appointing officer indicates, however, that only men or women, or only men and military preference women, or only women and military preference men, will be appointed, then a statement to that effect shall be added to the above announcement.

This minute does not apply to a case where there is an ample register of one sex, but eligibles are needed of the other sex; in which case an examination may be confined to applicants of the sex for which eligibles are needed, the announcement to contain the statement that there is an ample register of the sex not admitted.

Further evidence of the Civil Service Commission's favorable attitude toward women is shown by its encouraging them to enter the examinations for scientific and professional positions which the Minute had opened to them. In a circular letter for general distribution prepared in January 1921 the Commission pointed out the opportunities for women who have adequate training in professional work and urged them to acquire that training:

The purpose of this communication is to suggest the advisability of recommending to women students in preparatory schools and in colleges the advantage of pursuing technical and scientific courses rather than the purely academic courses. The Commission believes that the changing conditions are not peculiar to the Government service, but are found in private employ as well; that the war experience of employers generally has had the effect of removing in considerable measure any prejudice which may have existed against the employment of women for technical and scientific work.

When the facts of discrimination were brought out, it was comparatively easy to remove the bars which prevented women from entering any place in the Federal service for which they could qualify by competitive examination. It was more difficult, however, for them to gain the right to adequate salary for those positions. The irregularities and inequalities of the Federal pay scales, with all their complications caused by differing departmental traditions and widely varying appropriations provisions, are detailed in the reports of the committee appointed by Congress in 1919 to study the problem of installing a uniform system of classification and wage scales for Federal positions.



Legislation resulting from this survey, known as the Classification Act of 1923, provides such a system for the departmental service in Washington. Application of the system in the field service was not under any one central jurisdiction, but by law the departments individually were directed to apply the system to their employees stationed outside Washington. Departments have varying ideas about the administration of the Classification Act, so that some inequalities remained in the field service, but the situation was far better than before the enactment of legislation.

The clause in the act which was of greatest importance to women was that which made mandatory the exercise of the permissive power to pay equal wages granted the departments by the Statute of 1870. The clause reads:

In determining the rate of compensation which an employee shall receive the principle of equal compensation for equal work irrespective of sex shall be followed.

In 1925 a second survey by the Women's Bureau of the status of women in the Federal service found their position much improved, both as a result of the Civil Service Commission's opening all examinations to them, and as a result of the equalizing of salaries which followed the installing of the Classification system in 1924. It was claimed, however, that there was a tendency toward lower allocations in those professions in which women predominate, such as the library service. The report also declared that there was a tendency not to grant women chiefs as high a salary as men within the range permitted by the grade to which the position was allocated.

But for the rank and file of women Government workers, the Classification Act meant a genuine improvement. The philosophy of the officials quoted by the Jenckes Report of 1868, that women were valuable chiefly for their low wage scale, was no longer, officially at least, in operation. Saving money for the Government by displacing men with equally qualified but lower-paid women was a practice unfair to both sexes and harmful to the wage standards of both. The Classification Act definitely forbade the practice. Thereafter, women advanced in the Federal service by reason of their abilities and not because they were a cheaper labor commodity than men.

Technically speaking, there are today no provisions discriminating against women in the laws and rules governing the Federal service. However, until July 26, 1937, there remained in force Section 213 of the Economy Act of June 30, 1932, which, although the Section did not specifically discriminate against women, caused the dismissal of three times as many women as men. The Section provided that in reductions of force those persons should be dismissed first whose

spouses were also in the Federal service, whether as employees, pensioners, or enlisted men or officers. It also forbade the hiring of any person whose husband or wife was already receiving money, no matter how small an amount, from the Federal pay rolls. Urged by women's organizations and organizations interested in the welfare of the merit system, Congress repealed the "marital clause," almost the last part of the Economy Act to remain in force, in the final days of the 1937 session.

What then seemed a forward step in removing legal disabilities of women in the Federal service was taken on December 23, 1932, when President Hoover issued an Executive order amending the civil-service rule on certification to read:

Certifications shall be made without regard to sex unless the nature of the duties of the position to be filled is such as, in the opinion of the Commission, can be performed only by men or women, as the case may be.

In practice, however, this amendment did not work out well, and both the Government departments and the majority of women's organizations urged its repeal. For each position for which a department felt that only men, or only women, were suitable, it was necessary to obtain specific approval from the Civil Service Commission. In some of these cases the Commission had solemnly to decide that a department need not be compelled to hire women for pick and shovel work nor men as matrons.

The establishment of a single list for both men and women meant, moreover, that there was a preponderance of men at the top of the register. With the exception of yeomanettes (Navy Yard clerks during the World War), Army and Navy nurses, and the widows of veterans and wives of disabled veterans, those entitled to veteran preference are men. By Executive order, these persons are given precedence on the civil service lists. Hence, when the lists were made up without regard to sex, the appointments were nearly sure to be given to men, since certifications are taken in order from the lists.

On October 5, 1934, President Roosevelt reversed the Hoover order, so that the appointing officer, rather than the Civil Service Commission, is allowed to decide whether a man or a woman shall fill each position. The rule on certification now reads:

Certification shall be made without regard to sex unless sex is specified in the request.

Statistics compiled by the Civil Service Commission show that there was a decrease in the ratio of women to men appointed to the service after the Executive order of 1932, but that an increase in the ratio took place after 1934. Whether this increase may not have been due

in part to other factors, such as the larger number of clerical workers made necessary by the increase of Government activity under the New Deal, is difficult to ascertain. It is certain, however, that rescinding the certification order has not hurt the cause of women.

## II

# The Employment of Married Women

ONE OF THE MOST fruitful sources of debate is the question of the married woman and her career. Sometimes this becomes in actuality merely the question of the married woman and her paid position, or, even, job. Within a generation the number of gainfully employed married women has doubled, and the public interest in their problem has increased at least as much. The Census of 1890 found that 13.9 percent of all gainfully employed women had husbands. In 1930, this percentage had increased to 28.9.

With one exception, every census since 1890 has shown an increase over the preceding decade in the number of gainfully employed married women. In 1890, one out of every 22 married women worked for wages. In 1910, one in every 9 married women was employed. In 1920, the ratio dropped to one in every 11, but by 1930 it had increased to one in every 8.

The prevalence of the married woman who works has led to a number of studies and articles, ranging from the popular Sunday supplement type to the serious sociological work, which undertakes by actual case study to find out the effects of this change in American domestic customs. The May 1929 number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* includes an article by Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse on "Married College Women in Business and the Professions." This study sums up evidence obtained from a detailed survey conducted among some 300 average-type college graduates in 36 States. In over 58 percent of the cases, these women gave economic reasons as the cause of their working. Such reasons were cited by 65 percent of the women with children and by 49 percent of those without children. The survey was made in 1927, a year of comparative prosperity, and among a group whose husbands were engaged in what is considered high-paid business and professional work.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever may be the reason married women work, there is a considerable body of public opinion antagonistic to their employment. This ranges from the belief of some single women that "married women

should get out and give girls a chance who need jobs," to those who question the effect on the future of the race, because of an alleged tendency among women working outside their homes to have fewer children or none. This tendency, which is observable in many countries of the world today, is not, however, so far as can be shown by available statistics, necessarily connected with the fact of outside employment.

On the whole, the strongest antagonisms to the job-holding married woman, and those which are most prevalent, are based on economic grounds. Like the prejudices against the employment of women in general, such antagonisms tend to increase in times of depression, and to abate when jobs are easier to find and competition is not so great. In the earlier history of women's employment, the greatest number of married working women were engaged in industrial occupations. There have been very few drives to take married women out of factories. As late as 1910, only 5.6 percent of those women engaged in clerical pursuits were married, as compared with 10.4 percent in professional work, and 18.6 percent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. By 1920, however, the percentage of married women in clerical groups had doubled, and the first evidence of agitation against them is found in the 1910-20 decade.<sup>2</sup>

The concentration of clerical workers at Washington, with the large number of women found in this occupation and the proportionately large number of married women, early led to administrative discrimination, although formal legislative discrimination did not occur until the Economy Act of 1932. Peculiar local economic conditions at Washington have caused numbers of married women to work outside their homes. These conditions include the highest cost of living of any city in the United States, the small size of available living quarters, and the relatively low salary received by many Federal employees. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in August 1919 made up a "minimum of health and decency" budget for a family of five in Washington, D. C., of \$2,262.47, or, by strict economy and good luck, \$2,015.56. This figure was computed by the Personnel Classification Board to be worth, in terms of the lower prices of June 1930, \$1,948.<sup>3</sup>

Figures published in the Budget of the United States Government show that in 1937, of the 71,912 employees in the departmental service at Washington, 25,449, or 35 percent, receive less than \$1,600. Desire to augment the husband's salary is therefore probably more important as a reason for married women's working than is the lack of full-time occupation in housekeeping in the usual Washington apartment of one or two rooms, in a city where most of the population are strangers to one another.

A Civil Service Commission official described the situation in a letter on the subject in June 1935:

It is doubtless true that women are seeking employment more than in past years due to economic necessity. In Washington, for example, it was formerly true that women who married and began to raise a family usually resigned from the service. In recent years, economic necessity has compelled many women to remain away from their jobs for comparatively brief periods, thereafter returning to work as quickly as possible, leaving their children to be cared for by nurse-maids or other members of the family. There has been a diminution of cases of women who upon marriage have resigned from employment. This has been true, due not so much to a desire to continue work, as because of the necessity of doing so.

The earliest instance of administrative discrimination against married women is perhaps an order from the Postmaster General on November 19, 1913, amending the regulations of the department:

Section 157, Postal Laws and Regulations of 1913, is hereby amended to read as follows:

SEC. 157. No married woman will be appointed to a classified position in the postal service, nor will any woman occupying a classified position in the postal service be reappointed to such position when she shall marry, provided that these prohibitions shall not affect the appointment or reappointment of postmasters at fourth-class offices.

2. Whenever any woman employed in the postal service marries, she shall, if retained in the service, take the oath of office anew.

This rule was amended in October 1918 to allow women whose husbands or sons were in the military or naval service to retain their jobs. The entire section, however, was revoked on November 28, 1921.

Another instance of using marital status as a criterion for employment occurred during the large reduction of force which took place in Washington after the World War. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, in directing the separations in the War Department, ordered:

In the reduction of the additional force of temporary employees that will be necessary in order to keep within the appropriations therefor, the following general rule will be observed with respect to married female employees, where married and unmarried female employees are of equal or nearly equal efficiency, preference for retention in the service shall be given to the unmarried female employees, except in cases of a married employee whose husband is dependent on her for support. In cases in which the question of the retention of a married female employee arises, because of the comparison of her efficiency with that of an unmarried employee, and it develops that the wife and her husband are both employed in the government service, such married female employee shall not be retained in service, provided that in any case





**Helen Hamilton Gardener**



Clara Barton



in which both husband and wife are employed in the War Department the less efficient shall not be retained.

It will be noted that this departmental order, which is a forerunner of the famous Section 213 of the Economy Act of 1932, is unlike that act in that it specifies that it shall be the married *woman* who will be dismissed, except in those cases in which the husband is so inferior as to be unable to support his wife, or is less efficient than she. It is a difficult task to draw such comparisons, especially if the married couple are engaged in work of different types or of different grades: the effect on personnel morale is also undesirable.

Secretary Baker's policy was confirmed by his successor, Secretary John W. Weeks, in this communication to his department:

I interpret this order to mean that in order to be retained a married female employee must have either manifestly superior qualifications, or have a husband dependent upon her for support, in which latter case she must, of course, have a satisfactory efficiency record; subject, however, to the further conditions that if the married woman's husband is also employed in the War Department and is less efficient than she, in which event she may be retained, provided she has a satisfactory efficiency record; but he shall be separated if an emergency employee. In case the married employee is the wife of an army officer I think the spirit of the order requires that she be discharged in preference to an unmarried female emergency employee.

Secretary Weeks was under the necessity of reducing his department by 1,900 employees, to a size of 6,600. Under such circumstances it is a temptation to an official to use an arbitrary criterion, such as marital status, which the employee can neither appeal nor deny, rather than the more difficult basis of efficiency ratings, where the matter of dismissal or retention may have to be decided by a fractional percentage.

Some discrimination against married women in the Government service occurred in various departments of the Government during the next decade, and was described in addresses by Mrs. Helen Hamilton Gardener, the first woman Civil Service Commissioner. Action by Congress, however, was not taken until 1932. During that decade, discrimination against married women occurred in many private industries, notably in several of the telephone companies, which required their operators to leave their service upon marriage. The boards of education in many cities also found they did not desire married teachers, if female. In a survey of 1,500 city school systems conducted by the National Education Association in 1930-31, it was found that 77 percent of these cities refused to hire married women as new teachers and only 37 percent allowed women teachers to continue work if they married after receiving an appointment.<sup>4</sup>

When a reduction in force was undertaken by the Economy Act of June 30, 1932, the language of the act did not specify that married women should be dismissed, but in the actual working out of the provisions of the act, the majority of those dismissed were women. The act stated:

SEC. 213. In any reduction of personnel in any branch of service of the United States Government or the District of Columbia, married persons (living with husband or wife) employed in the class to be reduced, shall be dismissed before any other persons employed in such classes are dismissed, if such husband or wife is also in the service of the United States or the District of Columbia. In the appointment of persons to the classified civil service, preference shall be given to persons other than married persons living with husband or wife, such husband or wife being in the service of the United States or the District of Columbia.<sup>6</sup>

It was decided by various Minutes of the Civil Service Commission and Opinions of the Attorney General that this law applied to retired Army officers and pensioned soldiers, taking precedence over veteran preference statutes. It also applied to the wives of enlisted men, although some of these men receive as little as \$21 a month. The Section was held to apply to dismissals of the N. R. A. force, but not to appointments. It was required that persons claiming to be separated from their spouses and so exempt from the provisions of the Section should present proof that the separation was actual and was not brought about for purposes of evading the provisions of the Section. It will be noted that in this last point the rulings made it necessary to go into very intimate details of Government employees' lives.

A study by the Women's Bureau of the effects of this Section, issued in mimeograph form in March 1936, showed that up to December 1, 1934, 1,603 persons had been dismissed or had resigned from the Federal service under these provisions. Questionnaires sent these persons brought replies from all sections of the United States proper and the Canal Zone. Although the majority of those dismissed were women, in the group of older persons with long records of service in lower-grade positions, the larger proportion of those dismissed were men. Half of the persons included in the survey had earned from \$1,000 to \$1,800 a year. Many had been supporting one or more dependents; the 697 persons who answered the questionnaire had 2,230 dependents. More than four-fifths of those who replied to the question whether their jobs had been filled declared that the vacancies had been filled, or additional personnel taken on, often shortly after the dismissal of the married person.<sup>6</sup>

Throughout the 5 years that Section 213 was in operation, repeal of the measure was urged in every session of Congress. Groups de-

voted to women's interests, such as women's bar associations, medical associations, and similar business and professional societies, as well as organized women's groups of more general membership, opposed the measure. They feared that the discrimination against married women might be the entering wedge in a movement to drive all women from gainful employment, just as had been done in certain European countries.

Groups interested in the improvement and extension of the merit system opposed Section 213 on the ground that it introduced factors into appointment and dismissal which had nothing to do with the qualifications and efficiency of the employee. The League of Women Voters was particularly interested in the repeal of the "marital clause."

The recommendation of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, in its pamphlet, *Better Government Personnel*, published in 1935, is typical of the opinions expressed by such groups. This Commission held hearings on matters concerning public employees in Washington and many other American cities, as well as in London, at which it invited experts in legislation and administration to testify. The finding of the Commission was:

The Commission is opposed as a matter of principle to legislation requiring the discharge of a married person from public position because the other member of the married couple is also a public employee. While in emergencies such laws may be apparently justified, they disregard the merit principle and rest upon the eleemosynary concept of the public pay roll, a concept which cannot be accepted or applied in public service without doing irreparable damage in the long run. The Commission therefore recommends the repeal of Section 213 of the Federal Economy Act of 1932.<sup>7</sup>

In the summer of 1937 Congress repealed Section 213, almost the last of the provisions of the Economy Act still in force. President Roosevelt signed the repeal measure on July 26, 1937. The most immediate result was a simplification of personnel procedure in every department. During the debate in the House of Representatives, it was pointed out by Representative Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts that the cost of personnel administration in the Government departments had been increased by the added investigations and other procedure necessary in carrying out the provisions of this supposed economy measure. Mrs. Rogers declared:

It has cost a good deal to investigate these cases and has taken the time of the Civil Service people away from other work that we all want to have done. Also, it has taken up a great deal of the time of the chiefs of sections in the various departments, which has proved costly.<sup>8</sup>

It would be a difficult undertaking to estimate in dollars and cents the exact amount saved in administration costs by the repeal of Section 213, but even more important is the fact that its repeal removed from the statute books a measure which discriminated against one class of American citizens, and which introduced into the selection of public employees considerations other than those of efficiency and fitness for the work to be performed.

### III

## The Present Position of Women in the Federal Service

**T**HERE ARE ONLY 30 of the 534 occupations in the 1930 Census list by which some woman in the United States did not earn her living. Not quite so sweeping a statement may be made about the occupations in the Federal service, but it is true that in theory and in law there is nothing to prevent a woman from occupying any position for which she has the necessary training and qualifications.

In fact, the Federal service has enough women holding unusual positions to keep a Sunday feature writer supplied with material indefinitely. Among these positions are: sailmaker, lighthouse keeper, associate color technologist, messenger "boy", civil engineering aid, and junior park archaeologist. There are over 250 women rural carriers who travel many miles each day by automobile or horse through sparsely settled regions. Two of these women, one in Kansas and one in South Dakota, spent 30 years of service on their routes.

If, however, there are some "men's" jobs which are occupied by women, there are also a number of "women's" jobs which are occupied by men in the Federal service. Particularly is this true in the clerical field, which has been so largely taken over in recent years by women. While it is true that women in the Federal service maintain an overwhelming numerical superiority in this work, yet this is not quite so great as in employment at large. This may be due in part to the higher pay and higher standards which are a characteristic of most clerical work in the Government and which render it more attractive to men. About 15 percent of the positions in the various classes of stenographer and typist are held by men, as compared with 5 percent in the occupation as a whole, according to the 1930 Census.

On the other hand, beginning in 1935 the Railway Mail Service, which formerly used men stenographers exclusively, inaugurated a policy of employing women in the chief clerks' and district superintendents' offices. About 200 of a total of 23,000 positions in the Railway Mail Service were thus opened to women.

In library work, which is usually thought of as a profession occupied almost entirely by women, there are about 200 men of professional grade, as compared with 300 women. Occupational therapy, a new field of work introduced after the World War, was at first dominated by women, although the majority of the positions were in hospitals under the Veterans' Administration. Today there are more men than women employed by the Government in this work.

There are, however, many professional and semiprofessional occupations in the Federal service which women have taken over as completely as they have those same occupations in private employment. The dietitians offer one example of such an occupation. Social and welfare work is another field which has been largely occupied by women, although it now has more men than formerly. It is estimated that 38 percent of Federal social and welfare workers in 1938 were men. Dental hygiene is another semiprofession in which women predominate. In nursing, which, along with teaching, was one of the first professions opened to women in the nineteenth century, about 3 percent of the registered nurses in the Federal civil service are men.

There are three Government bureaus which are concerned with the traditional interests of women, the Home Economics Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, established in 1923, and, in the Department of Labor, the Children's Bureau, established in 1912, and the Women's Bureau, established in 1918. These bureaus have generally pursued a policy of appointing women for their research and investigational work.

Besides those professions in which women have been accepted by a long tradition of social approval, there are a number of other occupations in the Government service in which women are advancing both in the number and importance of the positions occupied.

Scientific work was one of the first professional-type occupations into which women were admitted in the Federal service, and it is still one that offers them many opportunities. Some of the work, just as in research laboratories and educational institutions under private auspices, is the routine, blind-alley sort, and the girl who feeds mice by a clock, or makes routine chemical analyses, is not likely to find her work permanently interesting. Nevertheless, the women are in the laboratories and experiment stations, where, with ability and training, they may be able to gain promotion to some of the interesting and significant positions. While there may be only from one to five persons employed in some of the many specialized branches of science in the Federal service, yet, from senior agriculturist down the list to junior xylogonomist and associate zoologist, there is scarcely one in which some woman is not working.



In the two traditional professions, law and medicine, there are some women working for the Federal Government, although their number is by no means large. About 3 percent of the medical and dental scientists in the Federal service are women, several of whom hold positions as medical directors of Federal institutions. In 1930, women constituted about 4 percent of the students enrolled in medical colleges of the United States. In 1936 this proportion had increased to 5.5 percent. It is probable that as the number of women with the necessary training increases, so will the proportion of Federal medical positions held by women increase.

Both numerically and proportionately, there are more women in legal than in medical work in the Federal service. Perhaps one reason is the large number of women as well as men Government clerks who attend Washington law schools after office hours. Practical knowledge of a department's functions and a general legal training make a particularly valuable combination. Whether by promotion or original appointment, women are holding many responsible legal positions with such titles as attorney, legal assistant, law clerk, and legal counsel.

More than a score of women illustrators and photographers are employed by the Government. While some of this work is connected with illustrations and diagrams for reports and other publications of a more general nature, much of it is concerned with scientific subjects.

About 150 women in the departmental service are engaged in editorial work, bulletin writing, or other informational work. Their salaries range from \$1,620 to \$5,600. Men, however, far outnumber women in the higher grades.

Although translators form a relatively small group among Federal employees, several women are among their number. Some of these positions require highly specialized qualifications, such as that held by a woman physician in the United States Public Health Service, who is translator and abstractor of foreign medical literature for the Division of Venereal Diseases.

Personnel work is a new field both in private industry and in the public service, but it has been introduced more recently in public employment. Women are gaining places for themselves in this work, perhaps because of their traditional interest in social work, and also because it appears to be easier for women to enter a newly established profession, where there is no inherited prejudice built up against them.

Another new field, and one in which women with the requisite training are entering the Federal service, is that of economic and statistical research. The numerous fact-finding services of the departments offer much variety and opportunity for persons interested in the

many branches of these subjects. The largest number of women economic analysts are employed by the Department of Labor, in the Women's and Children's Bureaus, and in general research on labor problems, but there are also women agricultural economists and industrial economists, as well as marketing specialists. There has been noted in recent years an increase in the interest of women college students in the fields of economics and statistics. As the supply of trained women increases, so, it is probable, will the number of positions of this sort which they will hold in the Federal service.<sup>1</sup>

It has been easier for women to gain initial entry into the Federal service than it has been for them to attain the more desirable positions. With the exception of Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross, who organized a grave-identification service in 1867, women executives and administrators were almost unknown in the Federal service before the 1910 decade. That this decade was the most active period of the woman suffrage movement is significant. It was while the States were ratifying the Nineteenth Amendment that the first appointment of a woman to a major office was made, when Mrs. Helen Hamilton Gardener was appointed first woman Civil Service Commissioner by President Wilson in 1920.

Slowly but surely women have raised the level of the position that could be called "the highest-salaried position held by any woman in the Federal Government." In 1855, Clara Barton's position as confidential clerk in the Patent Office at \$1,400 a year was the highest salary. By 1911, there was one woman receiving as much as \$4,500 a year. In 1925, when the Women's Bureau made its second survey of women in the Federal employ, the highest paid woman was the Civil Service Commissioner, who received \$6,500. There were 10 women with salaries of \$5,200 or more, eight of them in administrative work, and only 35 women in the entire service who received more than \$3,600.

Less than a decade later, the highest salary paid a woman had increased to \$15,000, the salary of the first woman Cabinet officer. The Official Register of the United States, which contains the names of persons who are heads of divisions and bureaus, or who hold other responsible positions, lists over 200 women in the executive branch of the Government. More than 50 of these women receive salaries of \$5,000 or higher. As many more receive from \$3,600 to \$4,800 a year. Nevertheless, the number of women executives in the Government service is still negligible, compared with the number of men.

Many of the positions listed in the Official Register are appointive—that is, the incumbent is selected by the President and his appointment is confirmed by the Senate. Sometimes the candidate is outstanding





Modern Betsy Ross, Quartermaster's Depot, Philadelphia





Women Munitions Workers, Government Arsenal, Watertown, Massachusetts, 1861

in his field though he has gained his experience outside the Government; sometimes he has become prominent in public office as a legislator or as one of the elective administrative officers; sometimes he has shown ability in the conduct of the affairs of a political party. Occasionally, he has entered the department in which the position is located by a civil-service examination, and has worked up through the lower grades, which are under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Act and rules, to the higher appointive offices. Persons who have followed this route may be continued in their offices through successive changes of political parties, so that the office becomes in effect, if not in law, a part of a career service, becoming an ultimate reward of a civil-service career, though not a part of the competitive civil service.

The women in the Official Register have attained their positions by the same methods as the men. Their numbers may with reason be attributed to the effects of the Nineteenth Amendment, by which women gained the right to take a more active part in party affairs and in public life. Many have shown marked ability in politics and in public office.

Some brief sketch of the careers of a few representative women who have achieved prominence in the Government may illustrate how women have gained such positions. This enumeration does not by any means exhaust the list of outstanding women who might be selected, nor are those chosen necessarily the most eminent in their fields. The method has been merely to select a few names at random, endeavoring to include a representative variety of types.

Before she became a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet, Miss Frances Perkins had over 30 years' experience in dealing with the problems of labor and social reform legislation, beginning in 1910 as executive secretary of the Consumers' League of New York. In this capacity she inaugurated amendments to the State labor law for the protection of women and children and the regulation of tenement homework manufacture and of sanitary conditions in cellar bakeries. Gov. Alfred E. Smith appointed her Commissioner of the New York State Industrial Commission, to which position she was reappointed by Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt. When he became President, Roosevelt appointed Miss Perkins to fill the position in the Federal administration similar to that which she had occupied in the State government.

Other positions which women have filled by Presidential appointment within recent years include: Ministers to Norway and to Denmark; Director of the United States Public Health Service; Director of the Mint; Federal judges and assistants to the Attorney General; members of many boards and commissions; and collectors of customs.

The woman who has attained eminence in a specialized field outside the Government often finds her services in demand by some one of the departments dealing with the subject in which she has made herself an expert. Occasionally, when it can be shown that there is only one available applicant who can meet the requirements of a highly specialized position, the Civil Service Commission may, under the provisions of the Civil Service Act and rules, authorize that a competitive examination be dispensed with. These appointments, however, are made only under very unusual circumstances, and a full report of the reasons for each such appointment is included in the Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission. On the average, about 10 appointments are made in this manner each year, as compared with about 40,000 appointments of persons selected by competitive examinations, but several women have in recent years been included in this list. The duties of the positions to which they receive appointment and the qualifications they bring to those positions make interesting reading and show something of the variety of fields in which women have won recognition.

Dr. Sophie D. Aberle and Dr. Alice Hamilton received appointments in this manner. Dr. Aberle was appointed General Superintendent of the United Pueblo Jurisdiction, under the Indian Service of the Department of the Interior. With headquarters at Albuquerque, the Jurisdiction is responsible for the health and welfare of some 10,000 Pueblo Indians. The only anthropologist in the country to make a study of the living Indian, Dr. Aberle's academic training included a Ph. D. from Stanford University and an M. D. from the Yale Medical School. The report of her appointment states:

She met the peculiar requirements of the position because of her work for more than 8 years among the Pueblo Indians, and because of administrative experience in directing an extensive practical study regarding their health. No other person was known to the Department who possessed such experience.<sup>2</sup>

Also appointed under the same rule was Dr. Alice Hamilton, as industrial economist in the Division of Labor Standards of the Department of Labor. Dr. Hamilton has been prominent for many years as a specialist in occupational diseases. She was one of the first women physicians in the country, receiving her M. D. from the University of Michigan in 1893, after which she did post-graduate work at Munich, Leipzig, and the Institut Pasteur at Paris, as well as at Johns Hopkins and the University of Chicago. She taught at several medical schools and was made assistant professor of industrial medicine at Harvard University, the only woman ever appointed to the faculty of the Harvard Medical School, an institution which does not even admit women as students.



The 1936 Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission states:

Dr. Hamilton's services are to be utilized in studying and analyzing health hazards in industries and in developing practical standards for prevention of occupational diseases. Dr. Hamilton is recognized as having a national reputation as a teacher and writer in these subjects.<sup>3</sup>

Other women who within recent years received appointment as experts without competitive examination include Mrs. Isabelle A. O'Neill and Mrs. Phoebe F. Omlie. Mrs. O'Neill was chosen as legislative contact official for the Bureau of Narcotics of the Treasury Department to aid in the drafting and passage of uniform State antinarcotic laws to enable the various States to cooperate with the Federal antinarcotic activities. She began her career as a member of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, to which she was elected in 1923. In 1926 she introduced a resolution creating a commission to investigate the drug traffic and compiled a report on the subject. In 1930 she was elected to the State senate. Her appointment to the Bureau of Narcotics occurred in 1933.

Mrs. Phoebe F. Omlie, special assistant for air intelligence of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, was one of the first women aviators. She began as a parachute jumper in 1920 and did exhibition flying for several years. She received the first pilot's license and the first engine and airplane mechanic's license granted to a woman, in 1927. During the Mississippi flood of 1927 she flew one of the rescue planes. She has won a number of prizes in air derbies and other races.

Her duties with the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, for which she worked for 3 years, were described thus:

Her services are to be utilized in connection with a program to encourage the use of airplanes by making known the results of research to improve safety and efficiency in civil aviation. The incumbent was required to use and act as pilot of an airplane in the performance of the work. She had had experience as an instructor in flying, meteorology, and aerial navigation, as a racing test pilot, and in the development, design, manufacture, and testing of aircraft with various organizations. It was not believed that an eligible as well qualified could be secured through open competition.<sup>4</sup>

The story of Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Bureau, seems at first glance like a novel by Horatio Alger. Unlike his heroes, however, her rise from immigrant girl to Federal bureau chief was not concerned with mercantile success, but with rendering eminently successful service to the movement of workers for alleviating and improving their own labor conditions.

Miss Anderson was the youngest of the 10 children of a Swedish farmer. At the age of 16 she came to America with two older sisters and went to live in Ludington, Mich. During her first year in the new country she taught herself to read English from the daily newspapers. The next year she moved with her sisters to Chicago where she became an apprentice on a shoe stitching machine. For 18 years she worked at this trade, at the same time taking an ever more active part in the shoe and bootmakers' unions.

In 1910 she left factory work to travel as national organizer for the National Woman's Trade Union League. She was called to Washington during the World War by the Woman in Industry Section of the Council of National Defense. When the Women's Bureau was established in 1918 in the Department of Labor, Miss Mary Van Kleeck was appointed chief and Miss Anderson assistant chief. Upon Miss Van Kleeck's resignation in 1919, Miss Anderson succeeded her.

Although there is all too little formal provision for career advancement in the Federal civil service as it is at present constituted, there are many men and women who have entered the service in the lower ranks and have achieved high positions. Perhaps this is a more usual story in the case of men than of women, for we have an American tradition that accepts the executive who began as messenger boy, but we retain the "secretary complex" in the case of women. That is to say, we commonly expect that the executive in an office shall be a man, and his assistant a woman, and we are surprised when the situation is reversed. Because the public service must by its nature be responsive to public opinion, and because the public does not yet accept with the same readiness a woman in authority, it is not astonishing that the proportion of women executives is small as compared with the total number of women in the Federal service, nor that a department hesitates to give such positions to any but very outstanding women of proven ability.

However, there are women who have risen within their departments to important positions. Some of them illustrate the commonly accepted theory of women's vocational counselors that stenography makes a good "entering wedge" for an ambitious girl. Others have come into the lower professional ranks with some specialized training and then have risen to the higher grades of professional work and to administrative positions.

It is difficult to evaluate the relative effectiveness of these two avenues of approach, but a statement made by the Women's Bureau in its report on women in the Government service in 1925 may be of interest. The Bureau concluded that, measured by the number of

women who got beyond a certain salary level, stenography was the best method. However, of those women who entered the service with professional training, a larger proportion attained the higher salary levels than did those who entered the service as stenographers.

An example of a woman who achieved success through secretarial work may be found in the case of Miss Margaret M. Hanna, who entered the Department of State as a private secretary in 1895 and advanced through the various grades until in 1924 she became chief of the Office of Coordination and Review. Her assignments to accompany American delegations to conferences in South America and Europe were particularly interesting and valuable. In July 1937 she was appointed as consul at Geneva, Switzerland. She was the first woman to be appointed to the foreign service from the home office of the Department of State, and the seventh woman to receive an appointment in the consular service. Miss Hanna retired in 1939.

In 1935 the Civil Service Commission made its first appointment of a woman to the office of district manager, when it selected Miss Rena B. Smith to head the Eighth Civil Service District, with headquarters at St. Paul. Since the district offices are in effect miniature Civil Service Commissions for the regions in which they operate, the position of district manager involves much responsibility and a thorough knowledge of all phases of civil service work. Miss Smith began her service with the Commission as a stenographer. She then became private secretary to Mrs. Helen Hamilton Gardener, the first woman Civil Service Commissioner. Later she was sent as assistant district manager to the First District at Boston, where she was stationed when she received her appointment to head the Eighth District.

Still another woman who began her career in the Federal service as a stenographer is Miss Isabelle Story, who entered the service of the Department of the Interior as a typist in 1910. Gradually she developed her own job, that of answering inquiries about the National parks, until she was made editor-in-chief in the National Park Service.

Miss Katharine Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, spent a number of years in the service of this organization before becoming its head. After graduating from normal school, she received a B. A. from the University of Wisconsin in 1912 and the next year was appointed woman deputy of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin. In 1915, she came to the Children's Bureau as special agent. Later she became assistant director of the social service division of the Bureau. In 1921, she was made director of the editorial division, and, in 1924, assistant chief of the Bureau. In 1934, she succeeded Miss Grace Abbott as head of the Bureau.

Miss Claribel Ruth Barnett, head of the Library of the Department of Agriculture, brought professional training with her into the Federal service, and then made good in her profession. Miss Barnett entered the Department of Agriculture as a cataloguer in 1895, just 6 years after it had been established as one of the executive departments. She took one of the first library examinations which were opened to women. In 1901, she became assistant librarian and was promoted to head librarian in 1907. She served in this position until her retirement in 1940. Under her leadership the library increased greatly in size and scope, with numerous branches in the bureaus of the department and a collection of over 250,000 books and pamphlets.

Nearly every department of the Federal Government could furnish similar examples of women who are occupying positions of significance and responsibility. It is not possible to recount in detail all of the interesting histories of the rise to important positions of women in the Government service. It should be remembered, however, that these accounts are frequently publicized and thus give a perhaps too optimistic impression that such examples are commonplace. It is true and probably will be for many years to come that the number of women officials is small in comparison with the number of men of similar rank. Nevertheless, the record already made is one which may well gratify and encourage women who look forward to a career in the Government service.



## IV

# Training Opportunities For Women Who Wish to Enter the Federal Service

**W**OMEN WHO WISH to take advantage of the opportunities open to them in the Federal Government today will do well to consider their own special abilities and talents and how they may best develop them to make their services of value in Government work. No one can plan a career for them with blueprint exactness, since it is never possible to predict with accuracy what the needs and requirements of the Government will be at any period in the future, but some general statements may be made, based on the experience of women already in the Government service, about the qualifications essential to success.

There is a growing consciousness that, as the Government takes on more and more responsibilities, there should be a corresponding increase in the specialized techniques and the amount of training required of public employees in order that their work may be performed effectively. Sometimes this training may be acquired on the job; but a good educational background is an undoubted asset for such training, although the great majority of Government positions do not require a college degree. Rather, the emphasis is on the applicant's ability to pass tests of his intelligence, knowledge, and adaptability. It is of course true that persons who have had higher education should pass these examinations with higher marks, but they are not given special preference.

Of the 68,000 appointments for entrance to the Federal classified service during the fiscal year 1940, only 5 percent required college graduation. The great preponderance of appointments are to clerical or to skilled trades positions. The procedure in preparing for such positions is the same as for similar work in private industry. One must learn to operate a switchboard, an elevator, a card-punch machine, a tabulator, adding machine, computer, or whatever type of machine is used in the position she desires. It should be remem-

bered that the requirements for stenographer and typist are high, although not so high as those of a very few private commercial schools which prescribe that their stenography students must take dictation as fast as 140 words a minute before they can be graduated.

But measured by the average standard in private business, Government standards are high, and approximately 50 percent of those who take the Federal typist examination fail to qualify even for the lowest grade, that of junior typist. Although it is a requirement of the test that a minimum speed be attained, accuracy is even more important, since it counts twice as much as speed in the computation of the mark. To be certified as junior stenographer, one must be able to take dictation at the rate of 96 words per minute; senior stenographers must have a speed of 120 words per minute. A knowledge of grammar and spelling is essential.

For those who desire to work in some profession or science on the pay roll of the Federal Government, the same general advice may be given as to clerical workers. They must perfect themselves in their specialty and watch for the announcement of suitable examinations. Usually they enter at the lowest professional grade and advance as opportunities open.

Those who are ambitious of advancement find, besides the training and experience gained on the job, opportunity to add to their professional equipment by further study. Training courses in Federal agencies have increased both in number and scope; in Washington, especially, evening courses leading to advanced degrees are available at private institutions.

The courses given by the various Federal agencies are tied in with the work of the agencies. Most of them are designed for employees engaged in clerical or administrative work. However, courses in professional work are also given by a number of agencies, such as the Bureau of Standards and the Department of Agriculture, which were among the pioneers in establishing training courses. The Graduate School of the Department of Agriculture is open to employees of other agencies.

The Weather Bureau and the Maritime Commission have been authorized by act of Congress to send personnel to college for study of subjects pertaining to their functions. Teachers in the Indian Field Service have been granted by legislation a period of educational leave in addition to annual and sick leave.

Besides persons employed in the traditional professions of law and medicine, the Federal Government has long employed men and women as research workers in the physical sciences, such as chemistry, biology, and geology. With the increase in the number of functions of the Government, a demand has arisen for persons trained in the various

social sciences or the professions. The Civil Service Commission holds numerous examinations for economists, statisticians, psychologists, and persons trained in various phases of labor-law administration, in social work, in educational research, and in child-welfare work.

Other examples of new types of examinations, offering opportunity to qualified women as well as men, are those for administrative officers and personnel officers of various grades. The first examinations for these positions were held by the Civil Service Commission in 1936. In the rating of applicants, emphasis was placed on both quality and length of experience. The administrative officers were recruited to manage district or branch offices of the Social Security Board, or to fill positions of equivalent importance in Washington or in the regional offices of the Board. Personnel officers are assigned to such personnel work as recruiting, the classification of positions, training of employees, employees' progress and morale, placement work, and similar work, requiring both experience and personal qualifications of a high caliber.

In addition to studies of government in general, there has been a new development by American colleges of courses designed specifically to prepare students for junior administrative positions in the Federal, State, and municipal services. Classes in public administration were almost unknown in 1920, when the University of Chicago offered what were probably the pioneer courses in the subject. Among the instructors was Dr. Leonard D. White, later United States Civil Service Commissioner from 1934 to 1937. In 1936, the Social Science Research Council listed 75 American colleges and universities offering courses in public administration, varying in difficulty from elementary undergraduate work to studies leading to the Ph. D. degree. Included among the 75 colleges were many which admit women.

Somewhat similar to these public administration courses, but more vocational in its curriculum, is the post-college course offered by the National Institute of Public Affairs in Washington, D. C. This privately endowed institution has since 1935 offered scholarships, called "internships," to selected college graduates to enable them to defray part of the expenses of a year in Washington as unofficial assistants to cooperating administrative officials. After office hours the "interns" attend classes at the School of Public Affairs of American University. The experimental first class of interns numbered 40 students, of whom 11 were women. About the same proportion of the sexes has prevailed since.

In the summer of 1937, Radcliffe College inaugurated an experimental post-college course for women in personnel administration. Harvard University instruction is combined with practice personnel

work in a course designed to train personnel administrators both for the public service and for private organizations and industries. This was probably the first such course offered to women exclusively.

A number of examinations have been held for recent college graduates, which are also open to students in their senior year, on condition of later submitting proof of graduation. The examination for Junior Civil Service Examiner was given at intervals from 1923 to 1937. This examination was intended primarily to recruit junior examiners for the clerical examining section of the Civil Service Commission. The registers, however, have been used by many other departments. Many, both men and women, appointed from this examination have since advanced to very interesting and responsible positions.

Beginning in 1939, examinations have been held annually for Junior Professional Assistant. Unlike the junior examiner, the junior professional assistant examination requires that applicants shall have had certain specified major courses of study. Optional examination subjects, each one related to some major course of study, are set forth in the examination announcement—all under the general title "Junior Professional Assistant." The list of optional subjects changes from year to year, according to the supply of eligibles still on the registers and the estimated needs of the service.

While the proportion of women eligibles has been smaller in the Junior Professional Assistant than in the Junior Civil Service Examiner examination, this may be attributed to the inclusion in the former of several majors in which there are few women students, such as engineering, forestry, agronomy, and veterinary medicine. Formerly, separate announcements were issued for each of these examinations, but they have been included in the Junior Professional Assistant for economy and ease of administration.

No studies have as yet been made of the results of the Junior Professional Assistant appointments. Dr. Leonard D. White, former Civil Service Commissioner, has published a very interesting study of the educational background of those who took the 1934 and 1936 Junior Civil Service Examiner examinations, of the experiences in the Federal service of those who were appointed from the 1934 register. In discussing the opportunities given the women appointees, Dr. White remarked:

The type of work to which women have been assigned shows no marked variation from that assigned to men, except in special instances such as the Bureau of Investigation.<sup>1</sup>

A similar statement could be made about many types of positions in the Federal service today, with the obvious exception of such jobs as laborers and railway mail clerks, for which the physical require-

ments are such as to render them unsuitable to women. In fact, it is little wonder that, attracted by the prospect of fair and equal opportunity, many ambitious young women are undertaking specific and in some cases extended preparations equivalent to those made by men for the same positions, to fit themselves for the services of the Federal, State, and local governments.

The untrained women of 50 years ago, content perforce with the routine low-paid work allotted them in the Federal service, would look with amazement upon the aspirations of the women of today and on the preparations so many of them are making to fit themselves to fulfill their ambitions. The fact that it is possible for women now to hope for recognition by the same standards and with the same rewards as are given men is the best measure of the long way that women have come in the Government service since their first humble beginnings.

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1. Abbott, Edith, *Women in industry: A study in American economic history*. New York, D. Appleton Co., 1910.
2. Rev. Stat. 167. See also 13 Stat. 28, Mar. 14, 1864; 13 Stat. 160, June 25, 1864; 14 Stat. 207, July 23, 1866. Rev. Stat. 167 was repealed in 46 Stat. 1028, Dec. 16, 1930, "An act to repeal obsolete statutes and to improve the United States Code."
3. H. R. 48, 37th Congress, 3d sess.
4. Rev. Stat., Sec. 165, July 12, 1870.
5. 19 Stat. 169, Aug. 15, 1876. (*Italics inserted.*)

## The Employment of Married Women

1. American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, May 1929, vol. cxliii, no. 232, p. 325-338.

A later study by Cecile Tipton La Follette, entitled *A study of the problems of 652 gainfully employed married women homemakers* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934) reached the same conclusion, showing that 67 percent of these women gave economic necessity as the reason for their working. Other reasons, such as "Educate children" (32 women) and "Support personal dependents" (179 women) were economic in character.

2. *The Annals*, May 1929, p. 183, 352.
3. "Minimum of health and decency" budgets, with their allowances for such items as recreation, church contributions, and small insurance and savings, should not be confused with the lower "subsistence" budgets, or the still lower "relief" budgets.
4. National Education Association, *Administrative practises affecting classroom teachers*, Washington, January 1932.
5. U. S. Civil Service Commission, *Civil Service Act and rules, statutes, executive orders, and regulations*, amended to June 30, 1936, p. 147.
6. U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Effects of dismissing married persons from the civil service*, March 1936. (Mimeographed.)
7. Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, *Better government personnel*, New York, McGraw Hill Co., 1935, p. 72-73.
8. *Congressional record*, July 8, 1937, p. 8967.

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2. U. S. Civil Service Commission, *53d annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1936*, p. 30.
3. U. S. Civil Service Commission, *53d annual report*, p. 31.
4. U. S. Civil Service Commission, *51st annual report*, p. 41.

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1. White, Leonard D., *Government careers for college graduates*, Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, Pamphlet No. 8, June 1937.



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